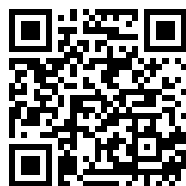
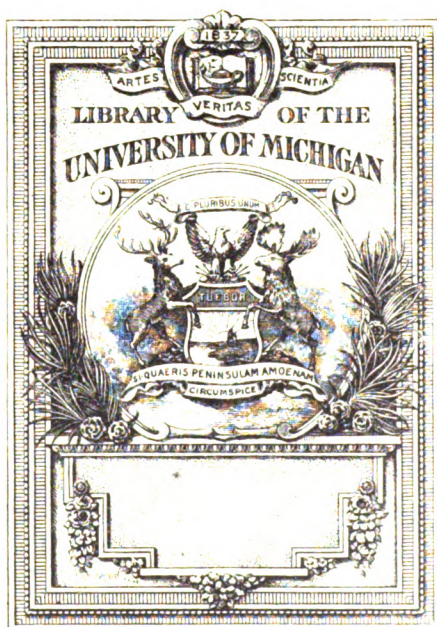

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EDITED BY
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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

NOTICE.

With the present number (73) THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY enters upon a new volume, and the Editor and former Publisher announces that the business management has been transferred to THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS, to which all communications touching subscriptions are hereafter to be addressed. This change makes it necessary to settle all outstanding accounts, and it is hoped that the subscribers to the Journal will meet their obligations promptly and thus facilitate the transfer.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

thousand years ago,¹ and after diligent search, with the help of those who had kept *au courant* with the last year's progress in thought, discovered that what I had neglected to do had been

¹ The bones of some thirty thousand warriors with crushed skulls, evidently fallen in battle and belonging to a race that inhabited this country before the Indians, are still exhibited on one forgotten battlefield in the West. How long such heaps of bones could remain (if cared for) in Kurukṣetra I cannot say. They were seen by the pious Chinese pilgrim in the seventh century. But perhaps they were not Bhārata bones after all!

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XIX, I.

WHOLE No. 73.

I.—THE BHĀRATA AND THE GREAT BHĀRATA.

Two years ago I received from the editor of this Journal Dahlmann's *Mahābhārata*, and it was my intention to write at once a review of that noteworthy book. I soon found, however, that an ordinary review would neither do the book justice nor satisfy myself. But at that time new cares and subsequently a journey to India prevented me from writing a full account and criticism of Dahlmann's theory, which is, in short, that the great epic was composed not as an epic, but as a moral and religious encyclopedia. There was, moreover, something so incongruous in the conception of the epic as a manual of good advice that, as I am shamed to confess, while climbing over the ruins of Indrapat and wandering about the Kurus' sacred plain, *das Mahābhārata als Rechtsbuch* was wellnigh forgotten in the *Mahābhārata als Epos*.

Such sentimentality (as if one must believe in Homer because he has found Troy) quickly passed away, however, as I returned from the place where the bones of those that had died in the *Mahābhārata* war were still shown piled in heaps more than a thousand years ago,¹ and after diligent search, with the help of those who had kept *au courant* with the last year's progress in thought, discovered that what I had neglected to do had been

¹ The bones of some thirty thousand warriors with crushed skulls, evidently fallen in battle and belonging to a race that inhabited this country before the Indians, are still exhibited on one forgotten battlefield in the West. How long such heaps of bones could remain (if cared for) in Kurukṣetra I cannot say. They were seen by the pious Chinese pilgrim in the seventh century. But perhaps they were not Bhārata bones after all!

most ably accomplished by others. Every Sanskrit scholar is to-day familiar with the learned reviews which Dahlmann's book has called forth in the last twelvemonth, and it seems almost a work of supererogation to attempt to say anything new after what has been so fully discussed by Barth, Jacobi, Jolly, Ludwig, Schroeder, Winternitz, and possibly by others whose critiques I may not have seen.¹

In the following pages, therefore, I shall not attempt to review Dahlmann's work in detail. It is a long, interesting, and in many particulars instructive attempt to prove that the epic was written essentially as it has come down to us and that it dates from *circa* 500 B. C. I will content myself with analyzing its *πρῶτον ψεύδος* in a few words.

That the Bhārata epic was enough of an epic to be compared with the Greek epics is rendered probable by the fact that the Greek visitors to India reported that the Hindus had a sort of epic poetry, tales of 'Homeric' heroes. That there were two versions of the Bhārata story is proved by the fact that the Hindus themselves cited "the Bhārata and the Mahā-Bhārata," that is, the (little) and big Bhārata. There was then (two or three centuries B. C.) a big Bhārata. Are we to suppose that it arose independently of the Bhārata or grew out of the latter? In the latter, certainly more probable, event, is there any reason to suppose that the big Bhārata stopped growing bigger as the years went on?

In an article published in 1883 in the Journal of the American Oriental Society I compared the professed quotations from Manu found in the epic with the extant work of Manu, and showed that if we put the great didactic masses of the Mahābhārata into one group and the rest of this literary megatherium into another, then the *ipse dixit* verses cited from Manu in the first group correspond with extant Manu verses much more closely than do the verses in the second group; and that in the last great didactic book the proved citations are vastly more numerous. Thence I drew what seemed to me the reasonable conclusion, that the didactic masses were composed after our present Manu was in its present shape, whereas this could not have been the case with the

¹ Barth, Journal des Savants, April-July, 1897; Jacobi, GGA. 1896, pp. 67-78; Jolly, Ind. Ant. XXV, p. 343; Ludwig, now as brochure; Schroeder, WZKM. X, pp. 75-9; Winternitz, JRAS. 1897, pp. 713-59. The last review has not yet, at this writing, Dec. 1897, been completed.

second group. These didactic masses are grouped in their greatest extent in books twelve and thirteen. In the first eleven books I found only two quotations that could be verified in our present Manu text, against six unverified; in the twelfth book eight verified and seven unverified; in the thirteenth, seven verified and only three unverified. Whether these facts point to the conclusion I drew or not, they certainly show a difference in the relation of Manu and the different massed portions of the epic, which in turn indicates a difference in age between these portions.

Whether the Mahābhārata is to be regarded as having originally been epic or didactic depends entirely on its original portions. Granted that it was composed in its present shape, the didactic tone is so overpowering that I could quarrel with no one who asserted that such a book was not an epic. But I should still inquire with wonder what man was ever poet enough to write the gambling-scene and dull enough at the same time to write the Anuṣāsana; what didactic priest was ever so muddle-headed as to teach that the receipt of gifts even from a good king was sinful and even from a bad king laudatory, that asceticism was pure folly and that again it was the highest virtue, that polyandry was an abhorrent thing and yet the practice of his model heroes; further, why tens of thousands of verses should be devoted to battle-scenes for the most part idle to the author's purpose and occasionally exhibiting his heroes in anything but a model light; and lastly, why a pedagogue who wrote 500 B. C. indulged at the same time in the grossest Puranic abuse of grammar in those portions of the epic which I had supposed to be late, and wrote so decent Sanskrit in the portions which I had hitherto supposed belonged to an older epoch.¹ To these questions I find no answer in Dahlmann's theory. But I would ask one more. Does

¹ Compare the late (?) verse xi. 26. 5, where *dhatta* is used for *dhatte*; *svasām* in the late (?) scene of the sixth book, 116. 3 (in PW. under *svasā*, but there is only *svasām*, as late as *duhitām*, wherever either of the forms occurs); *duhitām* in the late (?) fourth book, 72. 4; *dātum* with the accusative of the person to whom is given, in a didactic chapter (*na utsahate vittarakṣi dātum mahājanān*), xii. 321. 143; the dative and locative for the possessive genitive in the theological chapter, xiii. 14. 1 ff., "a barbarous construction never found in the old portions of the Mahābhārata" (Holtzmann); the accusative of respect in xiii. 62. 30 (*yathā dhāvati gaur vatsam evam bhūmir bhavati bhūmidam*); the use of *yaj* as 'give to priests' in xiii. 31. 10 (PW. '*ksitā*' to change to Bombay reading), *yajanti kṣitīm*; *tān* for neuter plural, xiii. 68. 29; etc., etc.

Dahlmann believe the Mahābhārata to have been struck off before or after the therein-mentioned eighteen Purāṇas? Before, of course, and the author would perhaps retort that I myself long since pointed out that the eighteen Purāṇas are mentioned only in one text. But exactly in the discrepancy of texts lies much that is corrective of the Dahlmannian delirament.

Some passages, like the one just mentioned, have indisputably been added to the original text. It was not all spouted forth at once. It remains, then, to discover whether any one part may on reasonable historical grounds be regarded as later than any other.

Let us take the fourth book. The heroes are dressed up as eunuchs, cooks, and servitors, and play pranks in Virāṭa's palace. Between the grimness of the gambling-scene and the fierceness of the battle, this episode stands like an interlude of pantomime inserted to cover a thirteenth year of exile, which in other parts of the book is not recognized. Is it of no importance that such harem-stories as are here given are found nowhere else in the epic; that only here, in laudation unparalleled elsewhere, Arjuna alone routs the whole Kuru army? But the text itself hints that the fourth book as at present composed is a late addition. There are at least two passages, as Holtzmann has pointed out, where the thirteenth year is ignored altogether, as if it were an after-thought, though in the present version of the Sabhā it is recognized. But more than that, the original stipulation even as it now stands is merely that the year shall be passed '*sajane*'—that is, in the presence of people, not in a city—and a verse alluding to the exile after it is all over distinctly states that the Pāṇḍavas passed all thirteen years as hermits in the wood:

*vanam pravrajitāṅgā 'sma valkalājīnavāsasaḥ
anarhamāṇās taṁ bhāvam trayodaṇṇa samāḥ parāiḥ.*¹

An echo of this still lingers in Bhīma's question at xv. 11. 23: *kva tadā Droṇaḥ . . . abhavat yatra trayodaṇṇa samā vane vanyena jīvatha.*

Again, how stands it with the Dānadharma now known as Anuśāsana? Could any literary production be more plainly a later growth? Unknown in the Java text, first cited as 'gift-laws,' then emerging as a whole book; which is called 'The Law' because it chiefly enjoins those *agrahāra* which the earlier law

¹ vii. 197. 10. Compare ii. 74. 19; 76. 23; and for the two other references, Holtzmann, Mahābhārata, ii, p. 98; Mbh. viii. 91. 4.

condemned (for gifts of land to a priest are in early law allowed only in need or as sacrificial gifts), but which in the Anuṣāsana are extolled as always meritorious, and as fruitful of reward to him that gives and to him that receives. Here too is found the wildest excess in grammar and sectarianism.

This, however, is not the only reason for considering the Anuṣāsana as a late book. The epic itself omits it from its own first table of contents. As this table of contents is not without value for other parts of the epic, which are both regarded as late from other points of view and omitted from the list, it may be well to review its account of the epic as the latter was known when it was composed.

The introduction does not at first recognize the Aṁṣāvataraṇa (adhy. 59-64). This, among other late traits, exalts the epic as an encyclopedia of sacred lore (62. 35), which when studied through the *vasso* will purify from sin (ib. 32); a written copy being intended, as is evident from the words *yo idam bhāratam . . . vācakāya prayachati* (vs. 50). Here the size of the work is stated to be 100,000 *ślokas* (vs. 14). This ignored chapter refers to the attempt at burning the Pāṇḍavas. The sections containing the account are also ignored in the first introductory analysis, 1. 88 ff., which gives Sabhā as the parvan following Sambhava. The latter closes with parv. 140. The value of this short analysis is shown by the very character of the Jatugṛha story (parv. 141-51). But all that remains of Ādi is *extra* epic, old tales wrought in, or wild extravaganzas. In this analysis the third book, as Āraṇya (that is, ten parvans of Vana), now follows in due order with Virāṭa, Udyoga, Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Karṇa, Çalya, Strī, Āiṣika (parv. 10-18 of Sāuptika), Çānti, Aṣvamedha, Ācrama, Māusala. Here, then, is a list of the books of the Mahābhārata which omits entirely the thirteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth books of the present text, Anuṣāsana, Prasthāna and Svarga. The reason can be only that when this list was made these books, like the Hari-vaṅṣa, were not parts of the epic.

The first discrepancy in the texts here occurs, just before the second list :¹

C. i. 101 ff.:

*caturviṅcati sāhasrīm cakre bhāratasaṁhitām
upakhyānāir vinā tāvad bhārataṁ procyaṭe budhāiḥ*

¹ This is a new *triṣṭubh* table of contents, each verse beginning with *yad ācrauṣam*.

*tato 'dhyardhaçataṁ bhūyaḥ saṁkṣepaṁ kṛtavān ṛṣiḥ
anukramaṇikādhyāyaṁ vṛtlāntānāṁ saparvaṇām*

It is then stated that the author made another Sāmhita of sixty hundred thousand verses, of which only one hundred thousand are extant. B. here reads the same half-verse cited above from the (interpolated) Aṁṣāvatarāṇa :

idaṁ çatasahasraṁ hi çlokānāṁ puṇyakarmaṇām

and places it just before the description in C., but here it is given with its accompanying half:

B. i. 1. 101b, 102a :

*idaṁ çatasahasraṁ tu (ç)lokānāṁ puṇyakarmaṇām
upakhyānāiḥ saha jñeyam ādyaṁ bhāratam uttamam
caturviṁçati sāhasrīm, etc. (as in C.).*

That is to say, C. simply states that without the episodes the Bhārata contains 24,000 verses, and B. prefaces this with the remark that the episodes amount to seventy-six thousand verses. It had already been stated that the epic at first consisted of 24,000 + 2400 verses—that is, presumably without episodes.¹

The introduction admits that scholars of the day made the work begin with different chapters (i. 1. 52), and as this chapter at the same time alludes to the commentators :

vividhaṁ saṁhitājñānaṁ dīpayanti maṇiṣiṇaḥ,

etc. (vs. 53), it is evident that the Itihāsa or Purāṇa (the epic calls itself by both names) to a certain extent recognizes its own gradual construction and that it has been at a pretty late period embellished with the final addition of a preface; not the last of its kind, however, for in the following chapters is given a new and later summary which mentions the Harivaṇça. This sum-

¹ The passage has, I think, been generally misunderstood. In i. 1. 81 it is said of the original epic: "eight thousand eight hundred verses know I; and Çuka knows (as many); and Sañjaya knows (as many) or (perhaps he does) not (know so many)." This is nothing more than the epic of twenty-four thousand referred to above. Weber, von Schroeder, Holtzmann, and others, take it to mean that there was an original epic of 8800 verses (Lit.², p. 204; Lit. u. Cult., p. 462; Mahābhārata, vol. II, p. 6). But there are only two versions, one short and one long: *vistṛyāi 'tan mahaj jñānam ṛṣiḥ saṁkṣipya cā' bravāt* (i. 1. 51). The short epic is, to be exact, $3 \times 8000 + 3 \times 800$, or (in contrast to the long epic of 100,000) 24,000 verses.

mary is immediately repeated again at greater length.¹ The secondary character of the longer analysis in the prior division is proved, if proof were needed, by the statement that some scholars do not recognize as genuine the portion before Āstika (parv. 13). As a matter of fact, the original epic began with the present second book, but some parts of the first book are probably earlier than the epic itself. These are distinct tales which now preface the great story.

In the article referred to above I showed that whereas the late thirteenth book reverses the proportion of forms quotable from Manu in the early books, the twelfth book occupied a middle position. The whole character of Çānti supports this inference to be drawn from this fact. It stands in time before Anuçāsana, but later than the mass that precedes it in position. Nor is the text without evidence on this point.

Many of the varied readings in the epic are significant, not accidental. Some additions are to honor the Pāṇḍavas; some omissions are also in their honor. Of this point I have spoken long ago, and think it needs no new illustrations. Some changes have been made, however, for minor reasons, to back up a previous alteration, to gloss over an innovation, to praise a hero, to inculcate a general moral, to change the metre, to add to the pathos of the scene. To one of these changes I invite the reader's especial attention.

The machinery by which the twelfth book is attached to the Mahābhārata is the suspension of Bhīṣma's death for a period long enough for him to utter the 'sacred law' of this book (and the next). With the prior death of Bhīṣma the sermon of Bhīṣma becomes dramatically impossible. In one passage, vii. 198. 42, the statement that Bhīṣma was slain (before he uttered 'the law') has been allowed to stand, partly because the weight of the verse was laid on the sinfulness of the act of smiting the venerable man, and partly because the environment was not such as to determine absolutely that *hato Bhīṣmaḥ* meant 'killed,' though it really can have no other meaning here. There are other cases too where Bhīṣma is thus spoken of as *hata* 'felled,' but most of them admit the same doubt that 'felled' might be not killed, but knocked over, though the epic usage is against

¹ For the Anukramaṇīparva or Anukramaṇīkādhyaḥ, see i. 1. 265 ff. The shorter description follows in 2. 30 ff.; after which comes the long Parvasaṅgraha.

such an interpretation. But where it is impossible to escape the conclusion that the words of the text meant that Bhīṣma was killed (before the Çānti was uttered), there the text has been altered. This effort is so apparent that, conversely, one not only may but must draw the inference that the twelfth book was not existent as a part of the epic; for, as it is inconceivable that the reading should have been altered so as to make Bhīṣma die first, the only possible explanation is that the text which so depicts the event was the prior one.¹

The first of these concealments is the verse omitted in C. after vii. 5648a (= 137. 34b):

*agādhābuddhir gāṅgeyaḥ kṣitāu suraguroḥ samah
tyājitaḥ samare prāṇāns tasmād yuddham hi niṣṭhuraṁ*

This is a straightforward statement to the effect that the twelfth book was not uttered and never could have been uttered by Bhīṣma. Hence it is omitted in the Bengal text (with which the C. edition coincides for the most part, judging from N.'s references to the varied readings²), but is, fortunately, preserved in B.

Not less instructive is the second instance. After vii. 6513a (= 150. 20a) C. omits:

*çayānaṁ nā 'çakam trātuṁ bhīṣmam āyodhane hatam
taṁ mām anāryaṣṭruṣaṁ mītradrūham adhārmikam*

As the preceding verses have varied readings, I give each as it stands.

¹ Whether the Çānti did exist as a separate work is another question, that lies apart from Dahlmann's theory. So in Java the Çānti as a book of *dharma* exists, but not as part of the Java epic.

² As an example, N. says of the 'GGGG' passage in B. vi. 43. 1-5: "These five and a half verses are not recognized by the Gāuḍas," and they are lacking in C. They will serve, perhaps, as an example of one of the ways in which the epic grew: *Gītāsu gītā kartavyā, kim anyāiḥ çāstrasāṅgrahāiḥ, Yā svayaṁ padmanābhasya mukhapadmād viniṣṭā. Sarvaçāstramayī gītā, sarvadevamayo hariḥ, Sarvatīrthamayī gaṅgā, sarvavedamayo manuḥ. Gītā gaṅgā ca gāyatri govinde 'ti hṛdī sthite, Caturgākārasaṁyukte, punar janma na vidyate. Śatçatāni saviñçāni çlokānām prāha keçavaḥ, Arjunaḥ saptapañcācat, saptaçatīm tu sañ-jayaḥ, Dhṛtarāṣṭraḥ çlokaṁ ekaṁ, gītāyā mānam ucyate, Bhāratāmṛta-sarvasva-gītāyā mathitasya ca Sāram uddhṛtya kṛṣṇena arjunasya mukhe hutam.* The fragment is quite Puranic, even to the phraseology. On the greater number of later added passages N. has no note at all.

C: *katham patitavṛttasya pṛthivī suhṛdām druhaḥ
vivaraṁ nā 'ṣakad dātum pṛthivī mama durmateḥ
yo 'yaṁ rudhiraśaktākṣo rājñām madhye pītāmahaḥ
kiṁ pravakṣyati durdharṣaḥ sametya paralokajit*

B: *katham patitavṛttasya pṛthivī suhṛdām druhaḥ
vivaraṁ nā 'ṣakad dātum mama pāṛthivasaiṁsadi
yo 'ham rudhiraśiktāṅgaṁ rājñām madhye pītāmahaḥ
ṣayānaṁ nā 'ṣakaṁ trātuṁ bhīsmam āyodhane hatam
taṁ mām anāryapuruṣaṁ mitradruham adhārmikam
kiṁ vakṣyati hi durdharṣaḥ sametya paralokajit*

Here there can be no doubt that the miserable, ignoble man, "unable to save Bhīṣma, who was killed when lying on the field of battle," really means, in speaking of the occurrence, to say that Bhīṣma was killed before his eyes, in the scene which now begins, vi. 119. 87: *prākṣīrāḥ prāpatad rathāt* (just before the following hocuspocus: *dhārayāmāsa ca prāṇān*). For in the next verse, vii. 150. 22, a companion piece to this, *hata* is used of another hero slain beyond peradventure. This again is followed by another verse where *nihata* has the same meaning and exchanges with *hata* in *hatāḥ śūrāḥ*. We have a long list of great heroes who have been slain in battle for the prince, and the latter says that he will offer them the usual rites: *teṣāṁ gatvā 'ham ānṛṇyam adya . . . tarpayīṣyāmi tān eva jalena yamunām anu* (vs. 25). The statement is clear and simple: All of these heroes, Bhīṣma and the others, have died for me, I will therefore perform pacificatory rites for them, especially in the case of Bhīṣma, from whom I fear reproaches when I meet him in the next world, for he has gained heaven, *paralokajit*. So Droṇa says in reply: *Ṣikhaṇḍy avadhīd Bhīṣmam . . . avadhyāṁ nihataṁ dṛṣtvā saṁyuge*, 151. 7; *yatrā 'paçyaṁ hatam Bhīṣmaṁ paçyatas te*, 31.¹

¹ Compare vi. 120. 20 ff., *hata* of Bhīṣma; 120. 3, *adyāham pītaraṁ śrutvā nihataṁ*; 4, *śrutvā vinihataṁ Bhīṣmam*; 6, *na mṛṣyāmi hataṁ raṇe*; 7, *hato drūpadeyena*; 119. 114, *avadhye hata bhīṣme*. That *hata* means slain in the ordinary usage of the epic may clearly be seen at vii. 166. 33, where, when a hero is wounded and faints, the foes *hatam sma menire sarve* 'all thought him dead'; ib. 59, *tato bhīmo hatam matvā tava putram* 'thinking him dead.' Compare also the famous *açvatthāmā hata iti*, vii. 190. 16; and vii. 178. 31-40, where *hata*, *nihata* and *vinihata* are successively used as synonyms to describe the condition of a decapitated creature, dead beyond doubt. So vii. 179. 61, where *hata* is *gatāsu* 'expired,' in 62, and *nihata* in 63; vii. 172. 3, etc.

The many references to Bhīṣma 'felled' and this attempt to suppress the fact of death, when most clearly stated, hang together. The original version stated frankly that Bhīṣma was killed, and the implication is as strong as one could wish that, in the absence of the narrator, there was no such epic narrative as now piles up the agony of preaching in Çānti.

From historical evidence based on the condition of the texts in Java, and on the statements of the text itself as shown above, the conclusion that the present epic was not thrown out as one work is irresistible. There is no argument from realien, compared with other realien in texts of doubtful age, to combat this conclusion. The epic consisted first of the epic: Sabhā, Āraṇya, Udyoga, Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Karṇa, Çalya, Strī, Sāuptika, Açvamedha, Āçrama, Māusala. After this were added the Ādi preface, Virāṭa, and Çānti. After these (after the first analysis) were added Anuçāsana, then Prasthāna, Svarga, the Harivaṇça (mentioned in Ādi and Svarga), and Ādi tales and latest tables.

But there is still much that can be deducted, now included in the earlier books, for when I say that Droṇa existed in the first version, I mean a Droṇa, not the Droṇa of to-day. Few scholars will venture to deny that passages have been added, that the vain repetitions of the battle-scenes were not all there at first. But because it is difficult to say just what portions are late in every instance, I see no reason to sneer at the general critical attitude of those who would make distinctions between late and early. The question of exact dates is of no moment. Whether the Mahābhārata was completed in its present form in the centuries preceding or following our era is a secondary question, and 'early' and 'late' are of course only relative terms. For the history of the text, the interrelation of the parts is the one important problem. The fact that the most vicious masses of didactic fungus are really fungus and not the radical part of the tree is of more value than the date of the planting of the tree.

In this chief concern the varied readings help us considerably. The reference to the Purāṇas shows how late an addition may be. The interpolated exploit of an otherwise unknown hero shows us how the epic probably was expanded in cases no longer so easily controlled. As specimens of this form of critique, which, with all respect for Dahlmann's ingenious work, I cannot but feel should precede such theories as he has put forth, I give herewith a few notable passages of the epic.

Late texts have few variations. So the Çiva episode in vii. 80 ff. is smoothly uniform. So too the short final books, xvi, xvii, xviii, show little variation not only in our editions, but in the MSS inspected by Burnell, who says also that the episodes agree very closely in the MSS. In accordance with this statement stands the fact that the printed editions show least variation, per mass, in the episodic third book, and that of all the books, with the exception of the final short books, the twelfth and thirteenth agree most perfectly. In these two, which are of the greatest importance, there is not a single variation to compare with those in the long battle-books. In the latter the two texts sometimes differ in extent by passages of a dozen or more verses; in the former there is only the occasional omission in one text of a half verse, or at most one verse, found in the other. So, too, in the fourth book the variations are few, of no length, and unimportant.

Very instructive, on account of the different character of the different parts, is the first book. Here every important omission or addition is directly connected with the history of the heroes. The many portions which lie apart from the heroes are quite smooth and show little variation. But the passages where occur important variations are: 1) four and a half verses, in the account of Bhīṣma's marriage; 2) in the account of the poisoning of the Pāṇḍavas; 3) in the account of Arjuna at Maṇipūr; 4) in the story of Agni burning Khāṇḍava at the place where Arjuna's assistance (as an incorporate divine seer) is narrated.

The second of these cases is as follows: B. omits i. 5066c and C. omits i. 129. 36-9, 43b, while 40-3a are placed at 5068-70. Thus the two versions are:

C. 5065 ff.:

*tato yudhiṣṭhiro rājā bhīmam āha vaco 'rthavat
tūṣṇīm bhava na te jalpam idam kāryam kathaṅcana
itaḥ prabhṛti kāunteyā rakṣatā 'nyonyam ādṛtāḥ
evam uktvā mahābāhur dharmarājo yudhiṣṭhirah
bhrātṛbhiḥ sahitaḥ sarvāir apramatto 'bhavat tadā
kumārān krīḍamānāns tān dṛṣṭvā rājā ca durmadān
evam duryodhanah karṇaḥ cakuniṣcā 'pi sāubalaḥ
anekāir abhyupāyāis tān jighāṁsanti sma pāṇḍavān
pāṇḍavā api tat sarvaṁ pratyajānann amarṣitāḥ
udbhāvanam akurvanto vidurasya mate sthitāḥ
guruṁ śikṣārtham anviṣya gāulame tām nyavedayat
ṣarastambe samudbhūtaṁ vedaçāstrārthapāragam*

B. omits the third line (*itaḥ*, etc.; also reading *jalpyam* in the second line), has the two following lines (*evam . . . tadā* = 35), transposes the next line, and after 35 inserts all that here follows :

*sārathīm cā 'sya dayitam apahastena jaghnivān
dharmātmā viduras teṣāṁ pārthānāṁ pradadāu matim
bhojane bhīmasenasya punaḥ prākṣepayad viṣam
kālakūṭam navam tīkṣṇam sambhṛtaṁ lomaharṣaṇam
vāiṣyāputras tadā 'caṣṭa pārthānāṁ hitakāmyayā
tac cā 'pi bhuktvā 'jarayad avikāraṁ vṛkodaraḥ
vikāraṁ na hy ajanayat sulīkṣṇam api tad viṣam
bhīmasaṅghanane bhīme ajīryata vṛkodare
evam duryodhanaḥ karṇaḥ . . . vidurasya mate sthitāḥ
kumārān kṛṣṇamānāḥ tān dr̥ṣṭvā rājā 'tidurmadān
guruṁ cikṣārtham anviṣya gāulamāṁ tān nyavedayat
ṣarastambe, etc.*

The first attempt to poison Bhīma is told in 128. 45 ff. This second attempt is not commented upon by N. All the verses describing the act are omitted in C. Both are very faulty texts. The unintelligible first line in B., *sārathīm cā 'sya*, etc., appears to have dropped into this passage from iii. 12. 85 = 545. In the latter passage, however, only one poisoning is referred to and that immediately before Bhīma is flung into the river, whence Bhīma rose and *sarvān sarpān apothayat sārathīm ca*, etc. (compare i. 128. 59: *pothayāmāsa tān sarvān [sarpān]*, etc.). In this retrospect from the third book the verses alluding to the one and only attempt are *yo (duryodhanaḥ) bhojane bhīmasenasya pāpaḥ prākṣepayad viṣam kālakūṭam* (etc., to) *lomaharṣaṇam taj jirṇam avikāreṇa sahānnena janārdana*, after which follows the attempt to drown (iii. 12. 80 ff.).

I cite this as an interesting example both of the way in which the epic was added to and of the plastic style and loose connection in epic verses. It is perfectly clear that the second poison scene in i. 129 is made out of the first (i. 128) combined with recollections of the account given in retrospect in iii. 12, with the deliberate substitution to this end of *punaḥ* for *pāpaḥ* (after *pāpaḥ* in i. 128. 45: *tato duryodhanaḥ pāpas tad bhāikṣye kālakūṭakam Viṣam prākṣepayām āsa*).

The scene with Citrāṅgadā is too long to cite, but may be indicated by the fact that B. adds ten verses on Arjuna's son (as a putrika's *ṣulka*) and his wife's coming to visit him. B. i. 217.

24b¹ = C. i. 7884b¹ and B. 34b² = C. 7884b². B. adds 24b²-34b¹ and 35.

There is nothing in the portions of Ādi not connected with the Pāṇḍavas, nothing in Vana, long as it is, nothing in any book after the battle-books to compare with these variations. In the battle-books, however, the variations are even more violent. Here some of the scenes are quite unrecognizable in their alternate form. It must be of these books that Burnell says, speaking of the "longer books," that "they differ to as great an extent as the two chief recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa," for, as I remarked above, Čānti has no extensive variations.

In Bhīṣma, where the fighting begins, there is one long passage (parv. 47-9) where two verses of C. (1850 ff.) make ten and a half verses in B. (47. 43 ff.), in honor of an otherwise inconspicuous hero. This passage is followed by a 'tumult' scene, full of varied readings and having six added verses in B. This is followed again by some new verses in honor of the same new hero; then, after several varied readings, in the next chapter B. has six more added verses, and the whole passage is so bad even in one text that (at 47. 43) even the native commentator says that it is "clearly interpolated" (*prakṣipta iti bhāti*). This introduction of unknown or unimportant heroes is by no means uncommon, as in B. vi. 79. 22-3 (omitted in C. after 3470).

In the battle-books old and new are preserved together. The reason for omission and expansion is often only to honor a hero or remove a crime. Thus viii. 9. 50b-52a, where Arjuna is charged with avoiding Karna in battle, is quietly omitted in C. (after 300a); and after vii. 1296 (= 29. 43) appear in B. three and a half verses in which Kṛṣṇa advises Arjuna to shoot away Bhagadatta's band, which the old man tied up his eye-lids with (*unmilanārthāya baddhapatṭaḥ*), and so blind him that he might slay him. These C. omits.

I give a few examples of these variants.

C. omits vii. 70. 7-8 (after 2432):

*dantān bhaṅktvā sahasrasya karṇān nāsā nyakṛntata
tataḥ saptasahasrāṇām kaṭudhūpam apāyayat
ṣiṣṭān baddhvā ca hatvā vāi teṣāṃ mūrdhni vibhidya ca
guṇāvatiṃ (sic) uttareṇa khāṇḍavād dakṣiṇena ca
giryante śatasāhasrā hāihayāḥ samare hatāḥ*

Just as B. vii. 61. 4-5, 6b-7 are added in glory of Dilipa and vii.

63. 4 is added in glory of Nāhuṣa, so here in the tale of Rāma five half verses are put in to magnify the horror of his greatness by an additional account of atrocities committed by him. C. reads in the hemistich preceding: *udbandhanāt sahasraṁ tu hāihayāḥ samare hatāḥ* 'a thousand Haihayas were slain by hanging.' The account is then expanded, though previously in both versions stands a list of general slaughtering; to which list B. adds the details given above, takes the last words of the original and tacks them on at the end, changing the words just preceding to *udbandhanāt sahasraṁ ca sahasraṁ udake dhṛtam*. The late character of this Rāma tale (one of the sixteen tales of old kings found again in Čānti) is shown by the mention in vs. 15 of the *eighteen* islands (*sarvān aṣṭādaśa dvīpān vaṣam āniya*).

Another geographical statement is made in B. iii. 254. 7a (after C. 15242b):

Nepāla-viṣaye ye ca rājānas tān avājayat

C. omits and N. is silent. It would be interesting to know whether this allusion to the 'kings of Nepal' is included in the epic of 500 B. C. But it is a very palpable interpolation, for just before it Karna "ascended the great mountain (Čāila) Himavat, and conquered the Hāimavatikas," or inhabitants of the Čāila, and just after it he "descended from the Čāila (which must be the same Himālayas) and struck into the eastern district of Bengal" (Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Čuṇḍikas, Mithilas, Māga-dhas, Karkakhaṇḍas).¹

A typical case of slight expansion in the case of the Paṇḍavas occurs in B. i. 155. 41-4 (after 6081). N. comments on all the verses 37-40 preceding and 45-6 following, where the chapter ends; but he says nothing of this passage, which is not a necessary part of the text. Its omission in C. is noteworthy because of the allusion to Rāvaṇa, Indrajit, and Hanuman:

*ghaṭotkaco mahākāyaḥ pāṇḍavān pṛthayā saha
abhivādyā yathānyāyam abravīc ca prabhāṣyatām
kiṁ karomy aham āryānāṁ niḥṣaṅkaṁ vadatā 'naghāḥ
tān bruvaūtaṁ bhāimaseniṁ kuntī vacanam abravīt
tvāṁ kurūṇāṁ kule jātaḥ sāḁṣād bhīmasamo hy asi
jyeṣṭhaḥ putro 'si pañcānāṁ sāvāyāṁ kuru putraka*

¹ For Čuṇḍikā C. reads Maṇḍikān. Both texts have *niveṣya viṣaye 'tmanaḥ*. There are too many such cases, where *ā* is elided after *z*, to admit that Vedic *īman* is here intended.

*pr̥thayā 'py evam uktas tu praṇamyāi 'va vaco 'bravīt
yathā hi rāvaṇo loka indrajic ca mahābalaḥ
varṣmavīryasamo loka viṣiṣṭaḥ cā 'bhavan nṛṣu*

[45: *kṛtyakāla upasthāsye pītṛn iti ghaṭotkacaḥ
āmantrīya rakṣasāṁ śreṣṭhaḥ pratasthe co'ttarāṁ diṣam]*

One of the most curious expansions I have referred to above. It occurs in B. i. 224. 3b-7a, between the two half-verses of C. 8159, which latter reads :

*upāyaḥ paridṛṣṭo me yathā tvam dhakṣyase 'nagha
khāṇḍavaṁ dāvam adyāiva miṣato 'sya śacīpateḥ*

The situation is this : Agni has the stomach-ache and wants to be cured at once. The original gives him instant (*adyāiva*) relief. The clumsy insertion makes him wait a long time for the birth of the divine sages as Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa :

*[upāyaḥ paridṛṣṭo me yathā tvam dhakṣyase 'nagha]
kālaṁ ca kaṁcit kṣamatāṁ tatas tvam vakṣyate 'nala
bhaviṣyataḥ sahāyāu te naranārāyaṇāu tadā
tābhyāṁ tvam sahito dāvaṁ dhakṣyase havyavāhana
evam astu iti taṁ vahnir brahmāṇaṁ pratyabhāṣata
saṁbhūlāu tāu viditvā tu naranārāyaṇāu ṛṣi
kālasya mahato rājaṅs tasya vākyaṁ svayaṁbhuvāḥ
anusmṛtya jagāmā'tha punar eva pītāmahaṁ
abravīt ca tadā brahmā yathā tvam dhakṣyase 'nala
[khāṇḍavaṁ dāvam adyāiva, etc.]*

The interpolation is not commented upon by N. As the identity of the heroes with the seers is anyway admitted in what follows at once in both texts (B., vs. 8), the object of the expansion is apparently to lead up to this identity, and at the same time to correlate the story with the statement in 223. 16, that this is an "ancient tale" which had to be brought up to date by delaying the action.

Additions in honor of Kṛṣṇa begin in the fifth book. Thus, after 1877 C. omits (and N. ignores) B. v. 48. 70 :

*ayudhyamāno manasā 'pi yasya jayaṁ kṛṣṇaḥ puruṣasyā
'bhinandet
evaṁ sarvān sa vyatīyād amitṛān se'ndrān devān mānuṣe
nā 'sti cintā*

So C. after 4415a omits (and N. ignores) B. v. 130. 51 :

*ayaṁ kartā na kriyate kāraṇaṁ cā 'pi pāuruṣe
yad yad icched ayaṁ cāuris tat tat kuryād ayaṁnataḥ*

These 'omissions' are additions in B. *in majorem gloriam* Kṛṣṇasya.¹

Sometimes a poetical extravagance is adorned and amplified, as when the weapon cast at him becomes a wreath on Kṛṣṇa's head. C. is content with this simple statement :

vāijayanty abhavan mālā tad astrāṁ keçavo 'rasi

made in vii. (29. 19a =) 1274; but B. adds, 19b-21a :

*padmakocavicitrādhyā sarvatrakusumotkaṣā
jvalanārkenduvarṇābhā pāvakojjvalapallavā
layā padmapalācīnyā vālakampitapatrayā
cuçubhe 'bhyadhikaṁ cāurir atasipuspasannibhaḥ*

This is worthy of the style and vocabulary of the Purāṇas, or perhaps of the Rāmāyaṇa, as is, in fact, the whole corrupt scene with its many omissions in C. This book has any number of these amplifications. Another in vii. 73. 38-44 (extension of a curse) omitted in C. furnishes in *āsyamāithunika* (vs. 43) and *gopāneṣu ca vighnadāḥ* (vs. 42) new compounds. Pathetic embellishments are also noteworthy. In vii. 78. 16 (after 2746) omitted in C. is found the following verse: *ehy ehi tṛṣito vatsa stanāu pūrṇāu pibā 'çu me Aṅkam āruhya mandāyā hy atrptāyāçca darçane*, addressed to a dead man by his mother, but ridiculous on account of his age. A good example of extension in honor of the Pāṇḍavas is given by vii. 139. 19b-23a, after 5714a, where Bhīma dissects Karna's bows, after "he cut to pieces another bow" follows: "and a third . . . and a fourth," etc., up to eighteen !

In honor of Yudhiṣṭhira a long passage (not commented upon) after vii. 6630a is inserted in B. 153. 26b-34a (with repetitions from previous scenes). In the verses immediately following, C. 6634 = B. 37c, 38, 39a, or is just doubled in length (also unnoticed by N.).

Even Ghaṭotkaca's deeds are embellished with Rāmāyaṇa additions. In describing his weapon C. is content to say that it

¹ It is probably for the same reason that C. really omits (after 3333b) B. vi. 76. 22b-23, where the Devās and not Kṛṣṇa get the glory of defeating the Kurus.

was an "aṣaṇi, Rudra-wrought, eight-wheeled, very terrible";¹ to which B. adds (vii. 175. 97):

*dviyojanasamutsedhāṁ yojanāyāmvistarām
āyaśm nicitāṁ ṣūlāṁ kadambam iva keṣarāṁ*

both texts adding *viveṣa vasudhāṁ bhilvā surās tatra visismiyuh*. Compare Rāmāyaṇa B. i. 39. 18-23: *yojanāyāmvistārām . . . dharaṇītalām bibhiduḥ . . . tato devāḥ . . . sambhṛāntamanasaḥ sarve*.

Amplification in honor of Śiva will be found in B. vii. 202. 166-17a, 27a (after 9509a and 9519a) and in B. ib. 135 (after 9626). The last verse—

*bhūtaṁ bhavyaṁ bhaviṣyaṁ ca sarvaṁ jagad aṣeṣataḥ
bhava eva tato yasmād bhūtabhavyabhavodbhavaḥ*

is also omitted in N., together with 136-8. It seems to be a more modern form of vii. 201. 77.

The longest variant in the seventh book is in a Kṛṣṇa hymn, parv. 149 (where 5a = 6455). C. omits 5b-6 after 6455a; B. omits 6457a, and here (after 6456) C. omits 8b-9a, also 11-14 (after 6458); B. omits 6459-63a; C. omits 26-43 (after 6473); and B.'s 15-25 appear after 6474a. To the long interpolation, 26-43, N. gives no note at all, though profuse in explaining the verses preceding. From the omission in C. and N.'s silence on so important a passage of eighteen verses it is clear that the interpolation has been made since N.'s day. I give only a few lines of it, as it is too long to quote:

*mārkaṇḍeyaḥ purāṇarṣiḥ caritajñas taṁ 'nagha
māhātmyam anubhāvaṁ ca purā kīrtitavān munīḥ
asito devalaṣṭcāi 'va nāradaṣṭca mahātāpāḥ
pīlāmahaṣṭca me vyāsas tvām āhur vidhiṁ uttamam
... api devā na jānanti guhyam ādyam jagatpatim
... jñānāyonīṁ hariṁ viṣṇuṁ mumukṣuṇāṁ parāyaṇam
... bhavatā tapaso 'greṇa dharmeṇa parameṇa ca
sādhutvād ārjavāc cāi 'va hataḥ pāpo jayadrathaḥ
ayaṁ ca puruṣavyāghra tvadanudhyānasaṁvṛtaḥ
hatvā yodhasahasrāṇi nyahan jiṣṇur jayadratham*

¹vii. 175. 96b = 7986a: *aṣṭacakrāṁ mahāghorāṁ aṣaṇīṁ rudranirmīṭāṁ*. Even this is repeated from 156. 157 with the v.l. *aṣṭaghāutām . . . devanirmīṭāṁ*. I have elsewhere spoken of interpolations in honor of Arjuna, Proc. Am. Or. Soc. 1888, p. v. There are several of them.

The most important omission in the seventh book is that of the half-verse 253a (after 8. 29), which B. expunges:

sa tu kṛtvā mahat karma droṇaḥ parabalārdanaḥ

The *ślokas* describing Droṇa's great act stop six verses before this. These are followed by six *triṣṭubh* verses which expand this act into others. Then the narration quietly proceeds in *ślokas*. The half-verse cited above stands just before the new beginning of *ślokas*. It is now otiose, as it has been incorporated into one of the *triṣṭubhs*: *etāni cā 'nyāni ca kāuravendra karmāṇi kṛtvā samare mahātmā pralāpya lokān iva kālasūryo droṇo gataḥ svargam ito hi rājan*. The (new) *triṣṭubh* passage simply expands and adds to the preceding, changing one great act to many and prefacing the additions made in the seventh book with an (interpolated) résumé of what Droṇa did between his rout of the Pāṇḍavas and his death. B. very properly omits the half-verse in its present position, but its retention in C. is a plain indication of the fact that originally this one-half verse alone took the place of all the *triṣṭubh* verses now standing before it. Incidentally the passage shows that verses in *triṣṭubh* measure are by no means an indication of antiquity. They are often employed for pathetic effect, as they are here in preference to the slash of the *śloka*.

The same is true of the *jagati*. Both are used occasionally to round off a scene at the end of a chapter, where interpolation is easiest. Thus, after the interpolation above in parv. 8 there is no break in the *ślokas* for nearly a thousand verses, till the end of parv. 26. Just before vs. 64 of this chapter it is related that Bhagadatta on his elephant smote the Pāṇḍavas "as a cowherd in the forest smites his cattle with his staff. Then arose among the Pandus, as they fled in haste before him, noise of fear as when an eagle quickly swoops upon a covey." To this is added (closing the chapter) in *jagati* verse: "That lordly beast, a wingéd hill, appearing then among the foe, struck such a fear as traders feel at sight of ocean stirred and raging high around" (etc., for three verses more). Then the *ślokas* begin again and continue for a little more than one hundred verses, when at the very end of parv. 29 the great warrior is killed, and the words describing his pitiable fall appear in two *jagatis*. Again, at the close of the next chapter, after the words: "Never twice shot he shaft at charger or man, for once was enough; one shaft and each fell,

and died of that wound," follow the languorous *jagatis* describing how awful the field of battle looked with heaps of slain, and how even fathers abandoned their sons in fear of the hero. So the ghastly description of parv. 50 can be given only in *tristubhs*, which begin with the third verse and continue to the end—a list of horrors.

Inversion, varied readings, and the omission of one half-verse characterize the interesting passage vii. 163. 29b–31 (the omitted half-verse, 31a, being after 7309a). I give the passage first according to B. and then according to C.

B. 29b–31.

*madhye tathānye jvalitāgniastā vyadīpayan pāṇḍusutasya
senām*

*madhye tathā'nye jvalitāgniastāḥ senādvaye 'pi sma narā
viceruḥ*

*sarveṣu sāinyeṣu padātisaṅghā vimiçrītā hastirathāḥva-
vṛndāiḥ*

vs. 31 : *vyadīpayas te dvajinīm pradiptāḥ tathā balaṁ pāṇḍaveyā-
bhigupṭam*

*tena pradiptena tathā pradiptaṁ balaṁ tavāsīd balavad
balena*

C. 7308b–7310a.

*madhye tathā'nye jvalitapradīpāḥ senādvaye 'pi sma tadā
babhūvuḥ*

*sarveṣu sāinyeṣu padātisaṅghāḥ sammicrītā hastirathāḥva-
vṛndāiḥ*

*madhye tathā'nye jvalitāgniastā vyadīpayan pāṇḍusutasya
senām*

*tāis tu pradiptāis tu tathā pradiptaṁ balaṁ yathā 'sīd
balavad balena*

The normal measure for the whole selection (from after vs. 10 = 7289 through to 37 = 7316, the end of the chapter) is — ∪ ∪ — after the first four syllables, whether the caesura begins there or not, and the changes elsewhere in the chapter in verses 11, 12, 17 and 27 have apparently a metrical reason: in 11, C.'s *pārçvataḥ sāubalaçca* over against B.'s *çṛtavarmā sāubalaçca*; in the same verse again, C.'s *abhyadikam n°* against B.'s *gopayan vāi*; in vs. 12, C.'s *pārthivān sântva°* against B.'s *pārthiva sântva°*; in vs.

17, B.'s *pāṇḍavāiḥ kâu°* against C.'s *pāṇḍava kâu°*; in vs. 27, B.'s *te 'pi cakruḥ pra°* against C.'s *te 'pi ca cakr°*. One MS, according to Roy, in vs. 17 reads *kāuravayodhavargāiḥ* instead of *pāṇḍavāiḥ kāuraveyāiḥ* of B., or *pāṇḍavakāuraveyāiḥ* in C., which makes both metre and sense conform to the rest (as the Pāṇḍavas do not really light their lamps till vs. 27). Four examples in the whole list of one hundred fail to conform to the scheme — ∪ ∪ — in either text: *bhāskarasyā°* in 26 = 7305; *prthivīm ant°¹* in 32 = 7311; *divyakalpam* in 35 = 7313; *pāṇḍavān vipr°* in 37 = 7316. Since these have been allowed to remain it would perhaps be too much to suppose that the half-verse 31a has been omitted on account of the intractable *pāṇḍaveyā°*, though it would not be impossible. There seems, however, in this section to be at work a uniforming rhetoric tendency which may have to be reckoned with in solving the question of final redaction.

But I have already said enough to show that the Mahābhārata cannot be regarded as having originally existed in its present form. Any one who holds this view would have to explain by what accident the seemingly latest books are those which the text itself inferentially repudiates; and by what accident so many omissions and additions are full of significance. To one that takes the historical view that the epic has grown, that, as Greek and native testimony show in combination, there was once a real but small epic, all the facts presented by the text are intelligible.

Against this Dahlmann urges the antiquity of the great didactic parts. But this does not prove them (even if their antiquity be admitted) to have been original parts of the epic. Nor does the mass of his detailed arguments prove any more for the Mahābhārata than the same detailed arguments would prove when applied to the Harivaṅṣa or to some of the Purāṇas. The Çānti and Anuçāsana cannot be shown to belong to the fifth century B. C. on the strength of likeness with customs of that century, for we have no literature so sure of date as to prove the point; and what exterior evidence we possess does not substantiate Dahlmann's view. He speaks of the grand palaces described in

¹ This is a common form (but not constant) in the hymn at vii. 201. 77: *bhūtaṁ bhavyaṁ bhavitā cāpyadhṛṣyam* (C. *cāpradhṛṣyam*), *tvat satvābhūtā bhuvamāṇika viçvā, bhaktatṛṇ ca mātṛ bhajamānātṛ bhajasva, mā rtriṣo mām ahitāhitena* (C. *mamāhitā*). *ātmānātṛ tvām ātmano navyabodhatṛ* ('*nanyabhāvam*'), *vidvān evaṁ gacchati brahmaçukram*; *astāuṣātṛ tvātṛ tavasatṛmānam icchan vicinvan vai sadṛçātṛ devavarya, sudurlabhān dehi varān mameçān abhiçṛutāḥ pravikārṣiça māyām*. On the Vedic forms see J. A. O. S. XVII, p. 25.

parts of the epic (the account of heavenly palaces obtruded into the Sabhā, the didactic descriptions of the same in Çānti, the embellished accounts elsewhere in epic or Rāmāyaṇa art-poetry); and says: "Look at the remains from Mathurā, read the Jātakas. Do not these prove a high antiquity for native (epic) architecture?" No. For the Jātakas allude chiefly to wooden architecture, and Mathurā stone-work is Hellenized, nor is it referable to so early a period. Then, on the other hand, I think of the first Greek report that all the Hindu houses are made of wood, mud, or brick; and wonder whether the magnificent buildings described in the Mahābhārata escaped the stranger's notice or whether they did not then exist: withal two centuries after Dahlmann's date.

But I promised to say only a few words. And, after all, one sufficient argument against Dahlmann is that there is epic power and epic beauty in the Mahābhārata. I do not see how any one can read it through and not recognize that the savage strength and poetic aroma of certain scenes never could have been pedagogic accessories of a moral. Even Dahlmann, however, admits that "old tales" formed the background of his monster manual. But to say just when the old tale of the epic proper was so altered as to make it chiefly didactic is impossible. Dahlmann thinks it was an ictic conversion, but against this view stand both the *a priori* improbability of any one man performing a series of tasks so incongruous, and the evidence of the extant text.

As regards the place and time of the final redaction, it may be said in general that as the epic part of the Mahābhārata deals with the Holy Land, so the early epic account shows familiarity with the customs of the adjacent Puṣṭjab, while the didactic portion, as, for instance, in Çānti, shows no familiarity with the Holy Land, and all its numerous tales, with scarcely an exception, are laid in Kosala and Videha and on the banks of the lower Ganges. Thus in parv. 18, the discourse of the king of Videha and his Kosala wife; in 28, that of Açman and the Videha king; in 82, another Kosala tale; in 99, a Mithilā tale; in 104, a Kosala tale; in 122, an Aṅga tale; in 153, a Nāimiṣa tale; in 277, a Videha tale; in 354, a tale of a town south of the Ganges; in 356, a tale of the Nāga town on the Gomati (in Nāimiṣa), etc. To offset these there is only a discourse referred to Çatruṅjaya (Sāuvira) in 140; Kāmpilya, Pāñcāla, in 139; and the story of a

brāhmaṇo madhyadeśīyaḥ, who had an adventure "among the Mlecchas in the north country," 168. 29. The Himavat furnishes a parable in 154, and Paippalādi (*sa Kāuṣīkikāḥ, himavatpāda-saṁśayaḥ*), in 199, may betray acquaintance with Kashmir Atharvanists. But the run of the tales would certainly suggest that the author of *Çānti* was more familiar with the east than with the west. I may add that the original *Dānadharma* seems to be extant in xii. 235, and that Vyāsa in xii. 350. 10 has completed the (whole) *Mahābhārata* and is resting after his labor. The *Mahābhārata-kṛt* is really Viṣṇu (xii. 347. 12; 350. 58).

The time of the final redaction may now be estimated within three or four centuries. It is certainly after the Hindus built well in stone and after the Greeks were familiar to them; when, too, the "temples of the gods" had been replaced by the *eḍukas* of the Buddhists, certainly not before the third century B. C. On the other hand, when it is remembered that our extant engraved deeds of land go back to the fourth century and that the *tāmra-paṭṭa* is mentioned as early as the second or third century A. D., it seems possible to set an earlier date for the terminus ad quem than has hitherto been attempted. Professor Bhandarkar has shown how early the *Mahābhārata* was cited, and Professor Bühler has drawn the conclusion that it must have been known as a *Smṛti* as early as 400, perhaps 300, A. D. Now, when one considers with what hysterical unscrupulousness the author of the Gift-law insists on the king's duty of giving land to priests, how he iterates the spiritual advantages, and tells the king just what he ought to give, and when and how he ought to give land, it seems highly improbable that, had the author been acquainted with the custom of securing such a gift by means of a written or engraved deed, he should have failed to mention it and describe it, if not as explicitly as *Bṛhaspati*, at least as curtly as *Yājñavalkya*. But there is not an intimation anywhere in the *Mahābhārata* that such a gift-deed was known, although writing is common and even rock-inscriptions are mentioned. Moreover, 'gifts of land' by no means imply a deeded *agrahāra*, as does a copper-plate deed, and, in fact, the *agrahāra* is mentioned very rarely, and in one of the cases it does not mean a land-grant, but a (first) gift of food (the older sense), while a *grāmāgrahāra* is mentioned but once.¹ As we may be quite sure from legal

¹ No *paṭa*, *paṭṭa*, *lekhyā*, or *śāsana* is mentioned in connection with any *agrahāra* or *bhūmidāna*.

testimony that the formal deed of land, written or engraved on cloth or copper, was known as early as 200 A. D., we are tolerably safe in assuming that the land-gift chapter of Anuṣāṣana, which as I have shown is a late part of the epic, is itself anterior to this date. It is, furthermore, interesting to notice that the verses in the inscriptions which are assigned to Vyāsa, to Manu, to 'old seers,' and to the Mahābhārata (but this last not before the end of the fifth century), are chiefly forgeries, to judge by our present text. That is to say, they are an enlargement and intensification of the verses in the epic, to fit them to the need of a land-grant. The inscriptions themselves show that the earlier quotations are after the manner of the older Manu-quotations; in other words, there was no received text. Almost every one of them is read in two or three different ways, and not one of them corresponds exactly to an epic verse. But the gist of them is given in

- xiii. 62. 74: *pūrvadattām haran bhūmiṁ narakāyo 'pagacchati*
 ib. 4: *na bhūmidānād astīha paraṁ kiñcid, Yudhiṣṭhira*
 ib. 78: *nā 'cchindyāt śparṣitām bhūmiṁ pareṇa (= dattām)*
 ib. 83: *loke mahīyate sadbhīr yo dadāti vasundharām*
 ib. 87: *modate ca sukham svarge*
 ib. 84. 41: *gāṣ ca bhūmiṁ ca vittam ca dattve 'ha bhṛgunandana*
pāpakṛt pūyate martya iti bhārgava śuṣṛuma
 xii. 33. 44: *paripāhi vasundharām* (Vyāsa to Yudhiṣṭhira)

The 'sixty thousand years' verse has quite a different application than that given in the inscriptions, xiii. 125. 78 and 106. 48; as has the *puriṣam bhuñjate* verse, xii. 26. 29. It is curious, too, that Sagara does not head the list of meritorious kings, as he does in the inscriptions, but stands far down and is famous as a giver not of land, but of a "golden palace," xii. 29. 130. The *bhūmida* is assured of release from all sin, but not in the words of the inscriptions, xiii. 62. 37, 59 ff. It is remarkable that in the list of hell-doomed sinners at xiii. 23. 60 ff. appears only a general 'thief'; nor do the winners of heaven include the giver of a village, the typical *bhūmida*, but only of a house and field. This passage shows how easily the word *Yudhiṣṭhira* is used to round off a couplet. In the last forty verses it occurs six times; but no such verse as

svadattām paradattām vā yatnād rakṣa yudhiṣṭhira

is found in the epic, though the inscriptions ascribe it, sometimes without the tag and sometimes with a different beginning, to 'an old seer,' to Vyāsa, and at last, scarcely before the sixth century, to the Mahābhārata.

As was to be expected, the later inscriptions citing the epic by name offer the closest parallels. Thus, they say

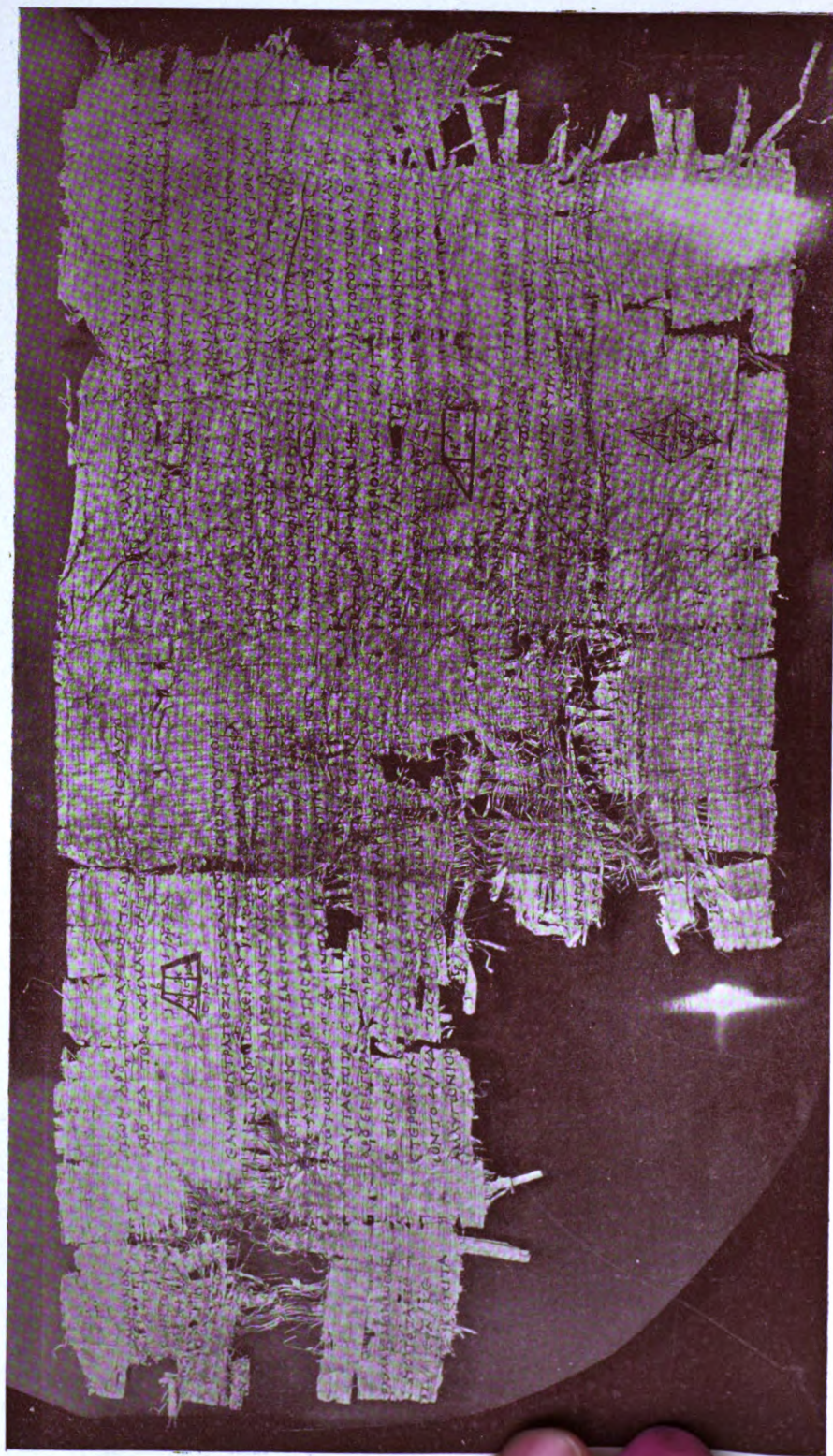
*prāyeṇa hi narendrāṇāṃ vidyate na śubhā gatih
pūyante te tu satataṃ prayacchanto vasundharām*

while the epic says :

xiii. 84. 2-3: *bhūyiṣṭhaṃca narendrāṇāṃ vidyate na śubhā gatih
pūyante tatra niyataṃ prayacchanto vasundharām*

The lower limit of the completed epic must be adjusted to the fact that the Ādi table and Svargārohaṇa both mention the Hari-vaṇṇa, and the Hari-vaṇṇa mentions the foreign denarius, which is not found in the epic proper, though the native *niṣka* is frequently mentioned as a coin. This, too, would appear to indicate that the epic was practically finished before the second century A. D.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.



THE AYER PAPYRUS.

Photographed by Allen, Field Columbian Museum.

II.—THE AYER PAPYRUS: A MATHEMATICAL FRAGMENT.

About three years ago, Mr. Ed. E. Ayer, of Chicago, observed a Greek papyrus of unusual aspect in a small shop in Cairo. The fragment was in clear uncial interspersed with geometrical figures; and its evident mathematical import so interested Mr. Ayer that he purchased it. After leaving it for a year in the Ghizeh Museum, Mr. Ayer brought it to Chicago, where it now lies in the Egyptian Room of the Field Columbian Museum, of the trustees of which Mr. Ayer is president. Mr. Ayer mentioned the papyrus to Dr. James Henry Breasted, of the University of Chicago, who brought it to my notice. It is thus through the kindness of Dr. Breasted that I am able to present this statement as to the fragment. The only precise information obtainable as to the place where the papyrus was found comes from Mr. Grenfell, of Oxford. Mr. Grenfell kindly writes me that he saw the fragment in Egypt some four years ago, in the hands of a dealer who said that he found it at Hawara, in the Fayum, near the pyramid; and as he was known to have been digging there, his story may have been true. This accords with what was said to Mr. Ayer, at the time the fragment was purchased.

For valuable suggestions and counsel in my work on the papyrus, I am under obligations to Professor Beman, of the University of Michigan; Professor Mahaffy, of Dublin, and Dr. Fr. Krebs, of Berlin. No one of these, however, is to be held responsible for any of the views presented in this article. Through the kindness of Professor Beman, I am able also to present suggestions from M. Tannery, the editor of Diophantus; Dr. Hultsch, of Dresden, the editor of Heron; and M. Heiberg, of Copenhagen. While these suggestions are based upon an examination of a provisional transcription of the first process only, they have proved of great value.

The fragment contains about thirty-five complete lines, with parts of perhaps half as many more. Originally it formed part of a papyrus roll, inscribed in clear uncials on one side only, the writing being in columns slightly longer than broad. Portions of

three columns remain. In shape the fragment is irregular, the first column being almost entirely gone, while the second lacks its closing lines, and the third is practically complete. The extreme dimensions of the papyrus are cm. 21.3 by 40.5. The third column, the only complete one, measures cm. 17.5 in height, including the figure of a rhomb at its foot, and 14.5 in breadth. Of column I there remain parts of the closing words of eleven lines. Column II preserves twenty-four lines, some of them much mutilated, with one figure, a trapezoid. Column III consists of twenty-one lines and two figures, a parallelogram and a rhomb. From what remains it can readily be seen that the three columns contained seven processes, of which the papyrus gives us inconsiderable fragments of the first, second and fifth, the two concluding lines and the figure of the third, the text but not the figure of the fourth, and both text and figures of the sixth and seventh. The geometrical figures illustrating the processes described are appended to the processes, and are covered with numerals indicative of the length of each side, part of a side, and perpendicular, and the area of each section. They are accompanied also by short sentences giving the final result of the calculation; as, e. g., $\gamma \text{ apov } \Sigma\Delta$, after Fig. 1. Occasional lacunae in the text of 4, 6 and 7 are readily filled from the context, or the parallels afforded by other portions, such restoration being facilitated by the uniformity of the language used. The letters are mm. 2 to 2.5 high and run 35 to 39 to the line. Iota does not appear as subscript; it is adscript in $\alpha\iota\tau\phi$, but is not written in the subjunctive $\delta\omicron\theta\eta$. Breathings, accents and punctuation are wanting, and the letters are seldom separated into words. Abbreviations and symbols play a prominent part in the processes.

In the absence of more positive information regarding the finding of the papyrus and the date of any commercial or official material that may have been found with it, it is hazardous to attempt to fix its date. That the work was a roll precludes a date later than the early fourth century for the manuscript; and the clear, free and unexaggerated literary uncials, devoid of points and accents, and rarely separated into words, seem to require a date not later than 200 A. D. Dr. Krebs favors the second century, or possibly the third. Professor Mahaffy inclines toward the latter part of the first; and Mr. Grenfell informs me that in the Oxyrhynchus collection there are several similar papyri dated in the reigns of Vespasian and Trajan. The early

second century would thus seem to be a conservative date for the fragment.

One or two things confirm the natural presumption that the fragment was a copy, and suggest that it was a somewhat careless one. Such peculiarities as the writing of *τραπέζην* for *τραπέζειον* or *τραπέζιον*, and of *ἀμβλυγώνιον* for *ἀμβλυγώνιον*, may be otherwise explained. But the writing of *ὀρογώνιον* for *ὀρθογώνιον*, col. III 12, and the unmistakable displacement of *ἡμισυ*, col. II 7—where we must read *λοιπὰ Ἰ ὧν τὸ ἡμισυ γίνεται Ε κτέ.*—are clearly scribal errors; and in examining the so-called parallelogram of col. III, one is struck with the fact that while the sides of the figure are 6, 13, 10, 15, the scribe has drawn a Euclidean parallelogram with opposite sides equal, and then, apparently oblivious of the incongruity, has given to its sides the values prescribed in his exemplar. Clearly the scribe was not a convert to that geometrical school which required of a parallelogram only that two sides of it be parallel. In the other figures the scribe has been equally careless. No particular effort seems to have been made to draw them to scale. In the first one, the evident intention of the perpendicular is to cut the figure into two triangles and a rectangle; but without the numbers that rescue it, the figure would suggest anything but this. The scribe was perhaps absent-minded, and unconsciously exaggerated the inaccuracies of his copy in the figures, while writing in the correct numbers. In the papyrus the trapezoid measures cm. 1.1 by 2; the parallelogram, cm. 1 by 3.8; the rhomb, 2.8 by 1.6.

In the following transcriptions the fragments of column I and of the last process of column II are not presented; and in the index, the scanty material which they afford is not included. Their contribution to the matter of abbreviations is treated with the other abbreviations of the manuscript.

As to the nature and purpose of the book of which we have a fragment, it has been suggested by Professor Mahaffy and others that it was a practical treatise on mensuration, designed for use in resurveying farm-lands of irregular shape, after inundations, etc. The word *ἄρουρα*, however, does not seem to have quite the meaning it ordinarily had in Egypt, viz. 'acre,' but is employed here simply as a unit of square measure. Both M. Tannery and Dr. Hultsch have suggested that *ἄρουρα*, in its practical, specific sense at least, was employed under the Ptolemies, but seems to have gone out of use before the time of Heron Alexandrinus,

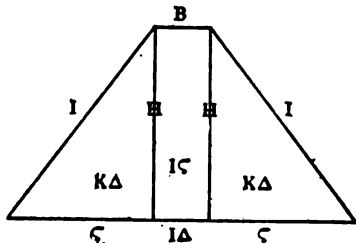
who reckons areas by *σχοινία*. I have observed *ἄρουρά* in its specific sense, in a number of papyri of the second century A. D., but its absence from Heron is certainly significant. This, taken with what seems the archaic use of *παραλληλόγραμμον*, may yet carry the date of the origin of the work into pre-Christian times. A few deviations from the familiar syntax will be observed, and perhaps these may, under the hands of scholars familiar with Greek of the period, contribute to more exact determination of date and origin. As M. Tannery and Dr. Hultsch have pointed out, we should expect the singular *ἐκάτερον* in place of the plural *ἐκάτερα* in the first process, line 8. Dr. Hultsch further calls attention to the fact that the side-lengths are carefully chosen with a view to having the square roots required come out whole numbers.

In the following transcription, all abbreviations have been expanded, such expansions being indicated by parentheses (.). Restorations are enclosed in brackets; expanded symbols are in lower-case. The figure following process 2 is a restoration suggested in substantially the same form, by Professor E. H. Moore, Dr. Hultsch and M. Heiberg. The first lines of the third process of col. I may be supplied about as follows, on the basis of the figure near the top of col. II:—

[ἐὰν δοθῇ τραπέζηον ἰσοσκελὲς οἷον τὸ ὑπογεγραμμένον ὥς δεῖ τὰ I ἐφ' αὐτὰ γίνεται P ἄφελε τὰ B τῆς κορυφῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ID τῆς βάσεως λοιπὰ IB ὧν τὸ ἥμισυ γίνεται ζ ἐφ' αὐτὰ γίνεται Δζ ἄφελε τὰ Δζ λοιπὰ ΖΔ ὧν πλευρὰ Η τηλικαύτη ἢ κάθετος ὧν τὸ ἥμισυ γίνεται Δ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὰ ζ τῆς βάσεως γίνεται ΚΔ τοσούτων ἀρουρῶν ἐκάτερα τῶν ὀρθογωνίων καὶ τὰ Η τῆς καθέτου ἐπὶ τὰ Β τῆς βάσεως γίνεται Ιζ τοσούτῃ]

Column II:

ΤΩΝ ΑΡΟΥ(ΡΩΝ) ΤΟ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΕΤΕΡΟΜΗΚΕΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟ
ΑΡΟΥ(ΡΑΙ) ΖΔ ΤΟ ΔΕ ΣΧΗΜΑ ΕΣΤΑΙ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟ



ΕΑΝ ΔΟΘΗ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΗΝ ΣΚΑΛΗΝΝ ΟΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΥΠΟΓΕ

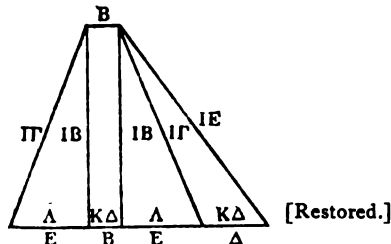
ΓΡΑΜ]ΜΕΝΟΝ ΩΣ ΔΕΙ ΤΑ ΙΓ ΕΦ ΑΥ(ΤΑ) [γίνεται Ρ]ΞΘ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΙΕ ΕΦ
ΑΥ(ΤΑ)

γίνεται ΣΚ]Ε ΑΠΟ τούτων ΤΑ ΡΞΘ λοιπὰ Νς ΑΦΕΛΕ ΤΑ Β ΤΗΣ ΚΟΡΥΦΗΣ
ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ Ις ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΕΩΣ λοιπὰ ΙΔ ΛΑΒΕ ΤΟ Γ'Δ' ΤΩΝ Νς

γίνεται Δ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΙΔ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΕΩΣ λοιπὰ ἡμῖν Ι ΩΝ ΤΟ γίνεται Ε ΕΦ
ΑΥ(ΤΑ) γίνεται ΚΕ

ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΡΞΘ λοιπὰ ΡΜΔ ΩΝ ΠΛΕΥ(ΡΑ) ΙΒ ΘΑΙΚΑΥΤΗ Η ΚΑΘΕΤΟΣ
ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΤΑ Ε ΤΗΣ ΒΑ[ΣΕΩΣ γίνεται Ξ] ΩΝ ΤΟ ἡμῖν γίνεται Λ
ΤΟΣΟΥΤΩΝ

ΑΡΟΥ(ΡΩΝ) ΕΚΑΤΕΡΑ Τ[ΩΝ] ΟΡΘΟΓΩΝΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΙΒ ΕΠΙ ΤΑ
Β ΤΗΣ ΚΟ[ΡΥ]ΦΗΣ γίνεται ΚΔ ΤΟΣ[Ο]ΥΤΩΝ ΑΡΟΥ(ΡΩΝ) ΤΟ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ
ΕΤΕΡΟΜΗΚΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΙΒ ΕΠΙ ΤΑ Δ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣ[ΕΩ]ς γίνεται ΜΗ
ΩΝ ΤΟ ἡμῖν γίνεται ΚΔ ΤΟΣΟΥΤΩΝ ΑΡΟΥΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΕΝ [ΑΥ]ΤΩΙ
ΑΜΑΥΓΩΝΙΟΝ [ΕΙΣ ΤΟ Α]ΥΤΟ γίνονται ΑΡΟΥ(ΡΑΙ) ΡΗ ΤΟ [ΔΕ ΣΧΗΜ]Α
ΕΣΤΑΙ
ΤΟΙΟΥΤ]Ο



* * * * *
* * * * *
* * * * *

Column III:

ΕΑΝ ΔΟΘΗ ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛΟΓΡΑΜΜΟΝ ΟΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΥΠΟΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΝ

ΩΣ ΔΕΙ ΤΑ ΙΓ ΤΗΣ ΠΛΕΥΡΑΣ ΕΦ ΑΥ(ΤΑ) γίνεται ΡΞΘ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΙΕ ΤΗΣ
ΠΛΕΥ

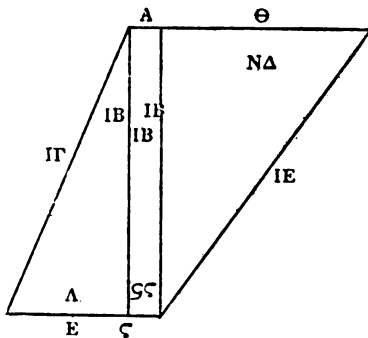
ΡΑΣ ΕΦ ΑΥ(ΤΑ) γίνεται ΣΚΕ ΑΠΟ τούτων ΤΑ ΡΞΘ λοιπὰ Ν[ς] ΑΦΕΛΕ ΤΑ
ς ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΕΩΣ

ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ Ι ΤΗΣ ΚΟΡΥΦΗΣ λοιπὰ Δ ΛΑΒΕ ΤΟ τέταρτον ΤΩΝ Νς γίνεται ΙΔ
ΑΠΟ τούτων ΤΑ Δ λοιπὰ Ι ΩΝ ΤΟ ἡμῖν γίνεται Ε ΘΑΙΚΑΥΤΗ Η ΒΑΣΙΣ
ΤΟΥ ΟΡΘΟ

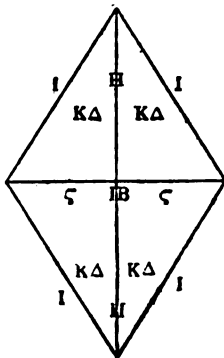
ΓΩΝΙΟΥ ΕΦ ΑΥΤΑ γίνεται ΚΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΙΓ ΕΦ ΑΥΤΑ γίνεται ΡΞΘ ΑΦΕΛΕ ΤΑ
ΚΕ λοιπὰ ΡΜΔ ΩΝ ΠΛΕΥΡΑ ΙΒ ΘΑΙΚΑΥΤΗ Η ΚΑΘΕΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ

ΑΦΕΛΕ ΤΑ Ε ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ς ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΕΩΣ λοιπὸν Α ΤΟ ΕΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ

Ι ΤΗΣ ΚΟΡΥΦΗΣ λοιπὰ Θ ΘΑΙΚΑΥΤΗ Η ΛΟΙΠΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΘ ΒΑΣΕΩΣ
 ΤΟΥ ΟΡΘΟΓΩΝΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΙΒ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΘΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΑ Ε ΤΗΣ
 ΒΑΣΕΩΣ γίνεται Ξ ΩΝ ΤΟ ἥμισυ γίνεται Λ ΤΟΣΟΥΤΩΝ ΑΡΟΥ(ΡΩΝ) ΤΟ ΕΝ
 ΑΥΤ[Ω]Ι
 ΟΡΘΩΝΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΙΒ ΕΠΙ ΤΟ Α γίνεται ΙΒ ΤΟΣΟΥΤΩΝ ΑΡΟΥ(ΡΩΝ) ΤΟ
 ΕΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΕΤΕΡΟΜΗΚΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΙΒ ΕΠΙ ΤΑ Θ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΕΩΣ
 γίνεται ΡΗ ΩΝ ΤΟ ἥμισυ γίνεται ΝΔ ΤΟ[ΣΟΥΤ]ΩΝ ΑΡΟΥΡΩΝ ΤΟ ΑΛΛΟ
 ΟΡΘΩΓΩ
 ΝΙΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟ ΑΡΟΥ(ΡΑΙ) γίνονται Σς ΤΟ ΔΕ ΣΧΗΜΑ ΕΣΤΑΙ
 ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟ



ΕΑΝ ΔΟΘΗ ΡΟΜΒΟΣ ΟΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΥΠΟΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΝ Ως ΔΕΙ ΤΑ Ι
 Ε]Φ ΑΥΤΑ γίνεται Ρ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ἥμισυ ΤΩΝ ΙΒ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΕΩΣ γίνεται Σ ΕΦ
 ΑΥΤΑ γίνεται Λς
 ΑΠΟ τούτων ΤΑ Λς λοιπὰ ΞΔ ΩΝ ΠΛΕΥΡΑ Η ΘΑΙΚΑΥΤΗ Η ΚΑΘΕΤΟΣ
 ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΕΩΣ Μ[Η] ΩΝ ΤΟ ἥμισυ γίνεται Κ[Δ] ΤΟΣΟΥΤΩΝ
 ΑΡ]ΟΥΡΩΝ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΟΡΘΩΓΩΝΙΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΑΥ[ΤΟ ΑΡΟΥ(ΡΑΙ) Σς
 ΤΟ ΔΕ Σ]Χ[ΗΜΑ Ε]ΣΤΑΙ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟ



In the appended translation, superior numerals refer to lines of the columns in the papyrus.

Column II :

¹Of so many units is the rectangle in it. Altogether ²64 units. And the figure will be as follows.

³If there be given a scalene trapezoid such as the one drawn below 'according to the conditions of the problem the ¹³squared is 169 and the ¹⁵squared ⁶is 225. Subtract 169. 56 remains. Subtract the 2 of the upper side ⁶from the 16 of the base. 14 remains. Take $\frac{1}{4}$ of the 56. ⁷It is 4. From the 14 of the base; there remains 10, of which $\frac{1}{2}$ is 5. (This) squared is 25. ⁸(Take this) from the 169; 144 remains, of which the square root (is) 12. So great is the perpendicular. ⁹This (multiplied) by the 5 of the base is 60, of which $\frac{1}{2}$ is 30. Of so many ¹⁰units is each of the right-angled triangles. And the 12 by the ¹¹2 of the upper side is 24. Of so many units is the ¹²parallelogram in it. And the 12 by the 4 of the base is 48, ¹³ $\frac{1}{2}$ of which is 24. Of so many units is the ¹⁴obtuse-angled triangle in it. Altogether it is 108 units. And the figure will be ¹⁵as follows.

Column III :

¹If there be given a parallelogram such as the one drawn below 'according to the conditions of the problem the ¹³of the side squared is 169 and the ¹⁵of the side ³squared is 225. Subtract the 169. 56 remains. Subtract the 6 of the base ⁴from the 10 of the upper side. 4 remains. Take $\frac{1}{4}$ of the 56. It is 14. ⁵Subtract the 4. 10 remains, $\frac{1}{2}$ of which is 5. So great is the base of the right-angled triangle. (This) squared is 25. And the ¹³squared is 169. Subtract the ⁷25. 144 remains, the square root of which is 12. So great is the perpendicular. And ⁸subtract the 5 from the 6 of the base. 1 remains. (Take) the one from the ⁹10 of the upper side. 9 remains. So great is the remainder of the upper base ¹⁰of the right-angled triangle. And the 12 of the perpendicular by the 5 of the ¹¹base is 60, $\frac{1}{2}$ of which is 30. Of so many units is the ¹²right-angled triangle in it. And the 12 by the 1 is 12. Of so many units is the ¹³rectangle in it. And the 12 by the 9 of the base ¹⁴is 108, $\frac{1}{2}$ of which is 54. Of so many units is the other right-angled triangle. ¹⁵Altogether it is 96 units. And the figure will be as follows.

¹⁸ If there be given a rhomb such as the one drawn below according to the conditions of the problem the 10 ¹⁷ squared is 100 and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the 12 of the base is 6. (This) squared is 36. ¹⁸ Subtract the 36. 64 remains, the square root of which is 8. So great is the perpendicular. ¹⁹ This by the (6) of the base is 48, $\frac{1}{2}$ of which is 24. Of so many ²⁰ units is each of the right-angled triangles. Altogether 96 units. ²¹ And the figure will be as follows.

A few words should be said about the forms of the individual letters, and the symbols and abbreviations used.

A has the cross stroke horizontal, as in the Imprecation of Artemisia,¹ as against the rounded shape Δ of the Arsinoe deed² or the acute shape Λ which appears generally in the Homer papyrus.³ It must be added, however, that a form approaching the rounded shape seems to occur in col. I, process 2, line 2, but the line is fragmentary, and the writing there seems to have been crowded.

B The loops are separate, hardly touching each other. The upper loop is generally smaller than the lower.

r is of the plainest uncial type.

Δ has the right side often slightly prolonged above the left. The left angle is slightly the most acute. The letter somewhat resembles the Δ of the Eudoxus papyrus, as given by Blass,⁴ as well as that of the Imprecation of Artemisia.⁵

E The body of E is a curve, as in most uncials. The horizontal usually fails to touch the curve, and is not exaggerated, the upper curve projecting further to the right than the lower or the horizontal.

z is broader than high, the lower horizontal being slightly curved.

H The ends of the second vertical often curve outward. The horizontal is rather above the middle of the letter, the horizontal and the second vertical being in some cases made without removing the pen from the papyrus. The letter resembles the H of Eudoxus.

o The curve varies; sometimes round, sometimes elliptical, sometimes ovoid. The horizontal stroke rarely touches either side, and is not above the middle of the letter. It seems less

¹ Pal. Soc., Series II 141.

² P. S. II 146.

³ P. S. II 64.

⁴ Chart I, Müller's Hdbuch der kl. Alt., I, p. 304.

⁵ P. S. II 141.

primitive than the θ of the Imprecation, but more primitive than the θ of the Homer papyrus and Hyperides.

κ The obliques touch the vertical below the middle, the lower limb striking it at a less acute angle than the upper. The reverse is the case in the Homer papyrus and in Hyperides.

λ Both limbs curve slightly. The left limb touches the right a little way from the latter's upper extremity, much as in Hyperides and Chrysippus.¹

μ The middle wedge reaches further down than in the Arsinoe deed, but not so far as in Hyperides. It is much as in the Homer papyrus and Chrysippus.

ν is not particularly distinctive. It resembles the ν of Hyperides and the Homer papyrus.

ξ The horizontals are connected. The middle horizontal is often somewhat shorter than the others. The ξ is ordinarily not larger than other letters. It is somewhat as in the Berlin Euripides parchment.¹

\omicron is sometimes small, and usually approximately round.

π The second upright is curved as in the \mathcal{H} . The horizontal projects somewhat over both verticals. The letter is much as in Eudoxus. A combination of π and \omicron occurs in col. III, l. 1, the second vertical of π coinciding with the left side of the \omicron .

ρ The loop is small, about the size of the smaller \omicron . The vertical is short, the whole not larger than other letters, the vertical stopping at the line. A slight horizontal stroke is visible below the loop, as in Eudoxus.

σ The curve is fairly even, suggesting an incomplete circle, the upper end being continued further than the lower.

τ The horizontal is slightly longer than the vertical; much as in Eudoxus.

υ The υ is broad, curved rather than angular, and touches the stem about midway of its right limb. Below the stem is sometimes deflected to the left. Otherwise it resembles the υ of Chrysippus and Eudoxus.

ϕ The vertical is long, extending well above and below the extremities of the average letters. The loop is small, about the size of the small \omicron . The vertical passes a little to the right of the middle of the loop.

¹ As given by Blass, Müller's *H'dbuch*, I, p. 304.

x The limbs are short, crossing at right angles. The letter is much like the x of Chrysippus and Eudoxus.

o is much as in the Hyperides papyrus.

As numerals the letters retain these forms, and are unaccompanied by any special distinguishing mark. The fraction $\frac{1}{4}$ once occurs, being written ρδ ι'Δ'. San does not occur. The other purely numeral characters are found. Koppa appears in the form ς. Vau is like the z of the alphabet just given, having the upper curve extended beyond the lower, and lacking the characteristic hook.

Three abbreviations occur in the text. AY for αὐτά appears three times: in column II, line 4; III 2 and 3. In each case it represents the contracted reflexive, and follows the preposition ἐφ', there being an ellipsis of the πολυπλασιαζόμενα οἱ πολυπλασίαζε, which, in Heron for example, often precedes such expressions. APOY is found for ἀρουρῶν or ἀρουραι nine times in the text, appearing in each process at least once. ΠAΕY for πλευρά appears once, II 8. A fourth abbreviation, ΣXH for σχῆμα, occurs in one of the broken lines of column II; and a fifth, TOIOY for τοιοῦτο, immediately follows.

Five symbols are employed in the fragment. j for γίνεται or γίνονται is used twenty-seven times in the text, while it appears in connection with the figures, like APō above. In most of these instances it introduces a product; in a few, notably in connection with the figures, a sum. The same abbreviation occurs in the Petrie Papyri, e. g. Part II, plate 13, where it is found in a taxing account. In that connection it has been explained by Professor Mahaffy as a conventionalized form of the cursive initial γ of γίνεται. The symbol would thus be in origin an abbreviation.¹

The symbol ζ I have been unable to find anywhere. I could think of nothing better for it than λαβέ, making with ἀπό, which in all four cases precedes it, the word ἀπολαβε 'subtract.' Some such value the context certainly requires; but it was objected by several scholars that the fragment's expression for 'subtract' was ἀφέλε, and that it was improbable that an additional word for

¹ Cf. also Petrie Papyri, Part II, pp. 39, 73; and Baillet on the Akhmim papyrus (Mémoires, Mission archéologique française au Caire, tome neuvième, 'Le papyrus mathématique d'Akhmim'), where γι ordinarily appears for γίνεται; e. g. tome IX, 1, p. 63, No. 1, ll. 3, 4; p. 64, No. 2, ll. 2, 3.

precisely the same purpose should be employed. It may be replied to this that Heron, for example, has three or four expressions for 'subtract,' using $\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\zeta\ w.$ gen., $\delta\rho\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\ w.$ gen., and $\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\iota$, beside the usual $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon$; while a fifth word, $\upsilon\phi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon$, appears in the Akhmîm fragment. A more serious objection is the fact that $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon$ nowhere, as far as my examination of the Greek mathematicians goes, is employed exactly as this context would require. For what seems a valuable suggestion here I am indebted to M. Heiberg, who suggests $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$. This fits well with the context, except in the third line of the last process, and comports much better with the general usage of the processes. M. Tannery also, and quite independently, has proposed this reading, though without giving it his unqualified approval. The suggestions of M. Tannery and M. Heiberg were made on the basis of a provisional transcription of the process in column II. The problem presented by the occurrence of the abbreviation in the last process was not before them. Even here, however, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ may stand; but only as a set phrase, used regardless of preceding context, to introduce a subtrahend.

The symbol \oslash as a remainder sign occurs in almost the same form in the Petrie Papyri, the dot being lacking.¹ This might be resolved as $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu$, $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\acute{\alpha}$, in the manner of Heron; hardly as $\lambda\iota\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu$, $\lambda\epsilon\iota\psi\epsilon\iota$, in that of Diophantus; although it seems not impossible that M. Tannery's Λ and the \oslash ² of our fragment are kindred developments.³ The Akhmîm papyrus employs $\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ quite unmistakably, although in an abbreviated form; e. g. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\ \tau\omega\nu\ \Sigma\text{KA}\ \upsilon\phi[\epsilon]\lambda(\epsilon)\ \text{IZ}\ \lambda(\epsilon\iota)\pi(\epsilon)\tau\alpha\iota\ \Sigma\Delta$.⁴ This symbol appears eleven times in the fragment. It has been suggested that the curved form of it connects it with Π rather than with Λ ; and that it represents $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ rather than $\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$. To this the subscript σ —for such it seems—presents an obstacle; and as this subscript is more uniform in the symbol's occurrences than is the curve of the symbol, it seems at least possible that we have here the $\Lambda\sigma$ of $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\acute{\alpha}$ or $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu$. I am so fortunate as to have for this opinion the confirmation of M. Tannery, whose observations on the first complete process reached me, through Professor Beman, immediately after I had written the above note.

¹ Cf. Petrie Papyri, Part II, p. 130, plate 13, bis; also p. 39.

² On \oslash and Λ cf. T. L. Heath, Diophantos of Alexandria, pp. 71-3.

³ Cf. Diophantus, ed. Tannery, vol. II, proleg., pp. 35, 36, 41.

⁴ Cf. Baillet, Mémoires mis. arch. fr., tome IX, 1, p. 70, No. 13, l. 6, etc.

∟ for ἡμῖν appears eight times, being ordinarily preceded by τό and followed by the symbol for γίνεται. It is in the ordinary form as it appears, e. g., in the Eudoxus papyrus.¹ ∟ for τέταρτον I have observed in many second-century tax bills, and in the Akhmīm papyrus. In the Eudoxus papyrus² it occurs, and it is further twice restored by De Presle in col. 4, ll. 11, 18 of the Eudoxus. The sign appears but once in the fragment.

Professor Beman has suggested the possible connection of the fragment with the school of Heron Alexandrinus. There can be no doubt that in many of its forms of expression the fragment presents a striking similarity to the Geometry of Heron. Expressions like ὦν τὸ ἡμῖν γίνεται MH', p. 88, l. 20³; τὰ IE' ἐφ' ἑαυτὰ γίνονται ΣΚΕ', p. 86, l. 16; τοσούτων σχοινίων ἔσται ἐκάστη πλευρὰ τοῦ τετραγώνου, p. 74, l. 25; λαβὲ τὸ ἡμῖν τῆς βάσεως, p. 62, l. 10; or the following: τὰ I' τῆς βάσεως ἐπὶ τὰ IB' τῆς πρὸς ὀρθᾶς γίνονται PK'. ὦν τὸ ἡμῖν γίνεται ἐξήκοντα τοσούτων σχοινίων ἔσται τὸ ἐμβαδόν, p. 58, ll. 4-6, find rather close parallels in the fragment. A more striking matter is the resemblance in the use of certain mathematical terms. Κορυφή has in Heron the characteristically Egyptian meaning 'upper side' of a four-sided figure. Heron's definition of it reads: κορυφή δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει ἐπιτιθεμένη εὐθεΐα, p. 44, l. 17, and in going on to define σκέλη he says: σκέλη δέ αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῆς κορυφῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς βάσεως τεταμέναι εὐθεΐαι, p. 44, ll. 18, 19. The expression τραπέζιον σκαληνόν, found in Heron, p. 21, l. 17, and in our fragment, is not a common one. The character of the processes, however, supplies the closest link between them. Heron concerns himself with specific problems, not with general derivations of formulas or theorems, although constantly assuming as familiar and fixed, the results of such derivations. This will be seen to correspond exactly to the material of the fragment. Another more striking similarity in method is in connection with finding the areas of irregular rectilinear figures. Heron's way is to cut a complicated figure into triangles and rectangles, and then compute the areas of these. The first figure in this papyrus, too, it will be observed, is an isosceles trapezoid, a figure for which

¹ Notices et Extraits, Planche I, col. 4, l. 23; cf. also Gardthausen, p. 268.

² N. et E., Planche I, col. 3, l. 34; col. 4, l. 15.

³ The references are to Heron's Geometry, ed. Hultsch, Heronis Alexandrini Geometricorum et Stereometricorum Reliquiae, Berlin, 1864.

Heron has been said to have a special fondness. In our second process, also, the writer's first auxiliary line seems to have reduced his figure to an obtuse-angled triangle and an isosceles trapezoid.

To this view, however, there are one or two serious objections. Perhaps no great importance attaches to the fact that we cannot in Heron find such phrases as *ὡς δεῖ, εἰς τὸ αὐτό*, for which latter Heron's equivalent is uniformly *ὁμοῦ*; and to the entire absence from Heron's measures of *ἄρουρα*. More significant must be considered the inconsistency between Heron's *παρὰλληλόγραμμον* and that of the fragment. Heron's parallelogram does not differ from Euclid's: *ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν τετραπλεύρων ἃ μὲν καλεῖται παρὰλληλόγραμμα, . . . παρὰλληλόγραμμα μὲν οὖν τὰ τὰς ἀπεναντίων πλευρὰς παρὰλλήλους ἔχοντα*, etc., p. 20, ll. 11-13. There appears to be no way of bringing the 'parallelogram' of column III of our fragment within the scope of this definition; and we are confronted with an inconsistency as remarkable as was the agreement in the case of *κορυφή*. Of Heron's method of calculating the area of a triangle in terms of its sides, our processes show hardly a trace. It has been suggested that our fragment reflects the methods of the second book of Euclid rather than the formula of Heron; but the difficulty of relating our surveyor with Euclidean terminology and method in general, has already been shown to be considerable. The Heronian formula, on the other hand, he clearly had not. Perhaps it is not much to say that he had the materials out of which that formula was derived; but I have thought it not impossible that we have in this fragment one of those early mathematical works of whose materials Heron later became the organizer and compiler; in other words, the work of which this papyrus was a copy, if not itself one of Heron's sources, may fairly represent the character of the sources he had and used.

Slight resemblances to other mathematicians may be noted. The fragment's use of *ὑπογεγραμμένον* is somewhat closely paralleled in Apollodorus, *ἔστι δὲ τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα σχήματα*,¹ and in Bito, *τὸ δὲ σχῆμα οἷόν ἐστιν ὑπογέγραπται*²; also in a passage ascribed to Heron Byzantinus,³ *καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ὑπογέγραπται*. As to *ὡς δεῖ*, M. Tannery has suggested that it may be a scribal error for *ὡς αἰεί*, in uncials δ and α being easily confused. *Ὅς δεῖ*, however, does not seem difficult when compared with Euclid's *ὡς ἔτυχεν, ὃ ἔτυχεν, ἃ ἔτυχεν*,

¹ Before fig. 47. Wescher's *Poliorcétique des Grecs*.

² Before figs. 17, 19, 20, *ibid*.

³ Before fig. 103.

with which expressions it would stand in almost direct contrast, meaning 'by construction,' or perhaps better, 'by the conditions of the problem.'

To facilitate reference to the fragment, the following index has been prepared. Occurrences of *καί*, *δέ* and the forms of the article are not noticed in this index; nor is the material afforded from the fragments of col. I and of the last process of col. II.

ἄλλο III 14.

ἀμλυνώνιον II 14 (see p. 27).

ἄνω III 9.

ἀπό II 5, 6, 7, 8, III 3, 4, 5, 8 bis, 18.

ἄρουνται, ἄρουρων II 1, 2, 10, 11, 13, 14, III 11, 12, 14, 15, 20 bis.

αὐτά w. ἐφ' II 4 bis, 7, III 2, 3, 6 bis, 17 bis.

αὐτῶ w. ἐν II 1, 11, 13, III 11, 13.

εἰς τὸ αὐτό II 1, 14, III 15, 20.

ἄφ'ελε II 5, III 3, 6, 8.

βάσις III 5.

βάσεως II 6, 7, 9, 12, III 3, 8, 11, 13, 17, 19.

ἄνω βάσεως III 9.

γίνεται, γίνονται II 4, 5, 7 ter, 9 bis, 11, 12, 13, 14, III 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 bis, 11 bis, 12, 14 bis, 15, 17 ter, 19.

δεῖ II 4, III 2, 16.

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εἰς II 1, 14, III 15, 20.

ἐκάτερα II 10, III 20.

ἐν II 1, 11, 13, III 11, 13.

ἐν III 8.

ἐπὶ II 9, 10, 12, III 10, 12, 13, 19.

ἐφ' II 4 bis, 7, III 2, 3, 6 bis, 17 bis.

ἔσται II 2, 14, III 15, 21.

ἐτερόμηκες II 1, 12, III 13.

ἥμισυ II 7, 9, 13, III 5, 11, 14, 17, 19.

κάθετος II 8, III 7, 18.

καθέτου III 10.

κορυφῆς II 5, 11, III 4, 9.

λαβέ II 6, III 4.

λοιπόν, λοιπά, II 5, 6, 7, 8, III 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 18.

λοιπή III 9.

οἶον II 3, III 1, 16.

ὀρθογώνιον III 14.

ὀρογώνιον III 12 (see p. 27); ὀρθογωνίου III 5, 10; ὀρθογωνίων II 10, III 20.

παραλληλόγραμμον III 1.

πλευρά II 8, III 7, 18.

πλευρᾶς III 2 bis.

ρόμβος III 16.

σκαληνόν II 3.

σχῆμα II 2, 14, III 15, 21.

ταῦτα II 9, III 19.

τούτων II 5, III 3, 5, 18.

τέταρτον III 4.

τηλικαύτη II 8, III 5, 7, 9, 18.

τοιούτο II 2, 15, III 15, 21.

τοσούτων II 9, 11, 13, III 11, 12, 14, 19.

τραπέζιον II 3.

ὑπογεγραμμένον II 3, III 1, 16.

ὦν II 7, 8, 9, 13, III 5, 7, 11, 14, 18, 19.

ὥς II 4, III 2, 16.

EDGAR JOHNSON GOODSPEED.

III.—SEMASIOLOGICAL POSSIBILITIES.

THESIS: *Difference in meaning is of itself no bar to connecting words.*

If the principle underlying the semasiological development of any word is to be brought to light, it must be by coming at the original meaning of the root and discovering, if possible, the figure of speech involved in its growth. Where the literal meaning is preserved, the task is comparatively easy. If, then, we find an abstract word, we naturally look about for some corresponding concrete term, in the same language or related languages. Quite possibly, in our search, we hit upon two or more concrete words which seem not at all related to each other in meaning. But if they are phonetic equivalents, we should try to trace them to a common origin. For in most cases phonetic equivalents are identical, and difference in meaning no ground for separating them.

Suppose, to illustrate this point, a community shut off from all others has in its vocabulary but two hundred words. What will be the result? Each of these words will be used to express many ideas. One of these words, we will say, is 'strike.' What an endless variety of meanings may arise from this! Even in our copious language we have for this one verb thirty-four distinct uses, as defined by Webster. Each of these significations is capable of further development, as may be easily shown. To give just one or two of these. If 'strike' in our supposed community stands for all kinds of striking, gentle as well as violent, 'strike' could mean 'stroke, caress, treat kindly, love'; or 'strike, stroke, smear, defile'; or 'strike, beat, maltreat, hate'; or 'strike, afflict, distress.' These are only a few of the almost numberless meanings which may spring from this word.

This is exactly what has taken place in the I.E. tongues. I do not mean, of course, to limit the primitive vocables to two hundred, but they were certainly few. Each of these, therefore, must have developed in this same extensive manner, so that the same idea came to be expressed in various ways. In the 'ursprache' there was only a beginning of this growth: in the

separate dialects it continued with ever-increasing luxuriance. Consequently, in different languages, we may find, and should expect to find, words coming from the same root yet differing from each other as widely as 'love' and 'hate,' 'haughty' and 'humble.' If this be the case, and I do not see how any one can withhold assent to this thesis, how, then, shall we proceed when we find words whose roots are phonetically alike, but whose meanings are widely divergent? We should not attempt to derive one meaning from the other, but each from an original.

Etymologists often assume that words change in meaning. They are forced to this conclusion because words which are evidently related have, in different dialects, meanings that are diametrically opposed. Their conclusions are wrong because their premises are not well taken. It must be remembered that words were originally names of concrete things or descriptions of actions. These may be used figuratively, and thus introduce meanings quite distinct from each other, though easily derivable from the original. Or an adjective may be used actively or passively, as Eng. *fearful* 'terrible' or 'timid.' Aside from this words do not change.

It is not always possible to connect the various meanings that a word may have, since it is often difficult to find out the original force. But the proper method here, as in tracing phonetic changes, is to discover the common source of development. The usual method is to assume that, in a given number of meanings, this one or that is the original. It possibly may be, but the method is entirely wrong. When we compare any set of words, as Skt. *pītā*, Gk. *πατήρ*, Goth. *fadar*, etc., we do not assume that any one language has preserved the original form without change; nor should we, in comparing meanings, make a like assumption.

Before the fifth edition of his Et. Wtb., Kluge seemed doubtful of the connection between N.H.G. *dreist*, O.S. *thristi* and Lat. *tristis*, although the words are phonetically the same. Now these words contain the element *tri-*, which is also in Lat. *tri-tus* 'rubbed, bruised, trodden,' *tri-bulum* 'threshing sledge.' This *tr-i-* is an enlargement of the root *ter-* in Lat. *terō* and many others. From this root, then, O.S. *thristi* 'bold' is an active adjective meaning primarily 'oppressing, beating'; while Lat. *tristis* 'sad' is passive with the original meaning 'oppressed, depressed, down-trodden.' But Lat. *tristis* is also active in the sense 'stern, harsh, severe,' a natural outgrowth of 'oppressive.'

It is plain to see, therefore, that the idea 'sad' did not develop from 'bold,' nor 'bold' from 'sad'; but both from a common source.

Another example given by Kluge, which offers as little difficulty, is M.H.G. *tapfer* 'fest, gedrungen, voll, gewichtig, bedeutend,' and later 'tapfer'; O.H.G. *tapfar* 'schwer, wichtig, gewichtig'; Du. *dapper* 'tapfer, viel'; Eng. *dapper*; O.N. *dapr* 'traurig.' With these are further compared O.Sl. *dobli* 'stark, tüchtig,' *debulü* 'dick,' *dobrü* 'schön, gut.' All these meanings may originate from the idea 'press down, be heavy upon,' as Noreen, *Urg. Lautl.* 232, indicates. Here, as in O.S. *thristi*, Lat. *tristis*, some forms were active and others passive in use. 'Pressure' implies 'weight,' hence 'importance, strength, bravery,' etc. It also implies 'weight, heaviness,' and hence 'sadness.' This explains O.N. *dapr* 'sad,' which, to Kluge, seems so strange a development of meaning. It would be more strange if the meaning 'sad' had not developed in some one of the dialects. It surely ought not to seem strange to find O.N. *dapr* 'sad' related to O.H.G. *tapfar* 'heavy.' To one who speaks English, in which 'heavy' may be synonymous with 'sad,' this is a most natural change. These two ideas are repeatedly brought together in other languages, as will be shown below.

The examples given below are intended to illustrate the principles here urged, and will, it is hoped, prove that the etymologist's first task is to find a phonetic equivalent. For in that way, if any, the etymon sought will be found.

1.—a. Goth. *bugjan*, O.S. *buggian*, O.E. *bycgan* 'buy' have troubled the etymologists to explain, simply because, instead of looking for a phonetic equivalent only, they have been hampered in their search by their attempt to find a word of the same or similar meaning. Find first the phonetic equivalent, and the meaning will take care of itself. This is the case here. Goth. *bugjan* is closely related to *us-baugjan* 'to clean out.' Under the latter word may be found in Uhlenbeck's *Et. Wtb.*, Av. *buj-* 'lay off, cleanse,' *bnjēm* acc. 'cleansing,' *azō-būj-* 'freeing from distress,' *buxti-* 'a freeing, saving,' *baoxtar-* 'rescuer.' Here, then, we have the connecting meaning. Goth. *bugjan* 'buy' was primarily 'to free, release, redeem.' The same development occurs in the root *ley-* 'loose.' Compare Goth. *lūn* 'ransom,' *us-lūneins* 'redemption,' *us-laushjan* 'to deliver, *erlösen*,' Lat. *luō* 'to pay, pay for,' Gk. *λύω* 'loose, release,' *λύομαι* 'redeem, ransom.'

Goth. *us-baugjan* 'to clean out, sweep out,' Av. *buj-* 'cleanse' represent a development but slightly different. (Compare again Lat. *luō* 'cleanse, purge.') These words have been further connected with Goth. *biugan* 'to bend,' so that *bugjan* and *-baugjan* would properly mean 'to cause to bend or yield' and hence 'to release.' It is a remarkable coincidence that Eng. *buy* has returned to this original meaning in certain phrases. Notice these definitions given in Webster: "To buy off. (a) To influence to compliance; to cause to bend or yield by some consideration; as, *to buy off* conscience. (b) To detach by a consideration given; as, *to buy off* one from a party."

This I believe to be the correct explanation of Goth. *bugjan*. However, it is possible to connect it with the same root in a different way. Goth. *bugja* < **bhugējō* may have meant primarily 'cause to flee, put to flight, chase,' like Lat. *fugāre*. From 'chase, pursue' could arise the meaning 'to pursue and obtain; to acquire by seeking'; and then 'to gain, acquire' in any way. This is exactly the development of Eng. *purchase* from O.Fr. *purchacier* 'to pursue, to seek eagerly.' Other words meaning 'acquire' have gone through the same development; as *acquire*, *win*, etc.

There is therefore no lack of connection. The only doubt is by what process *bugjan* came to its meaning. For myself, I favor the first explanation proposed. In any case, the verb belongs to the I.E. root *bheug-*, *bheug-*.

b. Goth. *ga-mōtan* 'to have room, to find place,' O.H.G. *muozan* 'may, can, must,' O.S. *mōtan*, etc., undoubtedly belong to the I.E. root *mēd-* 'measure.' This Kluge thinks improbable, and Uhlenbeck does not even mention as a possibility. Why an etymology that is almost self-evident has not been adopted I cannot see. The phonetic correspondence is exact, and the development in meaning just such as we might expect. A noun belonging to the root *mēd-* would mean 'a measure, a measurer,' or 'that which is measured out.' The last development is the meaning required for *ga-mōtan*. This we have in O.H.G. *muoza* 'free time, possibility, convenience,' that is, 'that which is measured out, an allotted space, time, or opportunity.' This differs but slightly from Lat. *modus* 'measure, due measure, bound, limit.' Starting from this meaning we can easily explain the various significations of Goth. *ga-mōtan*, O.H.G. *muozan*, etc. First we have the noun signifying 'that which is measured out or allotted.'

The corresponding verb would then mean 'to have an allotted space or time,' which is almost exactly the force of Goth. *ga-mōtan*. This naturally becomes 'may, can, must,' since what is measured out or allotted to a person he may, can, or must do.

Other words which are acknowledged as derivatives of the root *mēd-* 'measure' convey quite similar ideas, as O.H.G. *māza*, M.H.G. *māze* 'mass, abgegrenzte ausdehnung in zeit, raum, gewicht, kraft'; Goth. *us-mēt* 'behavior, manner of life'; and many have developed meanings that are far more removed from the original signification.

With Goth. *ga-mōtan* Uhlenbeck supposes Goth. *mōta* 'toll' and *gamōljan* 'meet' may be related. In this I agree with him, and can also show how easy it is 'die bedeutungen zu vermitteln' when one refers these also to the root *mēd-* 'measure.' If Goth. *mōta* is a genuine Germ. word, the other dialects must have borrowed it with the Goth. meaning. The identical form did in fact exist in O.H.G. *muoza*, but in a different signification. Goth. *mōta* 'toll' and O.H.G. *muoza* 'leisure time, allotted opportunity' come equally well from a stem **mōdā-* 'that which is measured out.' In O.H.G. the word *muoza* could not have had the meaning 'toll' in all dialects, otherwise the borrowed *mūla* would not have been used. And yet in some places it must have had the Goth. meaning, as is evident from M.H.G. *muoze*. (Cf. Kluge, Et. Wtb., s. v. *maute*.) It is quite possible that O.H.G., O.N., O.Sw. *mūla* came directly from the Lat. *mūta*, which in turn was from the Goth.

The stem **mōdo-*, **mōdā-* occurs also in O.Sw. *mōt* 'measure,' O.N. *mōt* 'form, manner,' Noreen, Urg. Lautlehre, 43, O.E. *ge-mōt* 'meeting, council, encounter,' M.H.G. *muoze* 'encounter.' To these words belong Goth. *ga-mōljan*, O.S. *mōtian*, O.E. *mētan*, O.N. *mōla* 'meet,' and O.E. *mōtian* 'to discuss, dispute.' The basal meaning of all these is 'cut off, measure,' which, used figuratively, would mean 'consider, discuss, plan, judge,' etc. In this sense are used Goth. *mīlōn* 'consider,' O.E. *mōtian* 'discuss,' Gk. *μύδομαι* 'plan, contrive, counsel.' From this developed in O.E. *ge-mōt* the meaning 'assembly for discussion,' and then 'assembly, meeting, encounter' of any kind. Hence O.E. *ge-mētan*, Goth. *ga-mōljan* 'to meet,' in which the prefix *ga-* was not simply perfective, but retained its original force.

c. Goth. *filhan* 'conceal, bury,' *ana-filhan* 'deliver, commit,' O.H.G. *bifelhan* 'deliver, entrust, bury,' O.E. *befēolan* 'entrust,

leave to, devote oneself to' go back to an I.E. root *pelk-*, which, in Jour. Germ. Ph. I, No. 4, I referred to the root *pel-*. With these words Kluge, Et. Wtb.⁵, s. v. *befehlen*, compares Skt. *prc* 'fill, bestow upon.' If this is a correct comparison, and I think it undoubtedly is, the meaning in Germ., 'conceal, bury,' comes from 'fill, pile up, cover'; while 'entrust, deliver,' etc., have developed through 'fill, bestow upon.' The two sets of ideas in Germ. have diverged from a common centre, not one from the other.

This I.E. root *pelk-* is supposed to be represented in Germ. only by the above group of words and their derivatives. To the same root, however, belongs O.H.G. *felgen* 'to claim for oneself, to attribute.' In form *felgen* < **falgjan* is the causative of *felhan*, and would naturally signify 'to cause to be entrusted or delivered,' and this with the dat. of the reflex., which is the construction of this verb, gives 'to claim for oneself.'

To the same root I also refer the Germ. verb 'follow.' This occurs in the forms **plkē-* : O.H.G. *folgēn*, O.E. *folgian*; **plkā-* : O.H.G. *folgōn*; and **plkjo-* : O.N. *fylgja*, O.E. *fylgan*. There are other forms which seem to indicate that this verb is a compound of 'full' and 'go': O.E., O.L.G. *fulgangan*, O.E. *ful-īode*, O.H.G. *fola gān*. Cf. Kluge, Et. Wtb.⁵, s. v. *folgen*. These forms I consider analogical. They arose because the last part had fallen together with the verb 'go,' and the first syllable was like the word 'full.' It is not strange that one who said *folgēn* 'follow' : *gēn*, *gān* 'go' should feel that the syllable *gēn* was the same in each word, especially as both verbs expressed motion. Since the *ē* was of the same origin in both words, whatever the derivation, the last syllable of *folgēn*, on the supposition that this verb is from the root *pelk-*, coincided with *gēn* 'go' as soon as *k-* became *g-*, which was at an early period. Hence the same analogical formation is found in several dialects; and since *gān* and *gangan* were used by the side of *gēn*, and O.E. *īode* was the past tense of *gān*, the analogy was made complete from the starting-point *gēn*.

The difference in meaning is not so great as might appear to one who had in mind N.H.G. *folgen* and *befehlen*. If we explain 'follow' as meaning originally 'entrust oneself to, yield oneself,' this signification, it will be seen, could readily come from the idea involved in *felhan*. But we do not need to cross from one meaning to another. That was not the process of development,

and should not be the line of investigation. As O.H.G. *felhan* was compared with Skt. *prc*, so *folgîn* may be explained by reference to the same root. Here we may compare for meaning *upa-prc* 'put oneself close to, be near,' which gives the very idea necessary for *folgîn*. This meaning may have arisen in connection with a compound form of *folgîn*, and might afterward have been transferred to the simplex. But, as we have seen, even in the simplex usage could have brought about this slight change.

2.—An I.E. root *ǵʰel-* occurs in a large number of roots, in a great variety of meanings. I shall try to show that this root, wherever found, is one and the same. To begin with, we find the root in O.H.G. *quellan* 'to swell, gush forth,' O.E. *collen* 'swollen,' Skt. *galati* 'drips, falls,' *jala* 'water,' Gk. βάλλω 'throw, fall,' βολή 'a throwing, a stroke; hitting, wounding,' Lat. *volāre*, *-volus*. (Cf. Brugmann, Grd. I² 590, 599; and Kluge, Et. Wb., s. v. *Quelle*.)

Such meanings as 'stream forth, fall, wound, fly' are certainly not very close, but they are not difficult to connect. The root, in all probability, meant primarily 'shoot forth, stream forth,' and was used either of solids or liquids in motion. This motion may be active, caused, or passive. The meaning 'swell,' of which more anon, comes from the idea of 'fullness' implied in 'gush forth,' as in Lat. *scaŕeō*, *scaŕurio*, or else directly from the idea 'spring up, grow.' It is a notable fact that the ideas 'gush forth, pour' and 'throw, hurl' are repeatedly combined under the same word or cognate words.

As we saw under Gk. βάλλω, from 'throw' develops 'hit, wound.' An extension of this meaning is in Lith. *gėlti* 'to sting,' O.H.G. *quelan* 'to have severe pain,' O.E. *cwelan* 'die,' from which Mod. Eng. *quail* 'to die, wither, fade' (obs.) and 'to flinch, give way, cower,' O.H.G., O.S. *quāla* 'torment,' O.E. *cwalu* 'violent death,' *cwealm* 'death, pestilence,' Mod.Eng. *qualm*. (Cf. Brugmann, Grd. I² 593, and Kluge, Et. Wb., s. v. *Qual*.)

The meaning 'swell' has, perhaps, the widest extension. From this idea probably come Gk. βάλαρος 'acorn,' Lat. *glans*, and many others with initial *gʰl-*, and possibly O.N. *kol-fr*, O.H.G. *chol-bo* 'bulb, spear.'

From 'swell' comes 'to be big, strong, powerful.' Hence here belongs also the root *ǵʰel-* in Lith. *galėti* 'to be able,' Lat. *valeō* 'am strong.' For the same development of meaning compare

Skt. *ṛváyati* 'swells' : Lat. *queō* 'am able.' (Brugmann, Grd. II 1146.) Perhaps through the intermediate idea of 'power' developed the root *ǵʰel-* in Gk. *βούλομαι* 'will, wish,' *βουλή* 'counsel.' Or it may have come from 'casting about' in one's mind, and hence 'resolving,' which better explains *βουλή*. Notice the Homeric expression *βαλέσθαι τι ἐν φρεσὶ* 'to ponder, consider.'

Again, from 'swell' comes 'to be big, to be pregnant,' as in Skt. *ṛváyati* 'swells' : Gk. *κυέω* 'am pregnant.' (Cf. as above, and No. 6, *ṛgen-*.) The root *ǵʰel-* + suffix *-bho-* has this development in Skt. *gárbha-* 'womb, child,' Gk. *δολφός*, *δελφύς* 'womb,' *δελφάς* 'pig,' Lat. *volba*, Goth. *kalbō* 'calf.' (Brug., Grd. I² 593.) To the same root with different suffix belong Goth. *kilpei* 'womb,' O.E. *cild* 'child.' The loss of the labialization is due to analogy with such forms as Goth. *kalbō*, where the loss is regular. (Brugmann, Grd. I², §679.)

From 'swell' further develops 'to be big, heavy' and hence 'slow, late.' For this change compare Gk. *βραδύς* 'heavy, slow, late.' This, then, is the connection for Lith. *g`las* 'end,' O.N. *kuelð* 'evening,' O.H.G. *chwiltilt-werch* 'evening work.' (Id. ib. 610.)

In the root *ǵʰer-* the meaning 'heavy' predominates, a meaning which is also in *ǵʰel-*. These two roots *ǵʰe-lo-* and *ǵʰe-ro-* are possibly from the same basal root *egʰ-*, (*e*)*ǵʰo-*. The root *ǵʰer-* in the signification 'heavy' occurs in Goth. *kaurus*, Gk. *βαρύς*, Skt. *gurú-*, Lat. *gravis*. This meaning shows a rich development. Gk. *βαρύς* and Lat. *gravis* both mean 'heavy, ponderous'; 'heavy, burdensome, grievous'; 'weighty, important, powerful.' Gk. *βαρύς* means also 'firm, immovable, honest,' and Lat. *gravis*, 'heavy, languid, sick, feeble.' These are the principal meanings, besides which there are several others, all coming naturally from 'heavy,' and yet widely separated from each other. In these and related words we see many parallels to the meanings of *ǵʰel-*. E. g. Lat. *valeō* 'am strong' : Gk. *βαρύς* 'strong, powerful,' *βάρος* 'weight, strength, power'; Lith. *gėlti* 'sting' : Gk. *βαρίνω* 'torment'; O.E. *cwealm* 'death, sickness,' Eng. *qualm* : Lat. *gravis* 'sick'; Skt. *gárbha-* 'womb, child' : Gk. *βρέφος* 'fetus, child.' The last two are of the same formation, and are to be compared for meaning with Lat. *gravis*, *gravidus* 'pregnant.'

With Goth. *kaurus* 'heavy, burdensome,' *kaurjan* 'to trouble, burden' should be connected *kara* 'care,' O.N. *kør* 'sick-bed,' O.E. *ccaru*, O.S. *cara* 'care, trouble, pain, mourning,' O.H.G.

chara 'mourning.' These words are undoubtedly connected with Goth. *kaurus*, Lat. *gravis*, etc., rather than with Gk. *γῆρυς*, Lat. *garriō*, etc., as Uhlenbeck thinks. The meanings of Goth. *kara* and its cognates grow from the idea 'heavy,' as in Gk. *βάρος* 'weight, grief.' O.H.G. *queran* 'to sigh,' which Kluge connects, readily falls in line with this development. Compare the similar growth of meaning in Gk. *γέμω* 'to be full, loaded,' *γόμος* 'load': Lat. *gemō* 'groan.' (Brugmann, Grd. I² 574.) 'Heavy' and 'sad,' 'heaviness' and 'sadness' are natural synonyms.

In meaning Goth. *qairrus* 'meek,' O.N. *kvirr*, *kyrr* 'quiet,' M.H.G. *kürre* 'tame,' might well belong here. These meanings easily come from 'heavy, oppressed.' In this connection may also be given Skt. *grāvan-* 'stone for pressing out soma,' Lith. *girnos* 'mill-stones,' Goth. *-qairmus*, etc. (Cf. Brug., Grd. I² 606.)

The meaning we saw in the root *g²el-* in Gk. *δολφός*, Goth. *kalbō*, etc., occurs also in the root *g²er-*. Gk. *βρίφος* has already been given. To this Brugmann, Grd. I² 590, adds O.H.G. *kropff* 'crop, craw,' O.N. *kroppr* 'rump, body.' In O.E. *croþ* 'crop, craw' and 'ear of corn' and in Eng. *croþ* are united two meanings, both of which come from 'swell, grow.' In the same line of development belong O.H.G. *quercha*, O.N. *kuerk* 'throat,' Lat. *gurgēs*, Skt. *girāti* 'devour,' Lith. *geriù* 'drink,' Gk. *βορά* 'food,' Lat. *-vorus*, *vorāre* (cf. Brugmann, Grd. I² 589 f., 604); and Gk. *βρόχθος* 'throat,' M.H.G. *krage* 'neck,' Eng. *craw* (id. ib. 606).

The meaning 'swell, grow' occurs also in Gk. *βρύω* 'swell,' *ἔμ-βρυον* 'embryo,' *βρύον* 'moss,' O.H.G. *krūt* 'herbage' (Persson, Wz. 123), and perhaps in Lat. *veru* 'spit.'

Beside the root *g²er-* in words for 'throat, chasm' occurs also *g²el-*. This variation Brugmann, Grd. I² 425 f., explains as the effect of dissimilation. This explains too much, unless we are ready to admit that all roots ending in *-el-* and *-er-* are due to this phenomenon. I think it highly probable that the two roots *g²el-* and *g²er-* in the various meanings here given, and in others as well, are related. It is possible that these roots, originally ending in different suffixes (determinatives), may in some forms have been confused. But it is not more necessary to explain the occurrence of *g²er-* and *g²el-* in this group of words than in others. If this has been caused by dissimilation, this must have taken place in the suffix itself. In that case the suffixes *-lo-* and *-ro-* are one—a supposable case, but an unnecessary supposition. For in numberless instances where we find synonymous roots of the

form **pe-ro-*, **pe-lo-*, we find beside them **pe-no-*, **pe-do-*, **pe-bo-*, etc.

As examples of the root *ǵ^hel-* in words for 'throat, chasm' may be given O.H.G. *chela* 'throat,' in which the labialization has been lost after the analogy of a by-form beginning **kol-* or *kul-*, as in Mod.Ger. *kolk*. In *kolk* we have a counterpart of O.N. *kuerk*, Lat. *gurgēs*.

3.—O.E. *græg*, O.H.G. *grāo* (gen. *grāwes*) 'gray.' This is a word which hitherto has not been traced outside of Germ. The I.E. form may be written **ǵ^hhrē-q^sós*, which would give in Germ. **grēgá-s*, **grēwés*, etc., with a later leveling, in the several dialects, to one form or the other. The 'schwundstufe' of *ǵ^hhrē-* is *ǵ^hh₂*, and this we have in Gk. *φορκός* 'gray,' from I.E. **ǵ^hh₂-q^sós*, in which *-ωp-* becomes *-op-* before the following consonant. (Brugmann, Grd. I² 477.)

We have in this comparison an almost exact coincidence of sound and sense. The same Gk. word is connected by Prellwitz with Goth. *bairhts* 'bright,' but I leave it to Prellwitz himself whether the connection here made is not the better one.

The same root *ǵ^hher-* occurs also in O.H.G. *grana*, O.E. *gronu*, M.H.G. *gran*, *grane*, Mod.Ger. *granne*. These words have the various meanings 'bristle, beard, awn, fish-bone,' etc. The original meaning must have been 'something bristling or pointed,' and to the same root belongs M.H.G. *grāt*, Mod.Ger. *grat*, *gräte*. (Kluge, Et. Wtb., s. v. *grat*.) These words may be compared with Gk. *φορίνη* 'the skin of swine.' O.H.G. *grana* is to Gk. *φορίνη* as O.H.G. *lang* (from **dlonghos*) is to Gk. *δολιχός*.

The primary meaning of this root was probably 'to spring forth.' From this developed the meanings 'to spring forth as a flame, to beam, to shine, to be white.' The same development occurs repeatedly in other words of similar meaning, as in Eng. *beam*; Lat. *radius* 'a staff' and 'a ray of light,' *radiō* 'to furnish with spokes' and 'to shine'; Ger. dial. *lodern* 'grow up,' *lodern* 'flame up.'

Hence we have the I.E. root *ǵ^hher-* 'to shine, blaze, burn,' in Skt. *ghṛṇōmi* 'shine,' O.Ch.Sl. *gorěti* 'burn,' Gk. *θέρωμαι* 'become warm,' *θίρος* 'summer,' *θερμός* 'warm,' Skt. *gharmā-* 'heat,' O.H.G. *warm*, etc.

A root *ǵ^hhel-* occurs in Gk. *θελω* 'desire,' *φαλίζει* *θέλει* Hes., O.Ch.Sl. *želěti* 'cupere, lugere.' (Brugmann, Grd. I² 591.)—

With a similar meaning the root g^*hedh- is found in Gk. $\thetaίσσασθαι$ 'to pray for, desire,' $\piόθος$ 'desire,' O.N. ged 'passion.' (Id. ib. 593.)

These two roots, together with g^*her- , may be the outgrowth of a simpler root, with the suffixes $-ro-$, $-lo-$, $-dho-$. The meanings of the words just given, and especially of O.Ch.Sl. $želēti$ and of Gk. $\piόθος$, $\piοθέω$, make it probable that the idea of 'desire, longing' comes from the feeling of fullness that weighs one down when a desired object is absent. And this idea of 'fullness' develops readily from the assumed root-meaning of this group, viz. 'to spring forth.' For this gives 'to grow, to swell.'

This root, it will be seen, has taken on in some of its developments the same meaning as g^*el- (v. No. 2). Compare the similar development of $\thetaάλω$ and $\betaούλομαι$. It is to be noticed also that $οὐκ ἐθάλω$ is often used like $οὐ δύναμαι$, so that in the same word are combined meanings which are kept distinct in Gk. $\betaούλομαι$ and Lith. $galēti$.

The root g^*hen- , i. e. $g^*he-no-$, 'to strike' is easily connected in meaning with this group. It is simply the root-meaning used causatively, and may be compared in its development to Gk. $\βάλλω$ 'to throw, strike.' To this root have been referred, among others, Gk. $φόνος$ 'murder,' $\θείνω$ 'strike,' Lith. $geniū$ 'hew off,' $genū$ 'drive,' Skt. $hanti$ 'strikes,' O.N. $gunnr$ 'battle,' $gandr$ 'stick, cudgel.' (Cf. Brg., Grd. I³ 591.)

Another root g^*hen- is apparently set up by Brugmann, Grd. I³ 591, for Gk. $φόνος$ 'mass,' $εὐθύνεια$ 'wealth, abundance,' Skt. $ghanas$ 'compact, hard, tough, thick,' $ā-hanás-$ 'luxurious,' Lith. $ganā$ 'enough,' O.Ch.Sl. $gonēti$ 'suffice.'

All of these meanings may come from the idea of 'swelling,' which, as we have seen, naturally arises from the root-meaning. The only word that does not readily fall in line is Skt. $ghanas$, the meanings of which are more easily derivable from 'strike, beat.'

In the above group I wish at least to suggest the possibility of connecting the roots $g^*he-ro-$, $g^*he-lo-$, $g^*he-no-$, $g^*he-dho-$ through a basal root $(e)g^*ho-$, and to show how, from a germinal idea, all the various significations could have developed. If these several roots are not related, and of course it is open to considerable doubt, it may at least be claimed for each one that it is the same wherever found.

4.—Goth. $gramst$, which translates Gk. $κάρφος$ 'mote, chaff, splinter,' may well be connected with $gramjan$ 'to anger, irritate.'

The root *ghrem-* involved in these words meant primarily 'scratch, rub,' as may be seen from Lith. *grámdyti* 'scour out,' Gk. *χρόμαδος* 'gnashing, grating, creaking.' The idea of noise is secondarily, but closely, connected, as in Eng. *grate* 'to rub' and 'to creak.' In fact, the Eng. word *grate* contains most of the significations of the root *ghrem-*.

Goth. *gramst* therefore meant originally fine particles rubbed off, as Eng. *gratings*, *filings*, or Goth. *malma* 'sand,' O.H.G. *melm* 'dust,' from the root *mel-* 'rub, grind.'

This root *ghrem-* is undoubtedly an extension of *gher-*, which, with various suffixes, has given the compound roots in Goth. *graban* 'dig,' *greipan* 'seize,' O.E. *grindan* 'grind,' *grēot* 'grit,' and their cognates. Here also belong, with the same secondary development as in the root *ghrem-*, Skt. *hrādati* 'rattle,' with which Goth. *grētan* 'weep' is compared. From these should be separated O.H.G. *gruozan*, O.E. *grētan*, etc., 'to greet,' which are rather to be referred to the root in Gk. *χαίρω*, Lat. *hortor*, etc. (Cf. Kluge, Et. Wtb.⁵, s. v. *Gruss*.)

Like Goth. *gramst* have developed O.E., O.S. *grund*, O.H.G. *grunt*, O.N. *grunnr*, Goth. *grundu-* 'ground,' from **ghrntu-*. These are certainly connected with O.E. *grindan* 'grind,' Goth. *grinda-* in *grinda-frapjis* 'feeble-minded,' as some have supposed. Primarily **ghrntu-* was 'something ground or rubbed fine.' Compare Goth. *malma* above; also *mulda* 'dust,' O.H.G. *molta*, *molt* 'dust, earth,' O.E. *molde* 'earth, mold,' from the root *mel-* 'rub, grind'; O.E. *grēot* 'grit, sand,' Lith. *grūdas* 'grain,' O.Sl. *gruda* 'clod.' (Cf. Kluge, Et. Wtb.⁵, s. v. *Griess*, *Grütze*, *Maulwurf*.) Lith. *grėndu* 'rub, scour,' from **ghren-dhō* or **ghren-dō*, contains the same root as pre-Germ. **ghrntu-*, but with a different suffix. O.E. *grindan* and Lith. *grėndu* may be related to each other as Goth. *-hlapan* and O.Ch.Sl. *kladq*.

With Goth. *greipan* I should connect *ga-greifts* (rather than *gagrēfts*) 'decree, command,' from the stem **ghreipti-* or **ghripti-*. The same idea is in the related Lett. *griba* 'will,' *gribēt* 'to wish,' which, with Lith. *greibti* 'seize,' are joined by Kluge, Et. Wtb.⁵, with *greifen*. The development of the meaning 'command' is quite natural and such as we find in other roots of similar signification. The primary idea of the root *gher-* seems to have been 'press, press upon,' from which easily comes 'to urge, command.' For other meanings we have the development 'press upon, seize'; 'press upon, rub, grind'; 'rub, scour, grate, creak'; 'rub, scratch, dig,' etc.

To the root *gher-* we may certainly refer all words beginning with *ghr-* or their equivalent which have the meanings given above or those that are derivable therefrom.

5.—A root *gher-*, meaning also 'to spring up,' has produced a large number of words. This occurs in Skt. *hāryati* 'be pleased, desire,' *hr̥ṇitē* 'be angry,' *hṛ̥ṣyati* 'be excited' with any passion. This to some may seem like a strange development, but a little consideration will make it plain. How did our I.E. ancestors speak of mental emotion? Certainly not as a subjective feeling, but as an objective expression or appearance. In other words, they described what they saw. We still speak of 'bristling up,' being 'ruffled,' and the like; and the same words may often portray the outward expression of quite different passions. Thus, Skt. *hṛ̥ṣyati* may denote the excitement of fear, anger, impatience, pleasure.

With Skt. *hāryati* have been connected Gk. *χαίρω* 'rejoice,' Goth. *-gairns* 'desirous,' Umbr. *heriest* 'he will wish,' Lat. *hortor* 'urge, incite.' To these others add O.H.G. *gruozan*, O.E. *grētan* 'to greet,' the primary meaning of which was accordingly 'to wish one joy.' This would correspond to the Gk. salutation, *χαίρε*. The Germ. word was formed on the stem **ghrē-do-*, **ghrō-do-*. From the 'tiefstufe' of this—**ghydo-*—might have arisen in Germ. **gruto-*, which could have given O.S. *griotan*, O.E. *grēotan*. A simpler explanation, however, is that we have the successive steps *gher-*, *ghr-ē-*, *ghrē-do-*, and *ghrē-uo-*, *ghrey-do-*. From this I should separate Goth. *grētan* 'to weep,' Skt. *hr̥ādati* 'sounds.' These I think contain rather the root *gher-*, which is also in Goth. *gramjan* 'to anger,' O.H.G. *gram*, *grim*, etc.

To the root *gher-* I should also refer Goth. *gras* 'grass,' O.E. *grōwan* 'grow,' *grēne* 'green,' and other related words. These preserve the literal meaning of the root. And closely connected with Goth. *gras* are O.H.G. *gersta*, Lat. *hordeum* 'barley' from *gher(e)s-*, *gh(e)res-*.

A secondary development in meaning is seen in Gk. *χρᾶς* 'stake,' and then 'a place staked in,' *χόπος* 'enclosed space, fodder,' Lat. *hortus* 'garden,' Goth. *gards* 'house,' etc.

To the root *gher-* also belongs a number of words in Germ. beginning with *gr-*, such as O.H.G. *grūwisōn* 'to be terrified,' *ingrūen* 'to shudder,' O.E. *agrȳsan*, *gryre* 'terror.' Examples from other languages will occur to all, or will be readily found by a reference to the etymological dictionaries.

A sister root *ghel-*, with a similar meaning, has produced a number of words. This means that we must cut the root back to (*e*)*ghe-*, which in itself contains the idea from which the various significations have arisen. Here belong O.H.G. *gelo* 'yellow,' Lith. *žalias* 'green,' Lat. *helvos*, *fulvos*, *flāvos*, Gk. *χλωρός* 'greenish, yellowish,' *χλόη* 'grass,' all denoting the color of the growing herbage or crops.

Lat. *flāvos* is usually compared with the Germ. **blēwa-* 'blue,' which is entirely improbable. I have shown (Jour. Germ. Philg. I 297) that the Germ. word is rather to be connected with Gk. *μελας*. In Lat. *helvos* : *flāvos* : *fulvos* is the ablaut *ghel-* : *ghē-* : *ghl-*. The *f* of *flāvos* is probably due to the analogy of *fulvos*.

To the root *ghel-* belong, as is well known, O.E. *glōwan* 'glow,' with its many cognates, and *gold*, Lett. *zelts*, etc. To the corresponding root *gher-* may be referred Gk. *χρυσός* 'gold,' instead of regarding it as a loan-word. The root *ghel-* furnishes words for 'yellow' and 'green.' That *gher-* gives none for 'yellow' is purely accidental. That is a matter of association; and it is not stranger to find *χρυσός* from the root *gher-* than *χλόη* from *ghel-*.

6.—The root *gen-*, whose original meaning was probably 'bend,' occurs in the following groups of words.

Goth. *kniu*, Lat. *genu*, Gk. *γόνυ* 'knee,' *γωνία* 'corner, angle,' Skt. *jānu* 'knee,' etc. The 'knee,' therefore, was the 'bender.'

As 'to bend' is 'to bow out,' this root is used to form appellations for rounded or bent parts of the body. Hence Goth. *kinnus* 'cheek,' O.E. *cin* 'chin,' Lat. *gena*, Gk. *γίγνς* 'chin,' *γνάθος* 'jaw.' Compare O.H.G. *wanga* 'cheek' : Skt. *vakrá-* 'bent.'

Closely allied to this meaning, the root is found in words expressing an outgrowth or protuberance. Here belong : M.H.G. *knoche* 'bone,' 'bunch, knot' (on trees), O.E. *cnucel* 'knuckle'; M.H.G. *knolle* 'clod,' O.E. *cnoll* 'knoll,' Du. *knol* 'turnip'; O.H.G. *knopf* 'gnarl, knot,' Du. *knop* 'bud, excrescence' (on plants), M.E. *knobbe*; O.H.G. *chnodo*, *chnoto*, O.E. *cnotta* 'knot.'

This shows us how the root *gen-* 'to bear, to be born' has developed. I have shown elsewhere how various roots from which has developed the meaning 'swell' have given words for 'pregnant, bear, be born.' E. g. Gk. *πιδᾶξ* 'spring' from the root *pid-* 'swell' : Goth. *fitan* 'to bear a child'; O.H.G. *quellen* 'swell' : Goth. *kalbs* 'calf,' Skt. *gárbha* 'womb, child,' from the root *gzel-*; Skt. *śváyati* 'swells' : Gk. *κυέω* 'to be pregnant.' (Cf. Brugm., Grd. II 1146.)

Here, then, we have Lat. *gignō*, *genus*, Gk. γίγνομαι, γένος, Goth. *kuni*, *knōps*, O.H.G. *kind*, and numerous others. It is easy to see how a word for 'swell' may be applied to the mother with child and to the fruit of the womb, and from this idea may spring this entire group. And yet many of the words, such as Goth. *kuni*, *knōps*, Lat. *genus*, *nātiō*, etc., may be more closely connected with the meaning 'swell, grow,' so that *kuni*, etc., would mean, not what has been born, but what has grown.

This root gives a number of words for 'child' or 'relative.' Among these are O.H.G. *kind* 'child,' Lith. *žentas* 'son-in-law, brother-in-law,' O.Ch.Sl. *žeti* 'son-in-law'; Gk. γυνός 'relative, brother,' Lett. *žnōts* 'son-in-law, brother-in-law'; Lat. *gener*.

These words throw light upon another group, which I may be permitted to introduce here. Kluge, Et. Wtb.⁵, s. v. *Schwester*, suggests the possibility of connecting O.H.G. *swehur* 'father-in-law,' *swigar* 'mother-in-law,' M.H.G. *swāger* 'brother-, son-, father-in-law' with O.H.G. *swestar* 'sister,' O.S. *swiri* 'nephew,' O.N. *swiljar* 'husbands of two sisters,' which he supposes may have come from a common element *swe-* 'one's own.' I should prefer to make this common element *sū-* with the primary meaning 'to be heavy' and then 'to be with child, to bear,' and should connect with O.H.G. *swehur*, etc., O.H.G. *swangar* 'pregnant,' O.E. *swongor* 'heavy, slow.' This basal root *sū-* is also in O.H.G. *sunu* 'son,' *sū* 'sow,' and their cognates. (Cf. author, Jour. Germ. Ph. I 293.)

The root *ḡen-* 'to be able, know' is considered the same as *ḡen-* 'to bear.' Their relation I should explain as in Lith. *galėti* 'to be able,' Lat. *valeō*, from the root *ḡel-* 'to swell,' O.H.G. *quellan*; Gk. κνέω 'am pregnant,' Skt. *cvāyati* 'swells,' Lat. *queō* 'am able.' In the same manner the root *ḡen-* developed as follows: 'bend'; 'swell, be big with child, bear'; 'swell, become powerful, be able, know.' We may therefore safely connect O.H.G. *kunnan* 'to be able, to know' with *cunni* 'race,' *kinni* 'chin,' and *kneo* 'knee.' Notice also that from the root-meaning 'bend' Goth. *gakunds* 'persuasion; obedience, subjection,' and *gakunnan sih* 'to submit' are more easily explained than from the secondary meaning 'know.'

7.—As extensions of the I.E. root *eḡ-* 'to go' are given *ġē-* in Goth. *jēr*, *ġō-* in Gk. ὅπος, Lat. *hornus*, and *ġā-* in Lith. *jóju* 'ride,' O.Ch.Sl. *jachati* 'vehi.' (Brugmann, Grd. I² 282, 288.) To these

I should add *īu-*, *īeu-*. This is the root *eī-* + the suffix *-uo-*, just as *īē-*, *īō-*, *īā-* are composed of *eī-* + the suffixes *-ē-*, *-ō-*, *-ā-*.

The root *īu-* appears in the enlarged form *īu-dh-* in Skt. *yūdhyaṭi* 'fights,' *yōdhati* 'is agitated,' Lith. *judù* 'move, stir,' Gk. *ῥομίνη* 'battle,' Lat. *juba* 'mane,' *jubeō* 'order.' (Brugmann, Grd. II 1046; Persson, Wz. 44.) The root-meaning, according to Bugge, was 'to be in violent motion' (cf. Persson, Wz. 44), a meaning which could easily come from the root *eī-*. The simpler form *īu-* is supposed to be in Skt. *yū-*, *yuyōti* 'repel.' To this root has been referred also Goth. *jiuka* 'strife, battle,' *jiukan* 'to fight,' to which Persson, Wz. 44, adds Av. *yaozaiti* 'moves, trembles.' Here, however, cannot belong Skt. *yunakti*, since that is from the root *jeug-*.

With Goth. *jiukan* may be connected O.H.G. *jucchen*, O.E. *gyccan* 'to itch,' and O.H.G. *jucchido*, O.E. *gycda* 'the itch.' 'To fight' and 'to itch' may seem at first blush irreconcilable ideas. But they are not more so than many others that may be brought together if taken back to their point of divergence. The common meaning from which these two words could come is 'strike, scratch, rub.' For a similar development compare Gk. *κνύω* 'scratch': *κνύζα* 'the itch,' Lett. *knūt* 'to itch'; Gk. *κνάω*, *κνήθω*, *κνίζω* 'to scratch': pass. 'to itch,' all from the root *s-gen-* 'to cut, flay,' Gk. *κατα-σκένη* 'kills,' O.H.G. *scintan* 'to flay.' (Persson, Wz. 76, 134.) Compare further Gk. *ψάω* 'rub, grind,' *ψάχω* 'rub to pieces, crush': *ψώρα* 'the itch'; Lith. *skabù* 'cut, strike,' Lat. *scabō* 'to scratch': *scabies*, *scabres* 'itch.' These examples are enough to remove any difficulty in connecting Goth. *jiukan* 'to fight' and O.H.G. *jucchen* 'to itch.' Phonetically they are not entirely the same. Goth. *jiukan* is from **īeuġ-*; O.H.G. *jucchen* from **īuġ-n-*. This was perhaps a participle **īuġnó-*, meaning 'struck, stroked, tickled,' from which **īugneīō*, Goth. **jukkja*, would mean 'scratch, tickle, itch.'

The root *īēu-* 'young,' primarily 'active,' is another offshoot from the root *eī-*, *īē-*. This occurs in Lith. *jáunas*, whose accent points to a long diphthong (Hirt, Idg. Akz. 138), Skt. *yúvan-*, Lat. *juvenis*, *juvencus*, Goth. *juggs*, etc. This root *īēu-*, or rather *īē-uo-*, stands beside a synonymous root *īē-g'o-* in Gk. *ἦβη* 'youth,' Lith. *jėga* 'strength.' (Brugmann, I² 270.) We have then, in these words, the common element *īē-*, which is simply the root *īē-* 'to go.'

According to Brugmann, Grd. I² 261, Johansson connects the stem **īu-en-* 'young' with Skt. *āyu-* 'life,' Gk. *αἰών*, Lat. *ævom*,

Goth. *aiws*. Skt. *āyu-* is supposed to be from I.E. **āyu-* (Brugmann, Grd. I' 208). I should rather derive it from I.E. **ēyu-*, and Lat. *aeuom*, etc.; from I.E. **ēyuo-*, and these in turn from the root *ēy-* 'to go.' So that the root *ēyuo-* 'young' is remotely connected with Skt. *āyu-*, but more directly, it seems to me, with *ēy-g²o-*.

Now, this root *ey-* 'to go' is phonetically similar to the pronominal stem *i-*, *ei-* (*io-*, *eio-*). Must we here abandon the theory with which we started? No. I believe the pronominal stem to be the root of the verb *ei-* 'to go,' and the base of I.E. *oi-no*, *oi-yo-*, *oi-go-* 'one,' primarily 'this here.'

First, then, we have the pronominal stem *eio-*, *ey-*, *io-* 'this.' 'This' gives us the idea 'here,' primarily of space, secondarily of time. 'Here' and 'now' were, to our I.E. ancestors, related ideas, and are not even now always kept apart. Next, from 'here' and 'now' arose the idea of continuance in space and time. Hence *ey-*, *ēy-*, etc., 'to go,' and the several words for 'age, time.' For that which is 'always' is 'now,' and the continued 'now' is the 'always.' Compare, for this development, M.H.G. *ie-zuo* 'now, immediately, repeatedly,' from the meaning 'ever-present.' Finally, the verbal root *ey-*, from continuance and then progression in time and space, came to denote motion and activity, as we saw above.

Many other examples of well-established etymologies could be added to show the great diversity of meaning that may come from a single idea. Such examples ought to make us very slow in separating words on account of their meaning. The presumption ought to be in favor of connecting phonetic equivalents, however far apart in signification. Uhlenbeck, though all too ready to dissociate words whose meanings are not closely related, brings together, in his Et. Wtb., O.H.G. *herta* 'herd': *herta* 'change'; Goth. *weihs* 'holy': *weihan* 'to fight': Lith. *vaikas* 'boy'; Goth. *winja* 'pasture': *winnan* 'to suffer': Skt. *vānas* 'pleasure': O.H.G. *wonēn* 'dwell.' In these and other connections found there the development is easily followed, and the relation cannot be denied. What right, then, has any one to declare off hand that Goth. *saljan* 'to dwell' and *saljan* 'to offer' have nothing to do with each other? Perhaps they have not, but there is no 'of course' about it. The difference in meaning is no obstacle to the connection of this or any other set of words, provided they can be shown to be phonetically alike. I admit

that an etymology cannot be regarded as certain unless we can show the connection in meaning as well as in sound. But it is not necessary to show this historically in the one case more than in the other. It is sufficient to show the logical development. For often the connecting link is missing and must be supplied. Without this, who would think of joining Skt. *vānas* 'pleasure' and Goth. *winnan* 'to suffer'; Goth. *weihs* 'holy' and Lith. *vaikas* 'boy'?

It should be the business of the etymologist to show the semasiological development. This is often possible by analogy. For example, it may be pointed out how the idea 'heavy' grows into 'important' on one side or 'sad' on another. And certain ideas may be expressed repeatedly by a certain figure of speech, wherever and however the proper meaning arises for that expression. That is, as soon as a given root takes on a meaning suited to express a particular idea, that idea is often thus presented. Thus, 'heavy, heaviness' mean 'sad, sadness,' though 'heavy,' in the sense in which it is possible to use it as a synonym of 'sad,' is a derived meaning, somewhat removed from 'heave,' Goth. *hafjan* 'raise,' Lat. *capio* 'take.' It is plain, therefore, that the original meaning of a word has little to do with its development. The idea 'heavy' might be expressed by a root with an entirely different force, as 'to sink, to load, to pile up, to swell,' etc. And yet every one of these, if it develops the meaning 'heavy,' may, of course, give any word which can be expressed figuratively by 'heavy.' Again, the same words, developing along other lines, produce almost the opposite significations. From 'raise' we might have expected 'joyful' instead of 'sad.' That does not occur in Germ. from *hafjan*, but 'raised' in the sense of 'sublime' does occur in Mod.Ger. *erhaben*.

As the same meaning may develop in many different ways, we find in the I.E. languages many roots with overlapping significations. We should be careful, therefore, how we connect words that are not phonetically the same simply because they are synonymous. The meanings may be cognate and the roots not, or *vice versa*. Thus Mod.Ger. *erhaben* is derived from the same verb as Eng. *heavy*, with different development; while Gk. *kánpōs* 'boar,' Lat. *caper* 'goat' are from the same meaning differently applied.

Now, to come back to Goth. *saljan* 'dwell' and *saljan* 'offer,' which, according to Uhlenbeck, 'have of course nothing to do

with each other.' It is not so difficult a matter to connect these words in meaning, and therefore make it probable that they are related. 'To give' and 'to take' may come from the same idea as in Gk. νέμω 'to distribute, apportion': Goth. *niman* 'take.' The same parallelism exists between *saljan* 'offer': Gk. δαίν 'to take,' Osthoff, PBB. 13, 457 ff. This brings us to the meaning 'possess,' as in Gk. νέμομαι. And here again the parallel does not fail us, for we may connect with *saljan* 'offer' O.Ir. *selb* < **sel-uā* 'possession.' (Cf. Brugmann, Grd. I² 328.) Finally, just as Gk. νέμομαι means 'to dwell in, inhabit,' and νομός 'a dwelling-place': so Goth. *saljan* 'to dwell,' *salijwa* 'dwelling,' O.H.G. *sal* 'hall,' etc. It is interesting to note also the opposite development of Lat. *emō* 'buy': Eng. *sell*, O.E. *sellan*.

Now, then, if Goth. *saljan* 'offer' and *saljan* 'dwell' are not cognate words, it is not because they are too widely separated in meaning. In fact, I believe such a possibility could hardly exist. We have seen, in the examples given, how a certain meaning may, according to its use, split into several more or less widely separated ideas; how each of these new ideas may become the centres for new departure; how the original signification may be entirely lost sight of; and how thus related words which have come down through diverging lines of development may in meaning be as far apart as the poles. I hope, therefore, I have proved to the satisfaction of all the truth of the thesis laid down at the beginning of this paper. Instances enough of widespread divergence in meaning have been pointed out before. And these ought to have sufficed to convince any one that the meaning of a word is a very unstable quantity, and should never play more than a subordinate part in deciding the relation of words.

The main light, then, is phonetics: the meaning but a side light. Hence two words of the same phonetic composition are presumably cognate. Especially is this so if they are not synonymous, for they are not then under the suspicion of having been assimilated to each other.

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IV.—*I NUNC* AND *I* WITH ANOTHER IMPERATIVE.

The formula *i nunc*, it may be prefaced in a general way, was not used under ordinary circumstances. It marks the presence, and is the product, of a stress of emotion. It gives expression to feelings varying in regard to their source and degree of complexity. It might indicate impatience or resignation, might spring from vexation or disgust, might give outlet to sarcasm or ridicule, might be used in a serio-comic sense, might even give vent to an outburst of anger, the degree in each case depending upon the occasion, the amount of offence taken and the excitement aroused. Hence it adds an unmistakable flavor to the narrative and throws no uncertain light upon the state of mind of the writer, being, as it were, a mental barometer. Its stylistic importance has not been overlooked, and references to it appear sporadically in commentaries that go back a number of years. In some cases a limited number of examples have been added. Jahn, ad Pers. IV 19, says: "frequentissima irridentis vel exprobantis formula, semper imperativum alterum adiunctum habet, vel addita particula copulativa." He then cites some examples of each of these usages, but the lists are incomplete and some of the passages confused. He cites Ovid, Her. IV 127, for the first class, but here there is no conjunction. Senec. Helv. VI 10 is cited instead of VI 8. In the second class, asyndeton, Ovid, Her. IX 105, Am. I 7, 35 and A. A. II 635 have the conjunction *et*. Hand, Turs. IV, p. 341, says: "Cum imperativo et cum coniunctivo adhortationis *nunc* componitur, ut rerum status, in quo iussum nitatur, appareat: nec raro cum quodam sarcasmo." He cites Lambinus ad Hor. Epist. I 6, 17: "Concessio est dissimulationis et irrisationis plena, qua utuntur Latini, quum vel a re quapiam deterrent, vel aliquid improbant, vel fieri non posse indicant." He then gives a short list and cites Heinsius, Ov. Am. II 3, 1; Passerat. Prop. III 6, p. 442; Schmidius ad Hor. Epist. I 6, 17. (For Am. II 3, 1 read III 3, 1; the reference to Passerat. is incorrect.) A note to Juv. VI 306 in the Lemaire edition says: "Verba reprehendentis et irridentis." Later discussion can be found in Draeger, Hist. Synt.², §311, 17 and §359, 1, 2, but in the examples cited, particularly those from

Plautus, considerable confusion exists, notably in inserting compounds with simple verbs and in giving incorrect references. Neue, Formenlehre, I 2³ (1875), p. 401, cites only two passages for *i*, and those in Plautus, and one, *abi atque*, in Terence; none for *i nunc*. Schmalz, Lat. Synt. (Handb. d. klass. Alt.-wiss. II³), §163, gives a short note with a few examples added. M. Mueller, in commenting upon this formula, Livy 38, 51, 10, says it is to be found "in weniger knapper Rede." (Cf. also II. Anhang, p. 142.¹)

It is very clear that the force and tone of this formula would preclude it from certain spheres. A writer of a technical treatise would have little occasion to use it; e. g. it was not thought worth while to examine Vitruvius. And further, it is not a matter of surprise to find that the lexica to Cicero's philosophical and rhetorical writings, to Caesar and to Nepos, cite no examples of its use. In fact, this formula does not seem to appear in prose until the time of Seneca. As there are only a few examples in prose down to the close of the 5th century A. D., the conclusion seems to be that, up to this time at least, *i nunc* belongs almost exclusively to the realms of poetry. And, inasmuch as the expression belongs to conversational language, one is struck with surprise that neither Plautus nor Terence uses it, and that there are but very few examples in dramatic poetry. The omission of the copula has an important stylistic effect which should never be overlooked. Its omission marks haste, excitement, earnestness, and occurs particularly in short and energetic expressions. The general use and range of this formula, and of *i* with another imperative, may be seen from the following.²

(Draeger's lists will be found in §311, 17 and §359, 1, γ, but a number of the examples cited are not placed in their proper categories and some of them cannot be found, owing either to typographical errors or references to antiquated editions.)

I. PLAUTUS.—a. *I nunc*. Plautus, strange to say, makes no use of this formula. *Nunc* occurs with *abi* (cf. f below) and

¹ For further discussion cf. Schmalz, Ueber den Sprachgebrauch des Asinius Pollio² (1890), p. 55; Süss, Act. Sem. Erlang. I (1878), p. 14; Seyffert, Scholae Latinae, II³ (1872), p. 140; Stern, Gram. der röm. Dicht., §50.

² The expression is not unknown to Greek, cf. Iliad, III 432 'Αλλ' ἴθι νῦν προκάλεσσαί. Ameis-Hentze⁵, ad loc., say: "Eine ironische Aufforderung," and add: "stehendes Asyndeton, wie K. 53, 175; Δ 611." All four examples stand at the beginning of the verse.

nunciam, with asyndeton, in *Most.* 64 and with *redi atque* in *Aul.* 81.

b. *I* with asyndeton occurs 27 times (Draeger says only 23): *Amph.* 770; *Aul.* 458, 767, 768, 800, 829; *Bacch.* 901, 1059; *Capt.* 184; *Cas.* 214, 756; *Cist.* 286, an interesting example: *i curre equum adfer*; *Men.* 952; *Merc.* 787; *Mil.* 181, 521, 812, 1301, 1361; *Most.* 377; *Pers.* 487, 574; *Poen.* 424; *Stich.* 150, 396, 683; *Truc.* 696. (Draeger cites *Pseud.* 891, where Fleck-eisen and Lorenz read *i cedo*, but Goetz and Schoell, and Leo also, have a different reading.)

c. *I et* occurs only once, *Amph.* 971. In *Cist.* 284 and *Most.* 682 three imperatives are used, *et* joining the last two. (Draeger cites *Amph.* 329, but the expression is not used there.) It will be noticed that Plautus uses *i* with asyndeton 27 times to 6 times with a conjunction.

d. *I atque* occurs 5 times: *Bacch.* 1174, *Cas.* 587, *Merc.* 277, *Most.* 807, *Pers.* 605. *Atque* is bracketed by G. and S. in *Capt.* 658 and *Poen.* 1116. In *Asin.* 382 *atque* joins the last two of three imperatives. (Draeger cites four examples, but one of them, *Cas.* 483, has a different reading.) Schmalz's note, *Lat. Synt.*, §163, is misleading. He says that Plautus uses *atque* with compounds of *iri*, thereby implying that he does not use it with the simple verb, and that Plautus is the only author to use *atque* in this way; but Vergil uses it in *Aen.* IV 424, Horace in *S.* I 10, 92, *Sil. Italicus* in II 116, and *Val. Flaccus* uses it 3 times: III 448, VII 162 and 240.

e. *Abi* with asyndeton (not noted by Draeger) occurs 6 times: *Amph.* 353, 1126; *Aul.* 89; *Cas.* 214; *Cist.* 502; *Pers.* 490.

f. *Abi nunc* occurs twice: with *et*, *Asin.* 367; with *atque*, *Bacch.* 714.

g. *Abi et* occurs 9 times: *Bacch.* 592; *Cas.* 613; *Curc.* 281; *Mil.* 255, 394; *Pers.* 165; *Pseud.* 890; *Stich.* 533; *Truc.* 838. (Draeger cites only 6 examples.)

h. *Abi atque*: Draeger cites 10 examples, but he omits 2, *Cist.* 287, *Most.* 391, and a number of mistakes occur: *Cas.* 191 = 491?, 315 = 329?, 387 = 295?, *Epid.* 589 = 604?, 639 = 655, and *Poen.* 302 = 308? (The latter lines in each case are to the Goetz and Schoell ed.) His other examples are *Mil.* 1195, *Men.* 220, *Most.* 294, *Pseud.* 168. (These added to the above give 12 in all.)

Of the other compounds of *i* it may be noted that *adi atque* occurs in *Pers.* 600 (*Poen.* 981, cited by Draeger, = ?); *exi*

atque, Mil. 1338, Pers. 459 (*exile ceferte* occurs in Merc. 911); *prodi atque*, Aul. 350 (not 348, Draeger); *redi nunciam atque*, Aul. 81; *redito atque*, Rud. 858.

It may be noted that *abi* has a conjunction 23 times (*et* 9 and *atque* 14) to asyndeton 6 times; that *adi*, *prodi* and *redi* are used only with *atque*.

II. ENNIUS.—No examples have been cited for Ennius by any of the authorities. *I nunc* does not occur; *i fac* occurs in frag. 369 (Baehr.).

III. TERENCE.—Draeger cites no examples. a. *I nunc*, and *i* with another imperative, do not occur. (*Nunciam abi atque*, Haut. 618.)

b. *Abi* with asyndeton occurs 5 times: Andr. 523; Eun. 499, 538, 753; Phorm. 445.

c. *Abi atque* occurs 6 times: And. 255; Haut. 618; Ad. 167, 351, 699; Eun. 673.

The two uses of *abi* are about equally divided.

d. *Transi atque* occurs in Phorm. 921.

IV. SCEN. ROM. POESIS FRAG. (Ribbeck), Comic.—Only one example has been found: *abi atque*, No. 178. Tragic.—Only one example, No. 350: *ite et* (in a series). Neither expression, it may be noted here, is found in the Fragm. Orat. (Meyer).

V. ASINIUS POLLIO.—Draeger cites no examples for Cicero,¹ but *abi nunc* with asyndeton for Asinius: ad Fam. X 32, 3. However, *I colliga* occurs in Pro C. Rab. IV 13. Cic. Leg. 3, 3 has been cited, but no example occurs.

VI. CATULLUS.—*I nunc* does not occur, *i* 3 times, once with *et*, 63, 13, and twice with asyndeton, 63, 19 and 78, all in the same poem.

VII. VERGIL.—Schmalz, Lat. Synt., §163, Anm., says that Vergil does not use *et* with *nunc*, but this statement will not hold; cf. Aen. XI 119. The correct statement is this: Vergil uses this formula only twice, once with asyndeton, VII 425, and once with *et*, Aen. XI 119. (Draeger fails to cite either of these examples and Jahn cites only VII 425.) Schmalz says nothing of Vergil's use of *i* without *nunc*. *I* with asyndeton occurs 4 times and only in the Aeneid: IV 381, VII 426, IX 631, XI 24; *I atque* occurs in Aen. IV 424. (The Culex has *ite et*, verse 19.)

¹ Schmalz, Ueber den Sprachgebrauch des Asinius Pollio² (1890), p. 55, says: "findet sich bei Cicero diese sarkastische Form des Epiphonems nicht." So also Seyffert, Schol. Lat. II, p. 140: "Die sarkastische, jedoch nicht Cicero-nianische Concessio (permissio) mit dem Imperativ und nunc."

VIII. HORACE.—Schmalz is in error here again. He says that with *nunc* Horace uses *et*. This, however, is not strictly correct, as this does not give an exact account of his usage. Kiessling, ad Ep. I 6, 17, comes nearer to the truth. He says that Horace uses *i nunc* both with and without *et*, but he cites only one example of each. Weidner's statement ad Juv. X 166 is also faulty. He says that Horace usually omits the *et*, but he gives no hint as to the frequency with which this formula is used. In fact one would infer from the 'usually' that the construction occurs much more frequently than it does.

I nunc occurs only 3 times in Horace, twice with asyndeton: Ep. I 6, 17 and I 7, 71 (Draeger omits the latter example); and once with *et*: Ep. II 2, 76.

I atque occurs in S. I 10, 92; *abi quaere et refer* in Ep. I 7, 53.

IX. TIBULLUS does not use this formula. *I* with asyndeton occurs 3 times in El. Lygd. I 17, IV 3, VI 62.

X. PROPERTIUS.—Neither Draeger nor Schmalz cites this poet's usage. a. *I nunc* with asyndeton once, IV (III) 17, 17. *I nunc* with *et* once, III 27, 32. These are all the occurrences.

b. *I* with asyndeton occurs twice: III 3, 18; IV 3, 7.

c. *I* with *et* occurs 6 times: I 9, 13; III 23, 23; IV 3, 10; 6, 29; 23, 3; V 5, 46.

XI. OVID.—Here also Schmalz is in error. He says, referring to the usage of Ovid, that with *nunc* he uses *et*. But this is not a correct statement of his usage, as will be seen below.

a. *I nunc* with asyndeton occurs twice: Her. IV 127 and XII 204. (Draeger, Hist. Synt. II³, p. 200, cites for this category Am. 3, 3, 1, but *nunc* is not used here. Jahn cites 5 examples for this construction, but 3 of these are in a series of three imperatives, *et* connecting the last two: Am. I 7, 35; Her. IX 105 and A. A. II 635. Pont. I 3, 61 belongs in the next category, b).

b. *I nunc* with *et* occurs 4 times: Her. III 26, XVI 57; A. A. II 222; Pont. I 3, 61. (Jahn's list is faulty, as Her. IV 127 belongs to the other category.)

None of these authorities treat Ovid's use of *i* and *i et*.

c. *I* with asyndeton: Ovid furnishes 9 examples: Am. III 3, 1; Rem. Am. 487; Met. XII 475; XV 23; 364; Pont. IV 3, 53; Fast. IV 731; VI 594 and 775.

d. *I et* occurs 7 times: Am. II 6, 3; Rem. Am. 214; Met. III 562; XII 475 (in a series); Trist. I 157; Pont. IV 5, 1, and Fast. II 14, 249.

e. *Inec* is used twice: A. A. III 87 and Met. II 464.

f. *I* with *-que* occurs twice: Met. XV 640 and Fast. VI 475.

XII. LIVY.—*Inunc* does not occur.

a. *I* with asyndeton occurs 9 times. Kühnast, Hauptprob. d. Liv. Synt., p. 286, cites only 4 examples: 22, 3, 13; 49, 10; 37, 36, 8; 44, 26, 11, but the last = *abi renuntia*. To these 3 examples are to be added: I 26, 11, with 2 occurrences; VIII 7, 20; IX 11, 13; X 4, 10; XXIII 10, 8.

b. *I* with *et* occurs once: 38, 51, 10.

c. *Abi exonera*: II 2, 7; *abi nuntia*: I 6, 7; XXII 49, 10; XXXVII 36, 8, and XLIV 26, 10. (Draeger cites only 2 examples.)

XIII. SENECA.—A. *Prose*. a. *I nunc* with asyndeton does not occur.¹

b. *I nunc* with *et* occurs 6 times: Ad. Helv. 6, 7; 10, 3; De Benef. 6, 35, 2; Brev. Vit. 12, 6; Ep. 88, 33; Nat. Quaest. I 16, 3. (Draeger omits De Benef., and fails to cite any examples from the tragedies.)

c. *I* with asyndeton, once, De Benef. IV 38, 2 *i ostende*.

B. *Poetry*. a. *I nunc* with asyndeton occurs 3 times: Her. Fur. 89; Med. 653 and 1015.

b. *I nunc* with *et* does not occur.

c. *I* with asyndeton occurs 9 times (influence of Ovid?): Her. Fur. 1144; Oed. 844, 901, 1073, 1079; Troad. 801, 1175; Med. 196; Herc. Oet. 746.

d. *I* with *et* occurs once in a series, Phoen. 401.

(SENECA, Rhetor., has 3 examples of *i nunc*: Contr. VII 2, 2 *i nunc et nega*; I praef. 10 *ite nunc et quaerite*; Suas. 6, 3 *i nunc et roga*. *I* with asyndeton occurs twice: Cont. VII 2, 12 *i occide*; Suas. 2, 19 *ite agite*.)

XIV. PERSIUS.—No examples have been cited by Draeger or Schmalz. *Inunc* is used but once and without *et*, IV 19. The only other example to be recorded here is that of *i* with *et*, V 126.

XV. LUCAN.—*Inunc* does not occur. *I* with asyndeton occurs once, II 499; with *et* 3 times: IV 162, VII 277 and VIII 784.

XVI. PETRONIUS.—*Inunc* occurs only once and with *et*, Sat.,

¹ Schmalz, Ueber Spr. d. Asin. Pollio, p. 55, says: "Dass gerade der jüngere Seneca *i nunc et* . . . bevorzugt, darf uns nicht wundern; denn dieser Schriftsteller hat in seiner Vorliebe für kopulative Verbindungen das von der klassischen Sprache abgewiesene *et* nach einem Imperativ zur Einführung des Futurums ganz besonders gepflegt."

§115 (Buecheler); *i* also occurs only once and with *et*, and in the same section. Neither of these examples has been cited.

XVII. VALERIUS FLACCUS.—a. *I nunc* does not occur.

b. *I* with asyndeton occurs 3 times: I 750, II 422 and IV 13.

c. *I* with *et* occurs 3 times: I 56; 247 and VIII 355.

d. *I* with *atque* occurs 3 times: III 448; VII 162; 240.

XVIII. SILIUS ITALICUS.—a. *I nunc* occurs only once, with *et*, but in a series: IV 787.

b. *I* with asyndeton occurs 9 times: I 568; 571; II 257; 696; IV 788; VII 101; 273; X 62; XV 753.

c. *I* with *et* occurs 4 times: I 651, IX 473, XIV 579; XV 395; twice in a series: XV 651 and 817.

d. *I* with *atque* occurs once, II 116; twice in a series: VI 714 and XIV 134.

XIX. STATIUS.—a. *I nunc* occurs but once and with asyndeton, Silv. I 6, 39.

b. *I* with asyndeton occurs 6 times: Theb. III 109; VIII 743; IX 215; X 671; 713 and XI 478.

c. *I* with *et* occurs 8 times: Silv. II 2, 145; Theb. III 167; X 33; 266; XI 434; 574; XII 648; Achill. II 268. In a series 6 times: Silv. V 3, 284; Theb. VI 809; VII 507; VIII 65; IX 786; X 731.

d. *I* with *-que* occurs 3 times: Silv. I 5, 15; III 4, 1, and Theb. IX 57.

XX. MARTIAL.—Schmalz's note, Lat. Synt., §163, to the effect that when *nunc* is added to the imperative Martial adds *et*, is incorrect, as the examples cited later will show. Friedlaender ad Spect. XXIII 6 gives a more correct list of the occurrences of *i nunc* than Draeger, but he places II 6, 1 in the list of examples where *et* is added and omits entirely XI 33, 3. He also cites for *i nunc* without *et*, X 96, 3, but the passage reads *i, cole nunc roges*. Draeger confuses the use of *i* with that of *i nunc* in his lists, citing for the latter X 12, 7 and X 96, 13, in neither of which passages is *nunc* used. (Draeger's examples, I 43, 6 and IX 3, 13, should be I 42, 6 and IX 2, 13 for Gilbert's and Friedlaender's editions.) Friedlaender cites Jahn, Pers. IV 19, for further examples, but Jahn's list is neither complete nor perfectly exact. Under asyndeton Jahn cites IX 2, 13, but *et* is used here; and he cites only one example from Martial for the use of *et* with *nunc*.

a. *I nunc* with asyndeton occurs 3 times: II 6, 1 and 17; XI 33, 3.

b. *I nunc* with *et* occurs 4 times: Spect. 23, 6; I 42, 6; VIII 63, 3; IX 21, 3. None of the above authorities cite Martial's use of *i* and *i et*.

c. *I* with asyndeton occurs 3 times: I 3, 12; X 19, 4 and 96, 13.

d. *I* with *et* occurs 4 times: IV 10, 3; VII 2, 7; X 12, 7 and 104, 3.

e. *I* with *-que* occurs once, VII 89, 1.

XXI. JUVENAL.—Schmalz, Lat. Synt., §163, Anm., says Juvenal, when he uses *nunc*, knows only the construction with *et*, but gives no hint as to the very limited range of this expression in that author. Draeger omits Juvenal entirely from his list. Weidner ad Juv.¹ VI 306 cites 2 examples for the formula *i nunc*, but one of them (X 166) does not have *nunc*. Friedlaender's note to the same passage is not so satisfactory as his note in Martial, as it gives an entirely erroneous impression as to the extent to which this formula is used. He cites only one example from Propertius (vid. above, X), and cites Prudentius, Psychom. 57 (probably taken from Jahn's note to Pers. IV 19), but Prudentius does not use the formula.

a. *I nunc* occurs only 3 times and with *et*: VI 306 (= Mart. VIII 63, 3), X 310 and XII 57.

b. *I et* occurs once: X 166.

c. *I* with *-que* occurs once: XII 83.

XXII. VALERIUS MAXIMUS, VELLEIUS and FLORUS.—Valerius has only 2 examples: II 9, 1 ite et exsolvite, and IV 5, 5 ite et praestate; Velleius, none; and Florus only one: II 20 ite et valete.

XXIII. TACITUS, PLINY and QUINTILIAN.—*I nunc* was not found in any of these authors, the character of the subject-matter, as a general thing, precluding its use. Pliny in Ep. IV 27, 4 has *i nunc, noli* in a quotation from Sentius. *I* with asyndeton, however, occurs in Tac. Hist. IV 77. (In the Quint. Declamationes *i nunc* with *et* occurs 5 times: p. 35, 20 (Ritter); 227, 12, two examples; 236, 16; 237, 10.

XXIV. COMMODIANUS and JUVENCUS.—The Christian writers as a rule held themselves aloof from this formula. Sarcasm or anger, two of its uses, would in general be considered unbecoming, and the subjects they treated would furnish few occasions to call for its use. Neither *i nunc*, nor the less offensive *i*, is to be found in these two poets' writings.

XXV. PRUDENTIUS.—As this poet was for the larger part of his life a Pagan, and one widely read in classical literature, one

might expect a few examples. *Inunc*, however, does not occur, although Friedlaender ad Juv. VI 306 cites it for Psychom. 57.

a. *I* with asyndeton occurs 2 times: Cath. XII 99 and Apoth. 381.

b. *I* with *et* occurs only once: Peristeph. I 64. In a series, *et* joining last two imperatives, it occurs 4 times: Peristeph. XII 65; Apoth. 658; Symach. II 901; Peristeph. XIV 65.

XXVI. CLAUDIANUS.—a. *Inunc* with asyndeton occurs once, in Ruf. II 301.

b. *Inunc* with *et* occurs once, but in a series, in Eutrop. II 194.

c. *I* with asyndeton occurs twice: Vi. Cons. Hon. 229; Gigant. 31.

d. *I* with *et* occurs 3 times: in Eutrop. I 471; Rapt. Pros. I 92; III 136.

XXVII. ANTHOLOGIA LATINA.—A. a. *Inunc* with asyndeton occurs but once, I¹, p. 47, No. 11, 157.

b. *Inunc* with *et* occurs twice: No. 408, 7 and 471, 12.

c. *I* with asyndeton occurs 5 times: I 1¹, 15, 132; 16, 82; 17, 241; 438, 3; I 2, 818, 6.

d. *I* with *et* occurs twice: I 2, 711, 1 and 877, 3.

B. *Carmina Epigraphica* (Buecheler).—a. *Inunc* with asyndeton occurs twice: 1136, 7 and 1253, 6.

b. *Inunc* with *et* occurs once: 950, 3.

XXVIII. FRAGMENTUM POETARUM LAT. (Baehrens).—*I* is used only once, and in the formula *i nunc* with asyndeton: S. Augurinus, 8.

XXIX. VULGATA.—*Inunc* is not used, but examples of *i* and *ite* with a following imperative abound.

a. *I* with asyndeton occurs only 5 times: Exod. X 8; 4 Reg. I 2; Zach. VI 7; Matth. XVI 7, and Luc. XVII 14.

b. *I* followed by *et* occurs 29 times: Exod. III 11; VIII 25; X 11; XXXII 27; Lev. X 4; Jos. II 1; VI 7; X 24; Judic. X 14; XXI 10; 20; 2 Reg. XIV 30; 3 Reg. XII 5; 4 Reg. I 6; VI 13; VII 14; IX 34; XXII 13; 1 Par. XXI 2; 2 Par. XXXIV 21; 2 Esdr. 8, 10; Job XLII 8; Matth. II 8; XXV 9; XXVI 18; XXVIII 19; Act. V 20; Jacob. II 16; Apoc. XVI 1.

The exact usage of each writer, and the history and the development of these two constructions, may be seen from the following summary (not taking into consideration the examples from the Vulgata):

<i>Poets.</i>	I NUNC.			I AND ITS COMPOUNDS.		
	With asyndeton.	With <i>et</i> , etc.	Total.	With asyndeton.	With <i>et</i> , etc.	Total.
Plautus,	0	0	0	34	35	69
Ennius,	0	0	0	1	0	1
Terence,	0	0	0	5	7	12
Comic. & Tragic Frag.,	0	0	0	0	2	2
Catullus,	0	0	0	2	1	3
Vergil,	1	1	2	4	1	5
Horace,	2	1	3	0	1	1
Tibullus,	0	0	0	3	0	3
Propertius,	1	1	2	2	6	8
Ovid,	2	4	6	9	11	20
Seneca,	3	0	3	9	0	9
Persius,	1	0	1	0	1	1
Lucan,	0	0	0	1	3	4
Val. Flaccus,	0	0	0	3	6	9
Sil. Ital.,	0	1	1	9	5	14
Statius,	1	0	1	6	11	17
Martial,	3	4	7	3	5	8
Juvenal,	0	3	3	0	1	1
Prudentius,	0	0	0	2	1	3
Claudianus,	1	1	2	2	3	5
Anthologia,	2	4	6	5	2	7
Frag. Poet. Lat.,	1	0	1	0	0	0
<i>Prose.</i>						
Asinius Pollio,	0	0	0	1	0	1
Livy,	0	0	0	15	1	16
Valerius Max.,	0	0	0	0	2	2
Florus,	0	0	0	0	1	1
Seneca Rhet.,	0	3	3	2	0	2
" Phil.,	0	6	6	1	0	1
Petronius,	0	1	1	0	1	1
Pliny Jun.,	1	0	1	0	0	0
Quint. Declamationes,	0	5	5	0	0	0
Tacitus,	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total,	19	35	54	120	107	227

*Notes.*¹

A. *I nunc*.—(1) In poetry this formula was used 39 times (adding to the above examples with *et*, Sid. Apoll. Carm. II 288),

¹ It should be stated in regard to all of the statistics here presented that they are based simply upon the language of literature. This refers particularly to the use of the formula *i nunc*. *A priori* we would infer that, if the records of the language of everyday life had been faithfully kept and we had access to them, we should find that it had seen considerable service in that sphere, and hence that it should be regarded rather a prose usage.

and in prose 19 times (cf. also Gell. XIX 8, 15; Incert. Panegyri. (Baehrens) IX 23 and Sidon. Apoll. Epist. I 3, 1, each with *et*), occurring in literature only 58 times in all.

(2) The conjunction was used 39 times and omitted 19 times, indicating that occasions for haste and urgency were not so frequent.

(3) In poetry the conjunction was used 21 times and omitted 18 times; in prose, expressed 18 times and omitted once.

(4) This formula was introduced into poetry by Vergil and into prose by Seneca, Rhetor. (Asinius Pollio, however, used *abi nunc*.)

(5) This formula was used most frequently, in *poetry*, by Martial and Ovid (as one would expect from their subject-matter); in *prose*, by Seneca, who uses it 6 out of the total 7 times (indicating that the philosopher shows more spirit than is generally supposed).

(6) This formula does not occur in comedy and only 3 times in tragedy (Seneca).

B. *I with another imperative.*—(1) In poetry *I* with another imperative was used 202 times, in prose 25 times; in all over 4 times as often as with *nunc* (227 : 58).

(2) The conjunction was used 107 times and omitted 120 times, reversing the ratio of *i nunc*.

(3) In poetry the conjunction was used 102 times and omitted 100 times.

(4) This expression was used most frequently, in *poetry*, by Plautus, Ovid and Statius; in *prose*, by Livy.

(5) This expression occurs in comedy 82 times and in tragedy 10 times.

(6) In the Vulgata *et* is expressed 29 times to omitted 5 times, being used more freely than in any classical prose writer, second only to Plautus among the poets.

Though not all of the prose and poetry down to the close of the 5th century A. D. has been examined, a sufficient amount, it is believed, has been covered to show the general use and range of these phenomena.

EMORY B. LEASE.

V.—“CHRISTE QUI LUX ES ET DIES”
AND ITS GERMAN, DUTCH, AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS.

A CONTRIBUTION TO HYMNOLOGY.

PART I.

Abbreviations of the more frequently quoted Authorities.

- Amp.: Ampferer, *Der Mönch von Salzburg*. Salzburg, 1864.
D.: Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*. 4 vols. Leipsic, 1841–56.
Frk.: Franck, *Mittelniederländische Grammatik*. Leipsic, 1883.
Ger.: Germania.
Gr.: J. Grimm, *Hymnorum veteris Ecclesiae*. Göttingen, 1830.
Hor. Belg.: *Horae Belgicae*, ed. by Hoffmann von Fallersleben. Vol. 10. Göttingen, 1852.
Hl. Sar.: *Hymnale Ecclesiae Sarisburiensis*. Oxford and London, 1850.
Hoff.: Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenlieds bis auf Luthers Zeit*. Hanover, 3d ed., 1861.
HS.: *Hymnarium Sarisburiense, cum Rubricis et Notis Musicis*. Pars prima. London, 1861.
Jhrb.: *Jahrbuch für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*.
Jul.: Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology*. London, 1862.
K.: Kehrlein, *Kirchen- u. religiöse Lieder*. Paderborn, 1853.
Koch.: Koch, *Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs*. 8 vols. 3d ed. Stuttgart, 1866–69.
L.: Lübben, *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik*. Leipsic, 1882.
M.: Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*. 3 vols. Freiburg, 1853.
Man.: Manitius, *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie bis zur Mitte des 8ten Jahrhunderts*. Stuttgart, 1891.
Mi.: Migne, *Patrologia*. 2d ed. Paris, 1878. Vols. 81–82.
Mo.: Morel, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*. Einsiedeln, New York and Cincinnati, 1868.
Osch.: Oscar Schade, *Geistliche Gedichte des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts von Niederrhein*. Hanover, 1854.
Q. & F.: *Quellen und Forschungen*.
R.: Ranke, *Marburger Gesangbuch von 1549*. Marburg, 1862.
Ri.: Riederer, *Nachrichten zur kirchengelehrten Geschichte*. 3 vols. Altdorf, 1764.
S.: Sievers, *Murbacher Hymnen*. Halle, 1874.
S. Amb.: *Sancti Ambrosii opera juxta editionem monachorum Sancti Benedicti* (of 1686–90). Lyons and Paris, 1853.
Sch. L.: Schiller u. Lübben, *Mittelnieder-deutsches Wörterbuch*. 6 vols. Bremen, 1876.

S. Soc.: Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church, ed. by J. Stevens for the Surtees Society. London and Durham, 1851.

W¹.: Wackernagel, Das deutsche Kirchenlied von Martin Luther. Stuttgart, 1841.

W².: Wackernagel, Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit. 3 vols. Leipsic, 1864.

Zfd. A.: Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum.

Zfd. Ph.: Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie.

Fl.: Flemish.

L.Ger.: Low German.

L.Rh.: Low Rhenish.

O.D.: Old Dutch.

O.H.Ger.: Old High German.

Introduction.

Scientific exactness, which is one of the supreme marks of the intellectual advance of this century, has wrought no greater revolution in the study of any subject than in that of history. Yet with all its daily-increasing research, history has so far failed to make an adequate use of popular literature in explaining many events of the past, the causes of which can be discovered only by tracing out the course of popular feeling.

This same thought is expressed more fully in Mr. Stopford Brooke's suggestive words: "If we want to get a clear idea of any period, we must know all the poets, small and great, who wrote in it, and read them all together. It would be really useful and delightful to take a single time and read every line of fairly good poetry written in it, and then compare the results of our study with the history of the time. Such a piece of work would not only increase our pleasure in all the higher poetry of the time we study, but would give us grounds for philosophic study, and for greater enjoyment of the poetry of any other time. Above all, it would supply us with an historical element which the writers of history, even at the present day, have so strangely neglected: the history of the emotions and passions which political changes work, and which themselves influenced political change; the rise and fall of those ideas which especially touch the imaginative and emotional life of a people, and in doing so modify their own development."

It is with the hope of throwing some further light upon one of the most emotional movements of history that the following paper is presented. That the literature of the emotions spoken of above is more usually found in ballad or folk-song than in hymns is no drawback in the present instance, for the hymn under

discussion reveals itself as a true folk-song by the great variety of forms in which it is found, not only in different countries, but, within fairly defined periods, in the several dialects of one country.

While some of the results of this paper are historico-literary, the means by which the several versions of the hymn have been traced to a common source are neither literary nor historical, but philological. The same method has been used, though to a much more limited extent, in connection with the attempt to fix the date of the Latin original of the hymn. But as, outside of four hymns of undoubted authenticity, the whole subject of the so-called Ambrosian Hymns is one requiring a much more extended examination of metre and word-forms than is possible within the purpose and limits of this paper, I have had to content myself with bringing forward only such evidence as seems to warrant my attributing a greater antiquity to the hymn than some collectors have accorded to it.

The Flemish translation of the hymn which is here published for the first time is contained in a MS prayer-book of the fifteenth century. The MS contains in all 102 12mo parchment leaves, the last two unwritten. It begins with 1) a mystical interpretation of the Lord's Prayer, *Een medetacie op pater noster*, which probably did not belong to the book originally.

2) Fol. 6-13^a, a calendar of saints' days and movable feasts; fol. 13-14^a, unwritten; 14^b, a picture of the Annunciation in the Flemish manner, the faces slightly rubbed.

3) Fol. 15-41^b, *Ghetiden van onser lieuer vrouwen, Mettē*. The first page of this section is beautifully illuminated. Fol. 42-49, *Hier nae volghen die seue psalmen der peneteciē. Den eerste Dñe ne*. This is followed, fol. 49^b-52^a, by the litany and a register of the saints especially invoked. Fol. 52^a, a prayer to St. Augustine.

4) Fol. 53-72, *Ghetidē vandē heilighē cruyce. Te mettē tyt*, and a miscellaneous collection of prayers, hymns, and portions of Scripture. Fol. 57, a prose *veni Creator, vandē heilighe gheest, i dutsch*. This portion begins in the hand of scribe C, and ends in that of B, A writing a few pages. Fol. 73-85, ten prayers to the Virgin, with an explanation of the five Aves, followed by prayers to the saints. Fol. 86 is the hymn 'Christe,' with the rubric on fol. 85^b, *Hymne Criste qui lux es et dies, i dutsche. En is goet sannons eer ghi haet slapē gelesē*. Fol. 86^b-87^a, the two hymns *vexilla regis prodeunt. In dutschen*, and *Pange lingua*,

the latter in Latin. Fol. 89^b has another Latin hymn, *van onser vrouwe hemelvaert O glorifica luce choruscas*. The handwriting of this hymn and of the remaining portion of the book is wholly different from that of the foregoing.

5) The fifth and last division of the book, fol. 92-100, contains *die XV. blootstortigen ons liefs heeren ih^mu* ΧΡΤ. This part seems to have been written at a somewhat later date, as is shown by the handwriting and by the use of *y* to the almost entire exclusion of *i*.

At the end of the book is written in red ink the date 1378; but not only is the ink a little different in shade from the other rubrics, but on fol. 71^a is found a prayer especially recommended by Pope Alexander VI, which would place the completed book no earlier than 1492-93. The excellence of the handwriting, however, and its general character, together with that of the decorations, would point to a date very little later than this.

The language of the prayer-book is that of the western part of the Netherlands.¹ Originally it must have belonged to an Augustinian convent in or near Antwerp.² Fol. 62^a occurs the following rubric: "Dit nae volghende ghebet waert ghecudicht in tgulden iaer ons heerē MCII. Eñ doen was een vrouwe biñen romē xiiy weken eñ dese vrouwe was van Antwerpen geboren, eñ dese vrouwe hoode dit ghebet van des helighe vader den paus wegen dachelycs preken." The name and day of the several saints point more especially to Brabant. For example, St. Gertruyt, March 17, the Brabantine saint for that day, and St. Dymrna, May 15, whose shrine is at Gheel, a little village "ten leagues from Antwerp."

That the convent was under the rule of St. Augustine may be inferred from the invocation of a prayer to him, fol. 78^b, and from the fact that his calendar day was celebrated by a solemn high mass, this service being otherwise reserved for the high feast days of the Church.

For advice and constant encouragement, as well as for the MS prayer-book itself, I am deeply indebted to Prof. Hermann Collitz, to whom I take this opportunity of offering my sincere thanks. I should like also to acknowledge the kindness of the library authorities of Harvard, Cornell, Columbia, and the Union Theological Seminary in lending me every aid in their power, thanking particularly Prof. Burr of Cornell and the Bishop Coadjutor of

¹ For example, the form *sint* instead of the *sunt* of the northern part.

² Butler, *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and Principal Saints*, vol. II, p. 221.

Erie, formerly rector of the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo at Overbrook, both of whom spared neither time nor effort in assisting me.

Chapter I.—The Latin Hymn.

A. Authorship.

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century,¹ when the Benedictines of St. Maur published their edition of the works of St. Ambrose, out of the eighty or more hymns which till then had gone under his name they retained but twelve; these alone since that time have been accepted by the Roman Catholic Church as genuine hymns of St. Ambrose. The only reason of the editors for the retention of these hymns and the rejection of the others is given in a few lines at the end of the published hymns²: “*Essent fortasse adhuc alii ad Ambrosium hymni pertinentes; sed quia eos ab alienis et spuriiis multum difficile, ne dicamus, foret dignoscere, nullum admittere maluimus, qui locupletis alicujus testis auctoritate non adsereretur.*”

This decision, unsupported by any given evidence, has not been followed by hymnologists in general. Mone's collection³ contains eleven hymns which he ascribes with certainty to St. Ambrose, and two others in regard to which he is in doubt; and he fails to mention the three hymns ‘*Aeterne rerum conditor,*’ ‘*Jam surgit hora tertia,*’ and ‘*Veni redemptor gentium,*’⁴ which, on the authority of St. Augustine and St. Cœlestine, form, together with the ‘*Deus creator omnium,*’ the four undoubted hymns of the Bishop of Milan. In the case of certain of the hymns⁵ Mone leaves his assertion of the authorship as unsupported by evidence as the Benedictines did, and other hymns⁶ he accepts as authentic upon very slight evidence.

Daniel⁷ published ninety-two hymns (X–CI) under the title ‘*Hymni Sancti Ambrosii et Ambrosiani.*’ In vol. IV D. gives

¹ 1686–90.

² S. A., vol. IV, p. 202. This edition is a reprint of the earlier edition.

³ M., vol. I, Nos. 30, 56, (62,) 167, 182, 281, (272,) 171; vol. III, Nos. 683, 771, 1019, 1156, 1200.

⁴ Man., p. 142, gives ‘*Intende qui regis Israel*’ instead of ‘*Veni redemptor gentium.*’

⁵ M., vol. I, Nos. 56, 182, ‘*Inluminans altissimus,*’ ‘*Jam Christus astra ascenderet.*’

⁶ M., vol. III, No. 1156, ‘*Stephano coronae martyrum*’; vol. I, No. 30, ‘*Intende qui regis Israel.*’ Cf. also Dreves, *Kath. Blätter, Ergänzungs Bd.* No. 58, p. 9 ff.

⁷ D., vol. I.

the opinions together with the substantiated assertions of later writers, but his own conclusions are left to inference.

Wackernagel¹ ascribes twenty-two hymns to St. Ambrose, but only in six² cases does he give any reason for the ascription. In his preface³ he tells us that he has followed Mone closely, yet we see that he has added at least nine to Mone's list of Ambrosian hymns. Presumably in these additions, as indeed in some of the hymns mentioned, W. relied upon the authority of Thomasius and Cassander,⁴ and twice (Nos. 24, 25) on Cassander's authority he quotes Bede's *De Metris*. We see from this comparison how the several collectors and editors differ, and often quite arbitrarily, in regard to the hymns which may rightly claim St. Ambrose as their author.

The hymn which we have under consideration, 'Christe qui lux es,' is among those thrown out by the Benedictine editors.⁵ In this particular they have been followed by most later hymnologists, although the authenticity of the hymn is supported by exactly the same evidence as the 'Somno refectus artubus,' 'Consors paterni luminis,'⁶ and 'O lux beata trinitas,'⁷ which the Benedictines retained. Mone, however, does not mention these last-named hymns. W.⁸ in his collection gives only 'O lux beata' with this note: "Thomasius bemerkt dass Hincmarus lib. De non trina deitate das Lied dem h. Ambrosius zuweise, von dem es aber der durchgeführten Reime wegen nicht ist, wie denn auch Thom. nicht beipflichtet."

Such metrical objections, however, cannot be brought to bear against the 'Christe,' which was ascribed to St. Ambrose as early as 857 by the same Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, on whose authority 'Somno refectus artubus' and 'Consors paterni luminis' are accepted without question. He mentions the 'Christe' in two treatises, one 'Contra Godischalcum,'⁹ the other 'De una et non trina Deitate'¹⁰; in the latter, p. 528, occur the words "Et item Ambrosius per totum alium hymnum ad filii personam loquitur

¹ W², vol. I, containing 'Hymni u. Sequenten v. Anfang des vierten bis ende des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts,' pp. 12-25, Nos. 3-25; one hymn is given in two forms.

² Nos. 3, 16, 18, 22, (23,) 24, and 25.

³ W², vol. I, pp. viii-ix.

⁴ I have been unable to consult these works.

⁵ Cf. Jul., p. 1067.

⁶ Jul., p. 26.

⁷ Jul., p. 842. To this Dan. IV, pp. 47-8, adds a passage from the 21st epistle of St. Ambrose, which he thinks settles the question of its authorship.

⁸ W², vol. I, No. 60.

⁹ Jul., p. 227.

¹⁰ Dan. IV, p. 54, from whom I quote.

dicens: *Christe qui lux es et dies, noctis tenebras detegis.*" This unquestionably refers to our hymn, and whether or not it be taken as conclusive evidence of the authorship, at least it shows that as early as the ninth century the hymn went under the name of St. Ambrose. According to Manitius the infallible mark of Ambrosian authorship is a division into eight stanzas, together with an iambic line. These certainly do not distinguish the 'Christe' except in the version of the Mozarabic Breviary, which is not the earliest form of the hymn. But while Manitius accords undoubted authenticity to but four hymns, he adds that these were too perfect to represent the first attempts of the Bishop, and that among the reputed hymns many must really have come from the pen of Ambrose.¹

None of the hymnologists before mentioned agree in ascribing any one compline hymn to the Bishop,² none, indeed, giving none for that hour. Yet we cannot but feel, little as this goes to prove the authorship of this particular hymn, that, considering the circumstances under which St. Ambrose introduced hymns into the Western Church,³ when he and many of his people guarded the churches day and night from the Empress Justina and the Arians, it would be strange had he left unhymned only this one of the hours, the hour of all others when fears are most fearful and watchers most in need of encouragement.

But there is evidence of a different kind in favor of the Ambrosian authorship. This hymn accords with the oft-repeated description of Christ as the light and day, and of the deeds and terrors of the night, found in the works of the father.⁴ In form as well as in idea it corresponds as an evening hymn to the Ambrosian matin hymns, especially to the almost universally accepted '*Splendor paternae gloriæ.*'⁵

¹ Man., p. 139 ff.

² Unless we except '*Te Lucis ante terminum,*' which W. asserts to be by St. Ambr., while D., without further remark, gives it under the division of *Hymni S. Ambrosii et Ambrosiani.*

³ Whether he or Hilarius was the first writer of hymns, still Ambrose must be considered the father of Latin hymnography.

⁴ S. A., vol. II, pp. 74, 111, 123, 132, 442, 489. See also vol. IV, pp. 248, 421. Lübken, in his Oldenburg Gebetbuch, ascribes the hymn to St. Gregory; but as he gives no evidence in favor of the ascription, it need not be seriously considered.

⁵ W², vol. I, No. 4; M. I, No. 272. Jul., p. 1080, calls this "the companion and sequel to '*Aeternae rerum conditor,*'" but as both are always given as matin hymns, this designation is scarcely correct.

B. *Date.*

Whether or not it is possible to prove that this hymn was one of those first songs of the church, yet it seems possible that a somewhat earlier date may be given to it than that assigned by Mone—that is, the 7th century.¹

M. gives for 'Sabbato adventus domini ad completorium hymnus' a hymn² beginning

"Salvator mundi, domine,
qui nos salvasti hodie,
in hac nocte nos protege."

The third stanza runs as follows :

"Ne mentem somnus³ opprimat,
Nec hostis nos subripiat,
Nec ullis caro, petimus,
Commaculetur sordibus."

This hymn is found in a Freiburg MS of the 14th century, and Mone, after mentioning that D.⁴ gives the opening stanza from the Salisbury Breviary, continues: "Das Lied scheint auf dem Festland nicht oft vorzukommen, es schliesst sich in Form und Inhalt so deutlich an die Ambrosianischen Hymnen an, dass man es in das sechste oder siebente Jahrhundert setzen darf."

The third stanza of the 'Salvator' so closely resembles the third stanza of the 'Christe' that we are obliged to consider the one or the other a borrowing. The stanza from the 'Christe' reads as follows :⁵

"Ne gravis somnus irruat,
Nec hostis nos subripiat,
Nec caro illi consentiens
Nos tibi reos statuatur."

When the two poems are compared throughout, the phraseology of the 'Salvator Mundi' seems of so much later date that we are forced to consider it the borrower ; furthermore, while this hymn

¹ Most of the recent editors follow M. in this, although he has left his assertions unsupported by any evidence ; compare, however, Vilmar, *Spicilegium hymnologicum*, Marburg, 1656, p. 24, who asserts the authenticity of the hymn.

² M. I., No. 32. D. IV, p. 209, gives the same hymn, repeating M.'s remarks, as given below, without any comment.

³ MS *sompnus*, which M. calls a "fremde, nord-französische Schreibung."

⁴ D. I., No. CCXVII.

⁵ M. I., No. 70.

appears in many of the English breviaries, though seldom found, as M. remarks, on the Continent, it is more reasonable to suppose that it borrowed from such a widely known hymn as the 'Christe,' rather than that the latter borrowed from one so obscure and little known as the 'Salvator Mundi.'

If, then, according to Mone, the latter hymn may be dated not later than the sixth or seventh century, this, together with the conservatism of the Mozarabic Breviary, in which our hymn appears, may allow us to push back the date of the 'Christe' about a century—that is, to at least the 6th century.

C. *Uses.*

However this may be, the hymn 'Christe qui lux es' early came into very general use as a compline hymn, usually for Lent, in some uses only on Quadragesima Sunday. Daniel¹ points to one or two different uses: the first is found in the church service of Halberstadt, from which he quotes: "iste hymnus cantetur ad compl. singulis diebus ad coenam domini"; the second, "In vetusto Carthusianorum Brev. canitur ad Complet. per totum annum. Vetusta Italorum breviaria ut Fr. carmine nostro carent, item hodiernus ecclesiae usus." Aside from Spain, the use of the hymn was practically confined to the Teutonic² nations, and since the final revision of the Roman Breviary in 1631, when the old hymns were rather ruthlessly handled, it has not been found in the Roman Catholic Church service.

D. *Comparison of the several Latin versions.*

The Latin hymn appears in at least three different forms; the version attributed by Wackernagel³ to Jacob Meyer is not here taken into account because of its late date. The versions are given in the order of the date of the MSS containing them.

I.—Mozarabic Breviary⁴:

Christe qui lux es et dies,
Noctis tenebras detege,
Lux ipse lumen proferens,
Vitam beatam predicans.

Precamur Sancte Domine,
Defende nos in hac nocte,

¹ D. I, p. 33.

³ W³. I, No. 435.

² D. I, p. 33.

⁴ Migne, vol. 86, p. 930.

Sit nobis in te requiem
Quietam noctem tribue.

Ne gravis somnus inruat
Hostis nobis subripiat,
Caro illi consentiat,
Et nos reos statuatur.

Oculi somnium capiant
Cor ad te semper vigilet,
Dextera tua protegat
Famulos, qui te diligunt.

Defensor noster aspice
Insidiantem reprime,
Guberna tuos famulos,
Quos sanguine mercatus es.

Memento nostri Domine,
In gravi isto corpore,
Qui es defensor anime
Adesto nobis Domine.

Tetre noctis insidias
Huius timoris libera
Tue lucis magnalia
Totum clerum inlumina.

Gloria Patri ingenito,
Gloria unigenito,
Una cum Sancto Spiritu,
In Sempiterna secula, Amen.

II.—Mone.¹ In this version M. follows A.² when there is any great difference between it and the other sources which he gives; therefore A. is taken as fixing the date of this version.

Christe qui lux es et dies
noctis tenebras detegens
lucifer lumen proferens
vitam beatam tribue.

Precamur sancte domine
defende nos in hac nocte
sit nobis in te requies
quietam noctem tribue.

¹ M. I, No. 70.

² Darmstadt MS No. 2106, from 8th c.

Ne gravis somnus irruat
nec hostis nos subripiat
ne caro illi consentiat
nos tibi reos statuât.

Oculi somnum capiant
cor semper ad te vigilat
dextra tua protegat
famulos qui te diligunt.

Defensor noster adspice
insidiantes reprime
guberna tuos famulos
quos sanguine mercatus es.

Memento nostri domine
in gravi isto corpore
qui es defensor animae
adesto nobis domine.

III.—The date of the MS containing the third version cannot be so exactly given; it belongs to the 8th–9th century, probably about 890.¹

I give here the three stanzas in which this version differs from II:

1. Christe qui lux es et die
noctis tenebras detegis,
lucisque lumen crederis,
lumen beatis prædicans.
2. Precamur, sancte domine,
defende nocte et die,
sit nobis in te requies,
quietam noctem tribue.
4. Oculi somnum capiant,
cor semper ad te uigilet,
dextera tua protegat
famulos, qui te diligunt.

III¹.—The next version differs so little from III, though the few differences are important, that it may very well be marked III¹. The dating of this version is only approximate, yet is fixed

¹S. No. 16, taken from Jun. MS 127^b–128^a. W¹. No. 21, G. No. 16. It would seem, according to H. S. No. 64, that this same version is found on English soil in the following MSS: Laud 284, Laud 95, Laud Lat. 5, and Cod. MSS mem. Bod. 202.

more or less exactly by the fact that it supplies the Latin original for an interlinear Anglo-Saxon version.¹ I give the two stanzas in which it differs from III :

Christe qui lux es et dies
Noctis tenebras detegis
Lucisque lumen crederis
Lumen beatum praedicans.

Precamur sancte domine
Defende nos in hac nocte
Sit nobis in te requies
Quietam noctem tribue.²

This is the version which seems to have been the most widespread both in England and on the Continent,³ and to have been the original of the largest group of translations.

Another division (III³) might be made, but it will perhaps be sufficient to say that Grönsius, according to Daniel,⁴ gives a version similar to III¹ to which he adds a seventh stanza, as follows :

Ad te clamamus domine
Noli nos derelinquere,
Festina, ne tardaveris,
Succurre nobis miseris.

The different versions having been given according to the relative ages of the MSS in which they appear, the question of the relative ages of the versions themselves remains to be settled. We shall consider first the two which from their early appearance in MS seem to have the best claim to priority.

a. The first difference to be noticed between I and II is the order of the use of the present participle and the imperative. I uses the imperative in st. 1, l. 2, followed in ll. 3, 4 by the participle, while II reverses this usage, placing the imperative last. The latter is of course the older and more classical Latin use, and in a time when there was a conscious imitation of Ciceronian

¹ Zabuesing, *Katholische Kirchengesänge*, 3 vols., 2d ed., Augsburg, 1830; vol. II, p. 226, with dox.: S. Soc. 1857, p. 12; v. also D. I, No. XXIII; W². I, No. 121; H. S., p. 65; HL. Sar., p. 46. It appears in a *Corpus Christe* MS (No. 391), the MS dated 1064; v. H. S., p. viii. For an imperfect prose Latin version found in two MSS in the British Museum, see Part II.

² St. 5 has *defensor nostra* instead of *defensor noster* in all the other versions. St. 3, l. 3: *nec caro illi consentiens*.

³ S. Soc., vol. I, p. 271; York Breviary; H. S., p. 60.

⁴ D. I, p. 33.

Latin we might properly suppose it to be the original form; although, unless a further examination confirm this hypothesis, it might be considered an alteration.

b. The next difference is of a more striking character—I, st. 1, l. 3: *Lux ipse lumen proferens*; II, st. 1, l. 3: *lucifer lumen proferens*. Mone,¹ speaking of the version "*lucisque lumen crederis, lumen beatum praedicans*," remarks: "Was ein Verderbniss durch Missverstand ist. Man nahm vielleicht Anstoss an dem Namen Lucifer für Christus, obgleich er in den Hymnus des Hilarius steht: *tu verus mundi lucifer* (Dan. I)."² Mone might have mentioned a number of instances aside from the hymn of Hilary in which the name Lucifer was given to Christ and, so far as I have been able to ascertain, without having suffered change on that account.

In 'Aeternae lucis conditor,'³ commonly ascribed to Ambrose, the last line of the second stanza runs: *Adest et clarus Lucifer*. This is translated into Old High German:⁴ "*az ist inti heitarer tagestern*." Another Ambrosian hymn, '*Deus qui coeli lumen es*,'⁵ st. 4, l. 3: *Typusque Christi Lucifer*. Again in O.H.G.⁶ we find "*pauchan ioh christes tagestern*." In 'Aeternae rerum conditor,' st. 3, l. 1: *Hoc excitatus Lucifer*; O.H.G.: "*theme eruuahter tagestern*"; M.H.G.: "*Durch den der morgenstern erwokcht*." A number of other instances might be mentioned in which this name has held its place throughout the Middle Ages seemingly without arousing any disapprobation; for example, in '*Tu Trinitatis unitas*,' or in another hymn assigned to Hilary, '*Iam meta noctis transiet*,' st. 2, l. 3.

These examples, taken not only from the earlier time, but from a time as late as the 14th century, serve to show that exception was not generally taken to the name of Lucifer as applied to Christ. And yet it is just in this line that we find the versions differing from each other most pronouncedly, giving us three, or, if we consider a translation for which as yet no Latin type has been found, four different forms for this one line. But this objection, while not generally shared, might have arisen in the mind of some pious copyist and caused him to substitute *lux ipse* for *lucifer*. The question of a change in the other direction, being without motive, need not be considered. From the hymns quoted above we see that *lucifer* was a word commonly used in

¹ M. I, No. 70, note.

² D. I, No. XXVII.

³ Grimm, No. IV.

⁴ D. I, No. 38.

⁵ G. No. IV.

⁶ G. No. XXV; W². II, p. 127.

the earlier time, and be the cause of the change what it may, in this hymn it was probably the original form.¹

c. The third difference is in st. 1, l. 4, between I: *vitam beatam praedicans*, and II: *vitam beatam tribue*. We find the latter line occurring in the second stanza of all versions, and the use of the word *tribue* in II, st. 1, l. 4, may have been due to scribal error or may have been used by the author in imitation of the oft-repeated litany petitions—this hymn being nothing more than a versified evening prayer.

d. I, st. 2, l. 3: *sit nobis in te requiem*; II: *in te requies*. Here I is evidently grammatically incorrect.

e. I, st. 3, l. 2: *Hostis nobis subripiat*; II: *nec hostis nos surripiat*. The verb *surripio* is one hardly known to mediaeval Latin,² and, being an unusual word, might easily have had its grammatical usage mistaken by one unfamiliar with it. *Surripio* always takes the accusative of the direct object, while in I we find the dative, showing that the verb was either confounded with *surrepo*, which takes the dative, or that the preposition was supposed to govern the case of the object.

f. I, st. 3, l. 4: *Et nos reos statuatur*; II, 3, 4: *Nos tibi reos statuatur*. Both of these are grammatically correct, but II gives a much better balance to the *illi* of the preceding line and supplies the needed indirect object, while at the same time it makes a better line metrically.

g. I, st. 4, l. 1: *Oculi somnium capiant*; II: *Oculi somnum capiant*. II not only gives a better meaning and agrees with st. 3, l. 1, but also *somnus* 'sleep' seems to express the idea most commonly entertained by the ancient writers in this connection rather than *somnium* 'dream'; cf. 'Salvator mundi,'³ mentioned before, where the third stanza has "ne mentum somnus opprimat," and Cant. 5, 2, "Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat"; also Clement of Alexandria⁴: *πᾶσιν ἡμῖν διαμαχτέον πρὸς τὸν ὕπνον*. It is possibly a reminiscence of Mark xiv. 40. *Somnus*—*somnum* seems, then, the more original form of the two.

h. I, 4, 2: *Cor ad te semper vigilet*; II, 4, 2: *Cor semper ad te vigilat*. Daniel⁵ calls attention to the fact that in accordance

¹ Mone suggests *luciferum lux praeiens* as the original form, but this does not solve the difficulty.

² It is not found in Du Cange's great dictionary.

³ M. I, No. 32.

⁴ Pardag, 29, mentioned by M., *ibid*.

⁵ D. I, No. XXIII; v. also R., p. 14, No. 60.

with Cant. 5, 2, quoted above, the form should be *vigilat*. Among the sources given by Mone, A, the oldest, and F, a Freiburg MS of the 13th c., are the only ones using the indicative, which M., without giving any reasons, considers the necessary form in this place, although the subjunctive is more forcible and more in accordance with the verbal forms of the other stanzas. While an early writer might have allowed himself such a change from the Biblical text, it seems less probable that any one would have changed the subj., which, as said, accords with the forms of expression in the other stanzas, to the indicative at a time when greater and greater liberties were taken with the sacred text.

i. I, 5, 2: *insidiantem*; II: *insidiantes*. While the singular agrees with *hostis* and *illi* in st. 3, yet it would be quite superfluous to ask a second time to be protected from the power of the Devil; rather it would seem that this refers to the other enemies, of perhaps a more material nature,¹ an idea in keeping with the oft-repeated petitions of the Psalms.

j. I has the stanza beginning "Tetre noctis insidias," which is not found either in II nor in any of the other versions of the hymn. Had the stanza belonged to the original version this would be a very strange and unaccountable omission; but the Latinity of the stanza proves it to be of a later date than the rest of the hymn.

k. I has the doxology, which is wanting in II. While the doxology is found among the earliest hymns and in some of the oldest MSS, yet it is more frequently omitted than at a later period.

Though some of the differences here touched upon are not decisive either way, yet the weight of evidence undoubtedly lies in favor of Mone's version (II) being, if not the original, at least nearer to the original version than that of the Mozarabic Breviary.

But is it older than III, III¹, and how do they compare with I and with each other? To take up the second part of the question first, how do III and III¹ compare in age with I?

a. III, 1 has the form *die*, which is found in no version outside of the one taken from the Jun. MS,² and had no followers in

¹ If we consider this a genuine hymn of St. Ambrose, these enemies could have been none other than the Arians, the enemies of the Church and its Bishop.

² If the inference from H. S., p. 64, is correct, then this form appears also in four English MSS in the Latin, but is not found in an Anglo-Saxon version.

translated versions aside from the O.H.G. III¹ agrees here with I and II. This form in III may best be discussed under

b. III and III¹ both have *delegis* where I has *delege*, II *delegens*. The same objections may here be brought against *delegis* that have been urged in the case of *delege*, i. e. the form is later and less forcible. The use of the indicative here was felt, we may suppose, by the scribe of III as an awkward and disjointed construction; accordingly he changed *dies* into *die*, which, although it weakens the force of the idea, undoubtedly gives a better form of expression than in III¹, where there is no such change.

c. III, 1, 3. Mone's remarks on *lucisque lumen*, as well as the conclusion to which we were brought by them, have already been given in another connection. It seems therefore questionable whether so great a change would have been made directly from *lucifer lumen proferens* to *lucis lumen crederis*; and, as has already been said, a change in the other direction would have been without motive. However, the steps in the direction of change having been taken in such a form as *lux ipse lumen proferens*, the further change to *lucis lumen crederis* is not unnatural, and was possibly influenced by the form of the Nicene Creed.

d. III, 2, 2 has *defende nocte et die*. As this hymn was not only set apart but evidently composed for compline service, any prayer for protection during the day would be out of place, such a petition being left for primes or matins; it may therefore be assigned to a later date. III¹ agrees with I and II.

It would seem from this examination that III is a more modern form than I; necessarily then also than II, and in some points also than III¹. We may therefore consider it established that MS A (II) version, if not itself the original, stands nearest to the original form of the hymn; that the Moz. Brev. represents a version next in order, S. (III) and D. (III¹) following next; as D. diverges less from M. (II), it probably represents somewhat the earlier form of the two.¹

DOROTHY WILBERFORCE LYON.

¹ The version of Gronsus, with its added st., may be put later than III, III¹, on the same grounds on which the added st. in I was thrown out.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Anthologia Latina. Pars posterior: Carmina Epigraphica con-legit FRANCISCUS BUECHELER. Lipsiae, 1895-97.

The great majority of the 1858 *carmina* contained in this collection are, as might be expected, *carmina sepulchralia*. Next in point of number come the dedicatory inscriptions (e. g. Nos. 18 ff. and 248 ff.), the ephemeral inscriptions from the walls of Pompeii (Nos. 32-49, 332 ff. and 941 ff.), and the *sortes* and *tabulae lusoriae* (Nos. 331 and 340 ff.). The material is arranged on a metrical basis under the following heads: *saturnii* (Nos. 1-17), *iambi senarii* (Nos. 18-211), *choliambi* (Nos. 212-16), *iambi dimetri* (Nos. 217-26), *trochaei septenarii* (Nos. 227-47), *dactyli hexametri* (Nos. 248-859, except 847-9), *dactyli elegiaci* (Nos. 860-1503), *hendecasyllabi* (Nos. 1504-18), *ionici*, *choriambi*, *anapaesti* (Nos. 1519-24), *polymetra* (Nos. 1525-62), and *commatica* (Nos. 1563-1622). The collection closes with 165 *carmina* preserved in fragmentary form and a section of *addenda* containing 71 more numbers.

The details of the arrangement are not specifically indicated by the editor, but apparently within the main metrical sections *carmina* similar in purpose are brought together, and within the smaller groups thus formed the arrangement is chronological, in so far as the date of composition can be ascertained, although due regard is paid to similarity in sentiment and form of expression. The text is supplemented by critical and exegetical notes and by references to periodicals in which certain matters are discussed at length.

Roman life, literature and language in almost any of their phases are illuminated by this collection. Of course, the material which the two volumes contain is not new, but it is now for the first time put in such a form as to make it really accessible. Perhaps the student of Roman private life will be most attracted by the work because of the light which the *carmina sepulchralia* in particular throw on family life and private antiquities. No simpler and more charming epitome of the character and duties of a typical Roman matron can be found in Latin literature than in the well-known epitaph on Claudia (No. 52) closing with the verses:

Sermone lepido, tum autem incessu commodo.
Domum servavit. Lanam fecit. Dixi. Abei.

The solidarity of the family, which included within its kindly

circle the freedman and slave as well as the son and daughter, is brought into relief in scores of epitaphs, and the tenderness of the Roman's feeling toward his dog and his horse, which several of these poems reveal, shows a side of his character of which we should scarcely have suspected him. Read, for instance, these lines from No. 1175:

Non gravibus vinclis unquam consueta teneri
Verbera nec niveo corpore saeva pati.
Molli namque sinu domini dominaeque iacebam
Et noram in strato lassa cubare toro
Et plus quam licuit muto canis ore loquebar.

Byron and Matthew Arnold showed no clearer understanding of the character of their canine friends than the writer of No. 1176 when he says

Tu, dulcis Patrice, nostras attingere mensas
Consueras, gremio poscere blanda cibos,
Lambere tu calicem lingua rapiente solebas,
Quem tibi saepe meae sustinere manus,
Accipere et lassum cauda gaudente frequenter
Et mi omnes gestu dicere blanditias.

In fact,

Latrares modo, si quis adcubaret
Rivalis dominae, licentiosa—(No. 1512)

seems almost an anticipation of Matthew Arnold's words on "jealous Jock, the chiel from Skye." Here, indeed, the likes and dislikes, the religious beliefs, and the practical philosophy of the common people are revealed. We come near to the heart of the people, and after reading these poems, rude as many of them are, one cannot help feeling that the real aspirations of the Roman rarely found expression in classical literature. We are told constantly of the debt which Rome owes to Greece, and the Latinist is too inclined to bow his head in humble acquiescence; but he forgets that Greece inflicted upon Rome an irreparable injury in turning her from the path which her genius had marked out for her, and in preventing her from developing an essentially national art and literature.

But to return to the book before us. The literary taste and preferences of the people are well shown in the *carmina*. There is, of course, a deal of monotony and of awkwardness in expression, but now and then there are touches of true poetry, as in Nos. 1141, 1142, 1233 and 1237.

Sometimes a bit of grim humor appears, as in the lament of Telephus and Augustina over their dead son (1163):

Non igitur lector lachrimes? decepit utrosque
Maxima mendacis fama mathematici.

More often, however, the humor is unintentional, as in the last two verses of the tribute (1192) which Apelles pays to his wife,

where the fond husband avails himself of a stock epitaph, and, with a stricter regard for truth than good taste, changes *tenerae* of the original to *mediae*, giving us the couplet:

Te, lapis, obtestor, leviter super ossa quiescas
Et mediae aetati ne gravis esse velis.

And this leads us to notice how frequently certain sentiments or turns of expression are made to do service in the epitaphs. In fact, by bringing together *carmina* similar in form of expression Bücheler has been able to emend many difficult passages with certainty, as in the case of 970. 2 and 971. 3. The poems contain scores of quotations from the Latin poets or reminiscences from their writings. C. Weyman, in Bl. f. d. Gymnasial-Schulwesen, 1895, pp. 529-56, and C. Hosius, in Rhein. Mus. 1895, pp. 286-300, have collected these parallel passages for the first volume, and their work is partially supplemented by the list given at the end of vol. II. Virgil and Ovid are the favorite poets, although, as one might expect, Propertius and Tibullus are not neglected in the sepulchral poetry. Corrupt passages have indeed been emended in some cases (e. g. No. 649. 10) by reference to the classical poets, and, on the other hand, in several instances the correct reading has been restored to doubtful passages in the poets from the text of these metrical inscriptions. See, for example, Weyman's restoration (p. 534) in Silius 16. 131 from a comparison with No. 325. 4. In some cases it is evident that the professional poet or prose-writer is indebted to the epigraphical poet, or rather to the people, for certain expressions or sentiments. Terraque securae sit super ossa levis of Tib. 2. 4. 50 is undoubtedly an instance in point.

The query of Sulpicius in his well-known letter of condolence to Cicero (ad Fam. 4. 5. 6), si qui etiam inferis sensus est, did not first find expression with him, but is a commonplace; cf. No. 179 si quid sapiunt inferi, or No. 180 sei quicquam sapiunt inferi. The celebrated soliloquy of Sulpicius in section 4 of the same letter upon the text, visne . . . meminisse hominem te esse natum, contains, like No. 241 cogitato te hominesse, merely a bit of popular wisdom.

The student of popular Latin on the linguistic side will expect to find interesting material in these two volumes, and he will not be disappointed in his hope. Such forms as the dative *mi* (No. 42. 2), *Oli* (No. 53. 4), *eccum* (No. 882), *inlustricenare* (No. 255. 1), *mancinas* (No. 956. 2), the diminutives in Nos. 63 and 950, the freedom in certain syntactical matters (cf. Nos. 53, 90, 933), and the paratactical form of expression, which occurs so frequently, may illustrate how valuable the collection is from this point of view.

In many cases the verses of these epigraphical poets are weak in the matter of metre or prosody. This weakness generally results from the insertion of a word in a stock epitaph in order to

characterize better the situation in hand. Three instances of the sort occur in the six verses of No. 1145. Usually, as is well known, the difficulty arises from a change in proper names. Of a more interesting character are the instances of false quantity, like *ā* in the abl. *causa* (No. 250. 10) or in the penult of *plagas* (No. 781. 1). Most of these lapses are probably due to a lack of skill on the part of the poet, although some of them doubtless indicate a real ignorance of quantity. In fact, the occurrence of such forms as *impeirator* (C. I. L. I 5041), *heicei* (I 1297) and *seine* (I 198) as early as the second and first centuries before our era would seem to show that the average Roman even in the classical period was not always sure of his quantities, and that, when Cicero tells us (Or. 173) of the disgust which all the people in the theatre in his day evinced on hearing a false quantity on the stage, he misunderstood the real state of things. It may well have been that a mistake in pronunciation on the part of an actor was received by the senators and knights with shouts of disapproval, which the common people took up without understanding what they disapproved of. Similar incidents are not unknown in the modern theatre.

A comparison of Bücheler's list of epigraphical saturnian verses with the list given by Reichardt (*Der saturnische Vers*, pp. 212 ff.), who also believes in the quantitative theory of the Saturnian, will show one how liberal Bücheler has been in his assignment of inscriptions to this section, but it is undoubtedly wise to bring together all the verses which can with any reason be regarded as Saturnian. Among these verses the four quoted by Caesius Bassus from triumphal inscriptions do not find a place. To at least three of the *carmina* found among the Saturnian verses the adherents of the accentual theory, and some of the opposite school also, will offer strenuous objection—I mean Nos. 3, 13 and 14, the triumphal inscription of Mummian, and the epitaphs of the baker Eurysaces and his wife Atistia. If triumphal inscriptions had not generally been composed in verse, it is doubtful if any one would have thought of arranging the Mummian inscription in a metrical form. That Nos. 13 and 14 were intended to be metrical is apparent from the strange forms which are used and from the peculiar arrangement of the words, but neither of them seems to conform to any conceivable Saturnian scheme. Keller's explanation of No. 14 as a couplet of dactylic hexameters followed by part of a trochaic verse seems to be the most plausible explanation thus far offered of the metre of this perplexing epitaph. As for the fragments in Nos. 14–17, the editor wisely remarks: "*singulares ex inscriptionibus discernere versus Saturnios periculosa res est.*"

The hexameter verse in No. 248:

Cogendei dissolvendi tu ut facilia faxseis,

which the editor discusses at length, is most easily explained in

the light of Lindsay's discovery, published in *Philologus*, LI, pp. 364 ff.

Lindsay brings strong evidence to show that even after literature began, the early law of accentuation prevailed in the case of tetrasyllabic words with the quantitative combination $\cup\cup\cup\cup$, inasmuch as in the early drama the accent seems to have fallen on the first syllable of these words. The unaccented antepenult might therefore easily be suppressed, and *fácilia* would become *facilia* in ordinary pronunciation. Strong support for Lindsay's theory and for this explanation of the verse before us at the same time is found in the actual occurrence on the stone in C. I. L. I¹ 892 of *Licinia* for *Licinia*, while a comparison of the classical form *optuma* with the archaic *optūma* of No. 14 points in the same direction.

On the other hand, it is possible to suppose that there is a resolution of the long syllable of the dactyl as in Enn. Ann. 267.

The collection is intended to be complete. It contains, in fact, inscriptions published as late as 1896 (cf., e. g., No. 1814). It is the more surprising, therefore, not to find certain undoubtedly metrical inscriptions which have appeared in the *Corpus*. Cases in point are VIII 369, XII 975 and 5276. Furthermore, V 1721 seems to have at least a metrical beginning, and V 1693, 4754, 6218 and X 4104 might properly find a place among the *commatica* or *polymetra*.

The second volume has indices giving first lines, proper names and corresponding passages from professional poets.

Some readers might find it convenient to have an index indicating the corresponding number in the *Corpus*. The editor has, however, forestalled this criticism by remarking that other indices had been prepared, but that it was found desirable to omit them on account of lack of space.

It is needless to say that the book throughout shows that acuteness, learning and sound judgment which characterize all of Bücheler's work.

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The *Italic Dialects*, edited, with a Grammar and Glossary, by R. S. CONWAY. Cambridge, At the University Press. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1897. Two volumes. Pp. xxvi + 686. Price, \$7.50.

This work, which bears witness to long and careful preparation, is the first attempt to present in English the remains of the *Italic dialects*, including a grammar, glossary, and brief treatment of the syntax. The only work which can be compared with it in any language is von Planta's *Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, the second volume of which, including the inscriptions,

glosses and a glossary, appeared shortly before Conway's work. Von Planta treats the phonetics and forms with greater fullness. In many other respects Conway is fuller and more satisfactory. Students of the Italic dialects may deem themselves fortunate in having both works, and both are indispensable. Conway does not include the inscriptions of the Veneti, nor the Messapian and Etruscan inscriptions. The reason for their omission is obvious. Not only are the remains of dialects given, but some account of the history of the tribes who spoke them, and the book is thus made extremely valuable and usable for those whose chief interest is in Latin.

The claim is well made that the language and institutions of Rome itself cannot be fully understood if isolated from the kindred speech and customs of neighboring peoples. The development of phonetic research within the past twenty years has made it possible to speak with much greater certainty of the genesis of many forms, and the chief block to the complete understanding of the dialects lies in the paucity of the inscriptions themselves. The number of Oscan inscriptions is constantly increasing. This is not true of the Umbrian, but the length and good preservation of the Iguvine tables afford a partial compensation. In addition to the inscriptions, Conway calls in the testimony of coins, of ancient writers, and glosses, and the indirect evidence afforded by geographical and personal names found in the several dialect-areas. In the case of the Aurunci, §283, we have only the evidence of proper names. Great pains have been taken also to verify by actual inspection the reading of the inscriptions, or, where this was not possible, to secure impressions of the same. In this way the reading of several inscriptions previously edited has been corrected. Some of the corrections were independently made by Mr. Walter Dennison, Fellow of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, to whom credit is given in the Addenda. Some of the corrections were also independently made by von Planta, so that this united testimony begets great confidence. It would be hard, indeed, to overpraise the accuracy characterizing the whole work, and the painstaking effort visible throughout to eliminate errors. It is superfluous to remark that the writer is perfectly familiar with all the literature bearing upon his subject.

That even lists of proper names may throw some light upon the period of Italian history preceding continuous tradition is well illustrated by the author, who shows that in central Italy the names in *-no*, like *Sabini*, *Latini*, *Frentani*, etc., seem to belong to a later stratum of population than those ending in *-co*, as *Osci*, *Volsci*, *Aurunci*, etc., the order of the suffixes, indeed, in such names as *Sidicini*, *Marrucini* being in itself significant. The arrangement of the material follows the geographical order, beginning at the south. This greatly facilitates tracing the influence of one dialect upon its neighbors. Two new groups

have been marked off—namely, North Oscan (i. e. Paeligni, Marrucini, Vestini, with the valley of the Aternus) and Latinian (a rather unfortunate name), including the tribes on the borders of Latium and in constant intercourse with the Latin from the earliest times (i. e. the Marsi, Aequi, Hernici, Sabini, Falisci and Praeneste).

Great care has been taken with the typography. Facsimiles are not given, but the general character of the alphabet used in each inscription is always noted, as well as letters of peculiar form, the presence or lack of interpuncts, and other things helpful for interpretation.

It would be impossible in the space at our disposal, to enumerate the excellencies of the work or to point out the several contributions which it makes to our knowledge. A few things only may be noted. Bantia is included in Apulia by Conway, who sides with Kirchhoff in making the relation between the Latin and the Oscan side of the Tabula Bantina purely accidental. He regards the Latin as the earlier of the two, although the difference in time is not great. Some probable restorations are offered and a discriminating use made of the previous studies of Kirchhoff, Buecheler and Bréal.

The curious forms in the inscription of Luceria (given also by Lindsay in his Latin Inscriptions, p. 56)—*fundatid*, *proiectatid* and *parentatid*—are admitted to be possibly Oscan, although the rest of the inscription is in Latin, though *stircus* may be also dialectal; cf. Lindsay.

In the glosses great use of Hesychius has been made, and it is a suggestive inference of Conway that the words of Italic origin which found their way into Greek, through Epicharmus, Sophron and Rhinthon, were probably drawn from the Oscan, this being the only Italian dialect with which the Greeks of Sicily would come frequently into contact.

The Oscan inscriptions of Pompeii, including the alphabets there found, receive careful treatment, and their dates are approximately settled. *Vaamunim* against Nissen is made to equal *vadimonium*, but in a local sense, i. e. the part of the forum where bail was answered to. Von Planta gives no decisive opinion on this word.

One is struck with the small number of inscriptions from Herculaneum. Further excavations would doubtless add many.

The cippus Abellanus, one of the most important monuments, is dated not earlier than 150 B. C. The heraldic dedications (*ihvilas*), most of which have been discovered within the past few years, are treated with greater fullness than ever before. Their sepulchral character, for the most part, seems clearly proved, although the epithet Flagius applied to Jupiter is still doubtful in this connection. One may compare *Zeus φλεγόμενος πυρί* (Aristoph. Lys. 1285); cf. Phlegethon.

On p. 226 the suggestion is made that *grunnire* = *grundire* may be Oscan. But if one will not admit the possibility of *nd*

becoming *nn* in Latin, phonetically, may not the principle of adaptation have had some influence here, making *grunnire* (the usual form, by the way, in the *Voces animantium*) conform to *hinnire*, *tinnire*, *gannire*, *fritinnire*, *grinnire*, and other similar words? cf. Loewe, *Rhein. Mus.* 34, p. 494. The principle of the invariability of phonetic law is sometimes urged too far, as, e. g., in the unwillingness (p. 323) to fully equate *meridie* with *medidie*.

In the note on *triumphus*, p. 230, Conway has neglected to note that the "supposed derivation" from *τρι* and *δμή* has actually been espoused by Stowasser, *Dunkle Wörter*, p. 12, and Sonny, *Arch. f. lat. Lex. VIII*, p. 132.

In passing I may note that the archaic inscriptions to Hercules from Praeneste 285 and 286, whose present location is not noted, are to be found in Rome in the Museo delle Terme (Chiostro Ala II, Casetta E).

The second volume gives an account of the alphabets, an outline, concise but clear, of the grammar of the dialects, a brief sketch of the syntax, an appendix with alien, spurious or doubtful inscriptions, indices of proper names, geographical and personal, a glossary of the dialects, and an index of Latin words. The latter is not quite as full as we could have wished. The glossary seems reasonably complete, although in the case of doubtful words (e. g. *ἔψυν*) it does not always give explanations proposed elsewhere by Conway himself and others. Under *Maesio—Pappus Maesius*, the reference to 255, p. 273, is omitted. *Cicirrus* (cf. Dietrich, *Pulcinella*, p. 95) is not included.

The usefulness of the work would have been greatly increased, it seems to us, if a Latin or English translation had been added of the inscriptions whose interpretation is reasonably certain.

In the list of books, p. xx, we find Kaibel's *Inscriptiones Graecae, Italiae et Sardiniae* (the correct title, with *Siciliae* for *Sardiniae*, is given p. xxv).

We cannot take leave of the work without expressing the wish that it may find a place in the library of many Latin scholars, and so extend and increase the interest in the study of the dialects.

MINTON WARREN.

Selected Letters of Cicero. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by FRANK FROST ABBOTT, Professor of Latin in the University of Chicago. Boston, U. S. A., and London, Ginn & Co., 1897.

Prof. Abbott has performed with tact and judgment the task of selection, as to the difficulty of which he speaks feelingly in his preface; the letters of Cicero himself given in this edition well illustrate both the varied interests of the writer and the variations in his epistolary style, and of those from his correspondents all

the best are included. The introduction is close packed with information for the student, the critical appendix is useful within its brief limits, and the indices are most welcome. The commentary, printed below the text, after the sensible fashion of the series, displays Prof. Abbott's sound scholarship and intimate knowledge of his author and reveals the wise moderation of a commentator who knows when to keep silence; the notes are always helpful and sufficient, never superabundant or overloaded. Occasionally a slight change in expression would tend to greater clearness; it is rarely possible to question the statements or dissent from the judgment of the editor.

A few points of disagreement may be briefly noted. In the introduction, §84 (b), the common view that *vis* c. inf. is a 'polite' substitute for the imperative is illustrated by an example which goes far to disprove it: Sulpic. Fam. 4. 5. 4 *visne tu te, Servi, cohibere?* One would like more proof for the statement, in the same paragraph, that "the present subjunctive of the definite second person singular in positive commands is of rather frequent occurrence, especially in closing formulae"; in the two cases cited, Fam. 16. 9. 4, Att. 16. 7. 8, I should prefer to follow Baiter and Mendelssohn in treating the subjunctives as dependent, and certainly the common forms of ending a letter, *cura ut valeas* and the like, favor a different theory. In Att. 1. 16. 3 *fuit* is surely to be supplied not with *sic* but with *incredibili exitu*; for the position of the adverb cf. Planc. 21, de Or. 3. 29. It may be doubted if Caelius used *vapulasse*, Fam. 8. 1. 4, with comic intention; but by treating *palam secreto*, in the same passage, as a case of asyndeton, we miss a probable touch of humor. To speak of *qui*, Fam. 2. 16. 2, as an 'archaic ablative' is inexact, since the form is here used adverbially; in *propinquos ac familiares*, Fam. 4. 5. 1, we have no looseness of construction, but merely the common incorporation of the antecedent remarked on in the note to Fam. 14. 2. 3, "*Illud doleo*, etc."; in Fam. 11. 28. 1 *laborabam* is a verb of endeavor, not of distress, and *quia* is therefore quite normal. In Att. 8. 3. 3 *hoc* refers only to *relinquenda patria*; ib. 5, hortatory seems hardly the correct term for the subjunctive *utamur*; ib. 6, with *malle*, not *perire* but *id fieri* is to be supplied. The observation, in the note to Fam. 11. 1. 3, that *novissimus* = *extremus* does not occur in Caesar, is of course true only of the metaphorical significations; and the adverb *novissime* should be cited as a parallel to *novissimum tempus* in §4, rather than to *novissima auxilia*. *Si intellexero*, Fam. 3. 2. 2, is not temporal, so that Böckel's rule, cited on Att. 2. 22. 5 and here referred to, must be extended; cf. Fam. 2. 6. 5, where *si impletraro*, clearly not temporal, shows the same resistance to the influence of the infinitive. It would have been well not to cite without correction the inaccurately phrased observations of Tyrrell on *inviolatu*, Fam. 7. 5. 2, and of Böckel on *par . . . bonitate*, Fam. 11. 28. 1. In §2 of this last letter occurs twice the misprint *necessari* for *-ii*.

In that part of the introduction which deals with Cicero's life and with the public events of his time, Prof. Abbott does not let himself be tempted into literary display, but writes with the somewhat careless vigor of a scholar to whom matter is more important than manner. His defence of Cicero as a statesman is not more convincing than previous attempts of the same kind; we do more justice to the great master of style and exponent of culture by recognizing that disparity between his political ambition and his political capacity, which constitutes the tragic element in his career and thus contributes largely to the interest and sympathy which he inspires. The editor is unwittingly cruel when he goes out of his way to combat the unreasonable suggestion that Cicero should have reorganized Cilicia as Caesar reorganized Gaul, and excuses him for not doing so by pleading "the shortness of his tenure of office and the wretchedness of the aristocratic system of government"; we cannot but remember that the first corresponded to Cicero's own passionate desire and that the second was what he tried to perpetuate.

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WM. HAMILTON KIRK.

Les désinences verbales en *r* en Sanskrit, en Italique et en Celtique, par GEORGES DOTTIN. Rennes, 1896.

This admirable book adds nothing to our knowledge, for its final result is negative: 'there were Aryan verb-endings in *-r-*, not one of which is certainly preserved in its entirety in any of the derived languages.' Our author even believes that the passive-deponent *r*-forms of Italic and Celtic are independent creations (p. 376), and do not help to support the case for an Italo-Celtic unity.

The volume shows how one's theories may differ from one's practice. The writer does not believe in the perfect phonetic normality of the orthography of the ancient languages (p. xiv); he believes that the only linguistic unity is of the individual (p. xviii); he believes that the primitive Aryan was full of dialects. He will have none of glottogonic methods, however (p. xvii), and emphatically protests against the identification of Sanskrit 3d plur. *-ur* with the gen.-abl. sing. in *-ur* (p. 14). On this point he seems not to have seen this reviewer's comparison of 3d sg. *-et* with the abl.-gen. *-et* (Am. Jour. Phil. XV, p. 416), nor his explanation (ib., pp. 415, 432) of how 3d plur. *-ur* and gen.-abl. *-ur* might have had a common origin. This would, doubtless, not have made any difference in the author's views. Johansson, in advancing the proposition of the identity of these noun- and verb-endings (B. B. XVIII, p. 49), does not go into any explanatory detail, and, for my own part, I cannot see any direct road from the one to the other. In the article referred to (cf. also vol.

XVI, p. 27), I imagined their possible derivation from a complex of action-noun stem plus a pronoun. Such a wide and parallel development of *r*-forms in Celtic and Italic, when for primitive Aryan nothing more than an *-r-* can be established, seems to me to make for the general proposition of my article, viz. that the correspondence of the flexional endings in the derived languages is not final proof that they had been resolved completely into mere endings in the primitive period.

Dottin is, as might be supposed from his negative tendencies in general, not free in making original propositions. He permits himself, however, to risk the suggestion (p. 83) that an indefinite 3d plur. may be of common origin with an ideal 2d sing. This notion is rather of the class that, without having been expressly stated, is in the air, so to speak. Thus, in my article I explained the 3d sg. as a remoter 2d sg. (p. 414), called in question the distinction of number at all for the 2d person (p. 418), and identified a 3d sg. with a 3d plural (p. 434).

I call attention to a few admirable statements of our author: "Il nous a semblé qu'une seule hypothèse peut rarement rendre compte d'un fait, quelque petit qu'il soit, appartenant à l'ensemble complexe du langage humain" (p. xvii).

The method in which this investigation was pursued seems to me admirable: "nous avons toujours pris garde que l'étude interne d'un fait en précédât l'étude externe, en d'autres termes, que la comparaison entre plusieurs phénomènes apparus dans des langues différentes et semblant présenter quelque analogie fût postérieure à l'examen attentif de chacun de ces phénomènes à l'intérieur de la langue où on le trouve." I have been insisting myself for some time that the proper study of a word begins, like charity, at home (cf. Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc. XXVI, p. lxvi; Mod. Lang. Notes, XI 229). In pursuance of this principle we have lists of the *r*-forms in Sanskrit and the Italic languages, exclusive of Latin, and the Celtic lists comprise Breton, Cornish and Welsh, some of them brought down almost to modern times, as well as Irish. We must be grateful for the patience that has made collections of such value. Latinists will also be grateful for the tables giving the usage of twelve authors (not including Cicero and Caesar) in regard of the 2d sg. passive in *-ris* and *-re*, while another table gives a summary of the usage of nine poets in regard of the infinitive in *-ier*.

This notice does not aim to go into a criticism of details. We commend Dottin's book in general most highly. American students who read it will have forced on their attention how much valuable work on linguistic subjects is being done in France: de Grammont's admirable book on dissimilation and Dottin's book now under review being two linguistic theses approved in 1895 by the University of Paris. Dottin's citations from French authorities, particularly of the finished and ingenious theories of V. Henry, are very numerous.

I would call especial attention here to Henry's acute *Antinomies Linguistiques* belonging to the Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de Paris (1896).

EDWIN W. FAY.

Julius Firmicus Maternus, der Heide und der Christ, von CLIFFORD H. MOORE. Inaugural-Dissertation. München, 1897. (Leipzig, Th. Stauffer.) Pp. 54.

Attention is called to the above-named monograph because of the importance of the result arrived at by the author for the history of later Roman literature, and also because it seems appropriate that the Journal should keep its readers informed of the work of American scholars which may appear in a form not generally accessible to American readers. The dissertation of Mr. Moore has for its main thesis the identification of the author of the Christian treatise *de Errore Profanarum Religionum*, with the author of the fourth-century astrological work in eight books entitled *Mathesis*, both of which are attributed to one Julius Firmicus Maternus. Doubt as to the identity of these two homonymes is old; for the subscription of the *Mathesis* reveals the addition of the word *iunior*, and in our own time Bursian and Halm, who have edited the *de Errore Profanarum Religionum*, have supported this doubt with arguments that have found general acceptance.

Bursian's reasons for attributing the works to different authors were chiefly chronological. The Christian treatise, he held, must be placed in the year 347 A. D., while the *Mathesis* could not be dated earlier than 354; and the assumption that the Christian author of the former had in the meantime gone back to Paganism seemed inadmissible. But the date 354 was based upon a false assumption—namely, that the anonymus in a genitura, Math. II 32, was identical with Lollianus, to whom the work is dedicated. But Mommsen had already shown that the anonymus here alluded to was rather one Albinus, consul in 335, and thus the chronological difficulties in the way of identification were at once removed. To have applied Mommsen's observation to the question of identity is the service of Mr. Moore, but of far greater importance is his study of the relationship existing between the language and the thought of the two works. Here the author has pointed out such resemblances as raise the *a priori* probability of identity to essential certainty. One or two examples of this kind will suffice for the purposes of illustration. The adverb *artuatim* is found only in the Math., the *de Errore*, and in a letter of Ps.-Jerome. Furthermore, the verb *artuare* is found only in Math. VI 31, so that it may be inferred with some probability that the adverb is a new formation of the author. A

further proof of identity is afforded by an allusion in the introduction of the Christian work to views which are found advanced in the Mathesis: *quod in fabricatione hominis artifex effecit, ut antea diximus . . . specialiter retexenda sunt.* With this cf. Math. prooem. 3, 7 and 8. The relationship is clear and striking, and it is remarkable that it could have escaped the attention of earlier scholars. After demonstrating that the author of the two works was one and the same person, the author devotes the remainder of his dissertation to an instructive survey of the sources of Firmicus Maternus in his two works.

In thus giving a *résumé* of the contents of this valuable treatise I have shown, I hope, how penetrating and thoroughgoing a work of investigation it is. The author's main result is an important contribution to the history of later Roman literature, and in arriving at it he has, in addition, made most valuable independent contributions to the history of the Latin language.

G. L. HENDRICKSON.

Asadi's neupersisches Wörterbuch 'Lughat-i Furs,' nach der einzigen vaticanischen Handschrift, herausgegeben von PAUL HORN. Berlin, 1897. (Abhdgn. d. k. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl. N. F. Band I, 8.) Pp. 1-37 + 1-133.

An important contribution towards advancing Persian lexicography has been made in the publication of an edition of the early work above cited. Asadi's lexicon is the oldest native Persian dictionary; it belongs to the eleventh century of our era, and it has been preserved in a unique manuscript found in the Vatican. The name of Asadi, moreover, is of interest because he was a nephew of Firdausi, the renowned author of the Shāh Nāmāh. He is known to have had two predecessors in Persian lexicography; but as their works are lost, Asadi's dictionary heads the list in the history of native word-treasures. His position in Persian lexicography, in the eleventh century, may be compared, perhaps, with that of Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, whose 'New World of Words' (1656) occupies a somewhat similar place in England in the seventeenth century.

Dr. Horn has given an elaborate introduction to this *editio princeps* of Asadi; and he prints the full text in the original Persian. The system which Asadi adopted in arranging words is not the arrangement according to initial letters, but according to the final syllable of the vocable. Such an arrangement, of course, had a practical value for the Persian rhymesters, although the dictionary does not seem to have enjoyed very extensive use. In the present edition, the alphabetic index to the folios enables one readily to find the words that occur.

Like modern lexicographers, Asadī has endeavored to illustrate the meaning and usage of words by drawing examples from Persian literary works that were standard in his time. Seventy-six authors are thus found to be cited. The quotations are usually introduced by *guft* 'says X'; for reference by page, column and number was then unknown. Fragments from missing works have happily come to light in consequence of Asadī's citations. The most interesting, perhaps, (p. 19) are four verses from Rūdḥakī's lost version of 'Kalīla and Dimna' which will interest Semitic and Sanskrit scholars. Starting with this identification as a hint, Dr. Horn has succeeded in finding several other verses which have come from the same poem.

The old lexicographer had an ear also for the different dialects of his day, and his linguistic distinctions have a value. The dictionary likewise gives a number of new forms or of less common words which are noteworthy, e. g. from Daqīqī *χōz* 'helmet' beside *χōd*; or similarly *murvā* 'good omen, augury,' cf. Pahlavī *murvāk*. There are a number of others to which the editor has drawn attention in his partial summary on pp. 32-4.

The Introduction is of interest, and the publication is welcome, and it was a worthy undertaking for the Göttingen Academy. We shall look forward, at no distant date, it is hoped, for the appearance of a new Persian-German dictionary which Dr. Horn himself promises to prepare and which he is admirably qualified to make a valuable production. Best wishes for his success!

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, Dec. 4, 1897.

REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE, Vol. XXI.

No. 1.

1. Pp. 1-7. On two Greek papyri in the British Museum, by F. G. Kenyon. One contains a small fragment, which K. considers as belonging to a *Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία*, possibly by Aristotle. The other throws light on the impressment of work animals in Egypt under the Romans.

2. P. 7. O. Keller adds *optio* to his examples of differentiation of homonyms.

3. Pp. 8-10. B. Haussoullier discusses the first of the two papyri published by Kenyon in the first article.

4. P. 10. R. Pichon points out two peculiar uses of *servire* in Seneca (De Tran. An. 9, De Vit. Beat. 17).

5. Pp. 11-25. The theatres of Rome in the times of Plautus and Terence, by Philippe Fabia. An interesting discussion of the question when seats were provided in the theatres. He rejects Ritschl's conclusions, and places the date much earlier. The article contains many important details.

6. Pp. 26-8. Critical remarks on fifteen passages of Hdt. I 27-91 (history of Croesus), by Éd. Tournier.

7. Pp. 29-37. Critical notes on thirteen passages of Tacitus, by Léopold Constans.

8. P. 37. In Quint. Curt. III 1, 11, J. Keelhoff transfers *quia* to the next clause.

9. Pp. 38-49. The demes and tribes, the *παρτριάι* and the phratries, of Miletus, by B. Haussoullier. This article is based on twenty-one inscriptions (including the five discussed in a former article, Rev. de Phil., 1896, pp. 95 ff.). Several interesting facts are established.

10. Pp. 50-57. A new MS of the Letters of Seneca, by É. Chatelain. The author shows that the Vossianus F 70 of Leyden, and fol. 63-86 of the Canonicianus 279 of Oxford, are supplementary of the same MS. He describes the MS and shows its relation to others, and illustrates its great value by emending, with its aid, fourteen sample passages.

11. Pp. 58-66. Notes on Thucydides, by E. Chambry. Notes, chiefly explanatory, on twenty-six passages. These notes merit close attention.

12. Pp. 67 f. On *mis, tis honoris gratia (causa)* in Plautus, by L. Havet. Restores the metre in several passages by changing *mei* into *mis*, *tui* into *tis*.

13. P. 69. Éd. Tournier raises the question whether *τοῦ μὴ* can not and should not be changed to *τὸ μὴ* (or something else) in every case where *μὴ* has no neg. force, but is induced by the neg. idea of the leading verb.

14. P. 70. In Phaedrus, IV 9, 2, L. Duvau proposes "*Repente effugium quaerit alterius malo.*"

15. Pp. 71-9. Book Notices. 1) B. H. announces the forthcoming Bacchylides of Kenyon. 2) Contents of Part I of Michael's Recueil d'inscriptions grecques, with very favorable comment. 3) Epistola critica ad amicos J. van Leeuwen et M. B. Mendes da Costa continens Adnotationes ad Odysseam scripsit J. J. Hartman (Leyden, 1896). Noticed by P. Couvreur, who thinks that the author often sees difficulties where there are none. He asks what the author means by 'spurious' verses in Homer, and makes some sensible remarks on the subject. 4) Die homerische Batrachomachia des Karers Pigres, nebst Scholien und Paraphrase, hrsgg. und erläutert von Arthur Ludwig (Leipsic, 1896). P. C. considers this "une œuvre définitive," but thinks thirty years a long time to devote to the subject. 5) Albert Martin finds Wedd's Orestes of Euripides (Cambridge, 1895) too conservative, and commends Herwerden's critical edition of *Εὐριπίδου Ἑλένη* (Leyden, 1895), though he seems to consider it also rather conservative. 6) Albert Martin briefly describes Mitchell Carroll, Aristotle's Poetics, ch. XXV, in the light of the Homeric Scholia (Baltimore, 1895) and W. H. Kirk, Demosthenic Style in the Private Orations (Baltimore, 1895). He considers these dissertations as excellent testimonials of the efficiency of the Johns Hopkins University. 7) B. H. highly praises G. Glotz, Lectures historiques. Histoire grecque (Paris, 1897). He objects only to a picture of the Propylaea, still containing "la vilaine tour." 8) Navarre (Octave), Dionysos, Étude sur l'organisation matérielle du théâtre athénien (Paris, 1895). Adrien Krebs gives an outline of this work, finding it most excellent, but not entirely free from slight errors. He thinks the author has convincingly established the existence of the *λογεῖον*.

No. 2.

1. Pp. 81-90. On the expression of the aorist in Latin, by A. Meillet. Supported by analogies in other languages, the author undertakes to show that in Latin a prefix may be used solely to impart aoristic sense, as is often the case with *com-*, or

may have this effect even when it has a sense of its own. To avoid the appearance of selecting examples that happen to suit the theory, he confines his illustrations to the *Amphitryo*, citing all the examples to which the theory could be expected to apply. An excellent illustration (not cited by him) is the beginning of act I of the *Trinummus*: "*Amicum castigare ob meritam noxiam | immoene est facinus*," etc. Then, "*Nam ego amicum hodie meum | concastigabo pro conmerita noxia*."

2. Pp. 91-8. On Sophocles *Electra* 1398-1441, by Éd. Tournier. The author makes this passage the basis of an interesting discussion of the antistrophic relation of mesodic trimeters, and shows that when, in the strophe, these trimeters are uttered by some one who is being killed within, there may be antistrophic trimeters uttered by actors on the stage, or the antistrophic trimeters may be omitted. The discussion embraces an examination of numerous passages of the tragedians.

3. P. 98. Tournier corrects the Didot translation of Hdt. I 126 αἰπὸς τε γὰρ . . . ἀγεσθαι, pointing out the obvious fact that the leading idea lies in *θείη τύχη γεγονώς*.

4. Pp. 99-102. Critical notes on Dio Chrys. *Rhodiaca* XXXI, by Henri Weil.

5. Pp. 103-9. Notes on eleven passages of Thucydides (continued from No. 1), by E. Chambry.

6. Pp. 110-11. In Simplicius in *Aristotelis Physica*, p. 160, V, C. E. Ruelle changes *ὑδραύλῃσιν* into *κλεψύδραις* to bring the passage into accord with the otherwise almost identical words of Themistius, and for the reason that Simplicius must have known that "dans l'instrument de musique, c'est le vent qui chasse l'eau, tandis que dans la clepsydre c'est l'eau qui chasse l'air." But has not this view of the construction of the *ὑδραυλὶς* been disproved?

7. P. 111. O. Keller emends *Gramm. Lat.* (Keil), vol. VII, p. 525, 15 and p. 530, 12.

8. Pp. 112-14. In Vitruvius, VII (end of preface), *Demetrius ipsius Dianae servus* is explained by B. Haussoullier. He cites inscriptions, some found by himself and not yet published, which show that *servus* here is simply 'slave'—a man belonging to the goddess, whom she could sell when she pleased (through her agents).

9. Pp. 115-17. In Hor. Sat. I 6, 14, A. Cartault argues at length in favor of *negante* for *notante*.

10. Pp. 118-27. Frontinus and Vitruvius, by Paul Tannery. A contribution to the question of the authenticity of Vitruvius de Architectura. The object of the author is not to arrive at any conclusion, but to clear up some points, especially affecting the relations between Frontinus and Vitruvius.

11. Pp. 128-9. In Ov. Met. II 278, G. Lafaye reads '*fractaque*.'

12. P. 129. In Tac. Dial. de Or. 25, L. Duvau suppresses *sicut his clamet*.

13. Pp. 130-35. Book Notices. 1) Otto Schwab, Historische Syntax der griechischen Comparison in der klassischen Litteratur (Schanz, Beiträge, 12), pronounced by H. L. an excellent book but for numerous misprints. 2) Musical Pitch and the Measurement of Intervals among the ancient Greeks, by Ch. W. L. Johnson (Baltimore, 1896). This Johns Hopkins Doctor-dissertation is highly commended by C. E. Ruelle. 3) G. Kirner, A proposito dei processi degli Scipioni (extract from the Rassegna di Antichità Classica, vol. I, 1896). Philippe Fabia mentions this as "un compte rendu, mais un compte rendu très approfondi." 4) Ettore Ciccotti, Il processo di Verre. Emile Thomas describes this book, pronouncing it a purely popular work, but well done. 5) Ciceros Ausgewählte Reden, erklärt von Karl Halm. Erster Band. Die Reden für Sex. Roscius aus Ameria und Imperium des Cn. Pompeius. Elfte Auflage besorgt von G. Laubmann. (Berlin, 1896.) Highly praised by Philippe Fabia. 6) M. Tulli Ciceronis scripta quae mansuerunt omnia recognovit C. F. W. Mueller; partis III, vol. I (Leipsic, 1896). Also L. Gurlitt, Zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte von Ciceros Epistularum libri XVI (Leipsic, 1896). These works are briefly described by Pascal Monet. The former travels on a road prepared by Mendelssohn's edition of the Ad Familiares, and the latter is a continuation of Mendelssohn's investigations. 7) Ausgewählte Briefe von M. Tullius Cicero, erklärt von Fr. Hofmann; zweiter Band bearbeitet von G. Andresen. 3d ed. (Berlin, 1895). Favorably noticed by Pascal Monet. 8) Giuseppe Riccardi, Brevi osservazioni sulla relegazione di Ovidio (Palermo, 1896). Philippe Fabia finds that this work is well written, but brings nothing new to the solution of the mystery. 9) Isidor Hilberg, Die Gesetze der Wortstellung im Pentameter des Ovid (Leipsic, 1894). Henri Bornecque gives a list of the fourteen laws and regrets that "ces lois ne sont pas des lois." Some features of the work, however, he considers commendable.

No. 3.

1. Pp. 137-42. On the Codex Turnebi of Plautus, by W. M. Lindsay. The variants written by Passerat on the margin of his Aldine edition of 1522 are traced to a copy of Plautus in the Bodleian Library, which presents convincing evidence that some of these variants are taken from the lost MS of Turnebus. The article contains some interesting details, and some suggestions to librarians looking to further discoveries.

2. P. 142. In Plaut. Rud. 1169 Paul Berret shows that *situclicula* should be read.

3. Pp. 143-9. The King of the Saturnalia, by L. Parmentier, with remarks by F. C(umont). Cumont had published (in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, XVI, 1897) the Acts (Greek) of one Saint Dasius, who is represented as suffering martyrdom in Moesia, Nov. 20, 303. This work tells of the choice of a king by lot at the festival of Kronos, and the great license and debauchery allowed him, but adds that, at the end of the feast, he was sacrificed. Cumont saw in this a mistranslation by the Greek writer of his Latin authority, and supposed that the original stated that the 'king' offered sacrifice. In the present article, however, Parmentier cites several authorities showing that, at festivals like the Saturnalia in the East, a 'king' was selected and finally immolated, and that later a prisoner condemned to death was used for this purpose. The article, and the remarks added by Cumont, are exceedingly interesting and throw much light on the Saturnalia and kindred festivals, as well as on the nature of the worship of Kronos and Saturn.

4. P. 153. Max Niedermann proposes ἡ ἡτροφόρος for ἡ ὑδροφόρος in the title of the lost play of Aeschylus called Σεμέλη ἡ ὑδροφόρος in the catalogue of tragedies. This correction is based on the statement of schol. I to Apoll. Rhod. I 636, that Aeschylus ἔγκυον αὐτὴν παρεισέγαγεν οὖσαν καὶ ἐνθεαζομένην κτέ.

5. Pp. 154-9. Critical notes on thirty-two passages of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, by P. Couvreur. These merit attention.

6. P. 159. L. Havet points out that in Cic. Harusp. Resp. 39 we probably have a quotation from the Athamas of Attius in the words "Deorum tela in impiorum mentibus | figuntur"; not only because of the metrical form and the context, but because Cicero never ends a clause in — — — except with a trochee or tribrach before it.

7. Pp. 160-66. On the *nomen gentilicium* of Tigellinus, by Philippe Fabia. From a comparison of the various forms handed down, Juste Lipse concluded that the name was Sofonius (Σωφόνιος), and was followed by all recent editors. Fabia shows conclusively that the Mediceus of Tacitus is correct and that the name was Ofonius, and that Ὀφώνιος should be restored in Greek texts. He cites two inscriptions showing the existence of a *gens Ofonia*, though one of them has *ff*.

8. Pp. 167-72. Why Pseudo-Plutarch hesitates between two demes in giving the deme of Andocides, by Max Niedermann. Stahl undertook to show that there were two men named Leogoras, one a Κυδαθηναῖος, the other a Θοραιεύς, and that Pseudo-Plutarch (Life of Andocides) was not sure which of these was the father of Andocides. This article, however, shows that the ancestors of Andocides were Θοραιεῖς. The article contains some interesting details.

9. P. 173. In Phaedr. I 16, 2, L. Havet suggests *nos laqueare* for *mala videre*.

10. Pp. 174-6. Georges Lafaye discusses the question why, in the Ambrosianus, the philosophical works of Seneca are called 'Dialogi,' and shows that they *were* *διαλογοι* in a then accepted use of this word.

11. Pp. 176-8. Half a dozen critical notes on Seneca, Ad Helviam matrem de consolatione, by Georges Lafaye.

12. Pp. 179 f. V. J. Keelhoff writes a letter to Éd. Tournier in reply to his query concerning the correctness of τοῦ μή with the infinitive (when μή has no negative force) after verbs of hindering (see above, p. 69 of the Rev. d. Phil.). He points out that several others have raised the question, and that some condemn the construction; but he himself defends it as being both attested and as logical as μή or τὸ μή.

13. Pp. 181-8. Maurice Holleaux critically discusses two inscriptions of the Magnetæ.

14. P. 189. C. E. Ruelle tells of the fortunate discovery of some missing parts of the *Κυρανίδες*, a medico-magical work included in his edition of Lapidarii now in press.

15. Pp. 190-95. On Orphica, Fr. 1 Abel, by Paul Tannery. This article deals chiefly with the propriety of placing this and another fragment ('Ορφείως περὶ σεσμῶν) under the head of 'Λατρονομία, but treats numerous other points.

16. Pp. 196-218. Book Notices. 1) I. Arghyriadis, *Κριτικαὶ καὶ ἐρμηνευτικαὶ διορθώσεις εἰς Θουκυδίδην* (Athens, 1895), reviewed by E. Chambry, who censures the author for trying to restore symmetry and regularity to the style of Thucydides, but finds some excellent new interpretations. 2) Lionel Horton-Smith, *Ars tragica Sophoclea cum Shaksperiana comparata* (Cambridge, 1896), noticed by P. Masqueray, who pronounces it carefully written and not without merit, though it contains numerous minor errors (of Latinity?), and reaches no conclusion that might not be foreseen. 3) W. S. Hadley, *The Alcestis of Euripides* (Cambridge, 1896), mentioned by P. M., who finds it carefully prepared and useful. 4) Paul Wendland, *Die Therapeuten und die Philonische Schrift vom beschaulichen Leben* (Leipsic, 1896), noticed by Joseph Viteau, who pronounces it "a profound work, which completes, confirms, and corrects the volume of Conybeare on the same subject." 5) Bruno Violet, *Die palästinischen Märtyrer des Eusebius von Cäsarea* (Leipsic, 1896), reviewed by Joseph Viteau. The work continues and completes that of Viteau *De Eusebii Caesariensis duplici opusculo*. The reviewer does not accept the author's view that one of the works was only a preliminary sketch preparatory to the other, and shows why Eusebius wrote two books on the same subject. 6) Hipparchi in Arati et

Eudoxi phaenomena commentariorum libri tres ed. Carolus Manitius (Leipsic, 1894), very briefly but not unfavorably mentioned by G. Rodier. 7) Iamblichi in Nicomachi arithmetica introductionem liber ed. H. Pistelli (Leipsic, 1894), concisely described by G. R. 8) Diophanti Alexandrini opera omnia cum Graecis commentariis ed. Paulus Tannery, vol. II (Leipsic, 1893), pronounced by G. R. important for the history of mathematics, but otherwise without interest. 9) Euclidis opera omnia: Vol. VI, Euclidis data cum commentario Marini, ed. Henricus Menge; Vol. VII, Euclidis optica, Opticorum recensio Theonis, Catoptrica, ed. J. L. Heiberg (Leipsic, 1895-96), favorably mentioned by G. R. 10) Anonymi Christiani Hermippus de astrologia dialogus ed. Guilelmus Kroll et Paulus Viereck (Leipsic, 1895), briefly described by G. R. 11) Galeni Institutio logica ed. Carolus Kalbfleisch (Leipsic, 1896), briefly noticed by G. R. The author considers the work genuine. 12) Sereni Antinoensis opuscula ed. et Latine interpretatus est J. L. Heiberg (Leipsic, 1896), mentioned by G. R. as a needed work. 13) Grammatical Works. L. D. highly praises Lindsay's *The Latin Language*, and his *Short Historical Latin Grammar*. He commends the author for not attempting to present anything new in a work of instruction. Paul Regnaud, *Éléments de grammaire comparée du grec et du latin*, he censures for the effort at originality and considers erroneous his treatment of language as a living organism. He then mentions Fr. Stolz's contributions to the *Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache* in Müller's *Handbuch*. The first was excellent, but the second, though valuable, is not an improvement on the first. Otto Keller's *Zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte*, part II. *Grammatische Aufsätze*, he pronounces very learned, but complains that Keller ignores the works of certain scholars. Finally he briefly mentions F. Antoine's translation of O. Weise, *Die Charakteristik der lateinischen Sprache*, and P. Altenhoven's translation of Carl Meissner's *Latin Synonyms*. 14) *Anthologia Latina*. Pars posterior: *Carmina Epigraphica* conlegit F. Buecheler, fascic. II (Leipsic, 1897), noticed by Georges Lafaye. The only defects of the work are due to the necessity the author was under of publishing prematurely. 15) *T. Livi ab urbe condita libri*. W. Weissenborns erklärende Ausgabe. Neu bearbeitet von H. J. Müller. Zweiter Band, zweites Heft: Buch IIII und V. Sechste Auflage. (Berlin, 1896.) Favorably mentioned by Philippe Fabia. 16) *Tacitus' Histories*, book I, edited with notes, etc., by G. A. Davies (Cambridge, 1896). Philippe Fabia, commending the grammatical notes, pronounces the historical part weak, and the introduction insufficient even for students. 17) *P. Cornelio Tacito. Il libro secondo delle Storie*, con introduzione, commento, etc., a cura di Luigi Valmaggì (Torino, 1897). Very favorably reviewed by Philippe Fabia. It is the author's purpose to edit all the books of the *Histories* (the first book having been issued in 1891). 18) Ob-

servationes criticae in L. Annaei Senecae Herculem. Scripsit Franciscus Alagna (Panormi, 1896). Mentioned by Philippe Fabia. The work is creditable for a novice. "Latin très médiocre." 19) C. Suetonii vita Divi Claudii. Commentario instruxit H. Smilda. Spec. lit. inaug. (Groningae, 1896.) Highly praised by Philippe Fabia, who regrets that the remarks on the language are so few, and that a bibliography is wanting. 20) Alfred Klotz, Curae Statianae, diss. inaug. (Leipsic, 1896). Georges Lafaye analyzes this work and considers it "une œuvre de début très honorable." 21) C. Valeri Flacci Setini Balbi Argonauticon libri octo P. Langen (Berlin, 1896-97). H. de la Ville de Mirmont, after a concise account of previous editions, reviews at length the present work, which he says will make an epoch in the history of the text and commentary of Valerius Flaccus. 22) M. Schanz, Geschichte der römischen Litteratur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian. III: die Zeit von Hadrian 117 bis auf Constantin 324 (vol. VIII, 3d part of Müller's Handbuch; Munich, 1896). Reviewed by Pascal Monet, who gives an analysis of the work, and bestows the highest praise upon it. 23) L. Annaei Flori epitomae libri II et P. Annii Flori fragmentum de Vergilio oratore an poeta, edidit Otto Rossbach (Leipsic, 1896). Mentioned by X. Even after the admirable edition of Otto Jahn (1852), this work is valuable on account of the collation of new MSS. 24) Iulii Firmici Materni Matheseos libri VIII, primum recensuit Carolus Sittl, pars I (libri I-IV) (Leipsic, 1894). Mentioned by X. Sittl has blazed the way for future editors, by making several MSS known, but, strangely, seems himself not to know of the Vossianus Q. 92 at Leyden.

No. 4.

1. Pp. 221-39. How Poppaea became Empress, by Philippe Fabia. As interesting as it is possible to make a recital of this shocking story.

2. Pp. 240-42. In Hor. Sat. I 10, 27, A. Cartault argues at length in favor of reading, with some MSS, *patrisque*, *Latine* for *patrisque Latini*.

3. Pp. 243-51. Book Notices. 1) P. C. Molhuysen, De tribus Homeri Odisseae codicibus antiquissimis. Accedunt tabulae quinque (Leyden, 1896). A. Jacob gives a *précis* of this work, which is carefully done, but the plates are bad. 2) Dr. Lautensach, Grammatische Studien zu den griechischen Tragikern und Komikern. I. Personalendungen. Gymn. progr. (Gotha, 1896.) A. J. points out a number of minor faults, but on the whole considers this an important contribution to a study of the morphology of the Greek verb. 3) G. E. Rizzo, Questioni stesicoree. I: Vita e scuola poetica (Estratto della Rivista di Storia antica e Scienze affini, I, 1 and 2. Messina, 1895). Also

Dr. A. Beltrami, *Gl' Inni di Callimaco e il Nomo di Terpandro. Primo saggio di studi callimachei* (Florence, 1896). Albert Martin gives a brief analysis of these works. The former he considers very good; the latter also is commendable but for minor faults. Beltrami concludes that in poems of the epic type the symmetry is rather formal, while in the others it is scrupulously observed. 4) G. Hooykaas, *De Sophoclis Oedipode Coloneo. Diss. inaug.* (Leyden, —.) Noticed by Albert Martin, who objects to what is new in this attempt to lower the rank of the play and of its hero. 5) T. Livi *ab Urbe condita libri XXIII et XXV.* Ed. Weissenborn, 5th ed., revised by H. J. Müller (Berlin, 1895). René Pichon commends this revision and gives a list of the happiest corrections it contains. 6) P. H. Damsté, *Lectiones Curtianae* (Leyden, 1894). René Pichon gives a long list of the most plausible conjectures, and pronounces the work interesting in spite of a tendency to rashness in making useless changes.

The *Revue des Revues*, begun in a previous number, is finished in this number.

MILTON W. HUMPHREYS.

BEITRÄGE ZUR ASSYRIOLOGIE UND SEMITISCHEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT, herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH und PAUL HAUPT. Dritter Band, Heft 4 (pp. 493–589). Leipzig, 1898.¹

The fourth and last Heft of the third volume of the *Beiträge* contains four articles.

The first of these (pp. 494–523) is a paper by Bruno Meissner on the old Babylonian laws which regulated private life, such, for example, as the relationship between masters and slaves, merchants and apprentices, monarch and subjects, and treating also of the ordinances governing the sale and lease of houses and lands and the trade in agricultural and other wares.² This unnamed series, which has come down to us, unfortunately, only in a fragmentary condition from the remains of the library of King Aššurbānīpal (668–626 B. C.), owing to its concise form is more important than hundreds of single contract tablets would be. It is certainly not a code of Aššurbānīpal, containing Assyrian laws, as the language shows conclusively that the original was composed in Babylonian rather than Assyrian. Owing to this fact and because we find here the same phraseology, the same

¹ For the report on Bd. III, Heft 3, see A. J. P. XVIII, pp. 116–18.

² See also Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht.* Leipzig, 1893.

scale of measurement and, to a great extent, the same ordinances as in the inscriptions dating from the first Babylonian dynasty, Meissner places its origin as early as 2300 B. C., making it a contemporary of the similar series *Ana ittišu*. It is probable that this legal work was used at the time of Aššurbānīpal, not so much as a code of current laws, but rather as an historical collection of legal opinions in much the same way as Blackstone's Commentaries are used in the study of law at the present day. According to Bezold, the tablets had four columns on each side and must, therefore, have been quite large. As no single tablet is preserved intact, however, Meissner wisely makes no attempt to restore the columns with absolute certainty.

He publishes eleven fragments in all, with transliteration, translation and remarks, besides giving lithographic reproductions of the original texts (pp. 505-21).

A curious provision in K. 4223 (p. 495) would seem to indicate that tenure of realty in early times depended on actual and constant occupation. If the owner of a lot left his property for longer than a year, he seems to have forfeited his right to it, and the estate might be taken up by any one who was willing to seize it and, of course, make himself responsible for its taxes. If, however, such a seizure took place during the absence of the owner and the latter returned before the year was up, the squatter's tenure became nullified at once.

The new preposition *pux* 'instead of' (p. 497), which Meissner makes a derivative from the doubtful stem *puxxū*,¹ is an interesting contribution to Assyrian syntax. The usual words for 'instead of' are *kūm*, V R. 8, 46, and *kēm*, IV R. 59, Nr. 2, 23-5.

K. 8905 and K. 10483 (pp. 497-8) appear to show that the Babylonian property regulations were quite merciful to the tenant. From the former law, which is unhappily incomplete, it would seem that a farmer who had rented a field might claim restitution from his landlord in case of storms or wild animals which injured the crops. In the latter regulation it is provided that a debtor under certain circumstances might be released from the payment of one year's interest. Just what these circumstances were is, unfortunately, not clear.

The second article in the Heft (pp. 524-60) is the beginning of a treatise by David W. McGee on the topography of Babylon based on the cuneiform records dating from the reigns of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar. The author recognizes three sources by means of which an archaeological restoration of the ancient city of Babylon may be made: 1. The original records of Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadnezzar, as well as certain statements made in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon, who restored the city which his father, Sennacherib, had almost entirely destroyed. Esarhaddon's work paved the way for the magni-

¹ Delitzsch, *Assyr. Hdwb.*, p. 516.

ficent buildings of the later Babylonian kings. 2. The accounts of the Greek and Roman writers, especially of Herodotus, who knew the city at the time of Artaxerxes the First (465-424 B. C.), when its decay had hardly begun. 3. The topographical discoveries made by recent excavations in the ruins.

The writer publishes in transliteration in this number three well-preserved Nabopolassar texts (pp. 525-8) and (pp. 528-60) twenty highly important documents dating from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar the great restorer of the city (604-561 B. C.).

McGee's transliteration of the famous East India House inscription (pp. 529-34) is a decided improvement on that of Winckler in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III 2, pp. 10-30, which McGee ought to have mentioned in the literature concerning the inscription (pp. 528-9).

McGee's article will be continued and concluded in vol. IV of the *Beiträge*. The second chapter will treat of the records which do not refer directly to Babylon or Borsippa, and the third will present a discussion of the entire material contained in the records of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar regarding the walls and gates, temples and palaces, and other buildings of the great city.

The third article in the Hefte is an interesting discussion by Talcott Williams of the peculiarities of the spoken Arabic of North Morocco (pp. 561-87). He states that any one acquainted with an eastern dialect of Arabic will receive the impression during the first week or two spent in Morocco that he is dealing with a new tongue. Not only are the pronunciation and intonation in many instances different from those heard in other varieties of the language, but the vocabulary also is not identical with the common usage. This latter variation shows itself not so much by the presence of loanwords as by a number of survivals from an earlier period. The general framework of the vocabulary, however, shows no change. Thus, he finds *ḥal*, used elsewhere for 'maternal uncle,' occasionally superseded in this dialect by *el ḥabīb* (lit. 'the beloved one'), pointing to a time when the primitive views regarding maternal connections made such relations especially dear. Of actual phonetic changes the author notes the practical elision of the *qaf*, as in *mo'addem* for *moqaddem*. This peculiarity is common also in Egypt and among the Syrian *Bedawin*. The pronunciation of *qaf* like a hard *g* is also a Moroccan peculiarity. Finally, the frequent occurrence of metathesis may be noticed, as the pronunciation *na'l* for *la'n* 'curse.' For this reason the word for 'horse-shoe,' usually *na'l* elsewhere, is here *safēeha*. This tendency to metathesis seems to be quite arbitrary and is one of the chief phonetic difficulties which meet the foreign student of the dialect.

Of the loanwords many, especially along the coast, are taken from the Spanish, but it is strange that in the interior the author noticed comparatively few words from the Berber. The proba-

bility is, as he himself states, that Berber, like Turkish and Persian, borrowed from Arabic instead of lending to it.

Professor Haupt has added to the article a number of valuable philological suggestions in the form of notes. The treatise ends with a bibliography of works on the subject (pp. 585-6).

The fourth and last paper in the Hefte is a brief note by F. Thureau-Dangin on the fractional number signs used in the archaic Babylonian writing (pp. 588-9). All figures in this system are composed of two elements, the circle and the semi-circle. The author gives in archaic and later Babylonian characters four fractional signs used in the ordinary enumeration, four used in measurement of surfaces, and four employed for measures of capacity.

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BRIEF MENTION.

Hoffmann's famous distinction between absolute and relative temporal sentences in Latin (promulgated in 1860) has always seemed to me absurd on the face of it, and, though it was the rage in certain quarters when I published my Latin grammar of 1872, I simply ignored it, and have watched with some amusement first the signs of revolt against the empty formula and then the determined assault on Hoffmann's position delivered in these latter days. Of Hoffmann's assailants, the most conspicuous is Professor Hale, in his treatise on the *cum*-constructions (1887), which the German translation by Neitzert (1891) brought within the reach of scholars whose omniscience is apt to stop on the confines of the English language. As soon as the German Latinists found out what Professor HALE was after, there was a great hubbub, and as the assault on Hoffmann meant an occupation of territory, an *ôte-toi que je m'y mette*, there was no lack of controversy, in which, however, this Journal took no part. A three months' interval is too long a time between shots. That *cum* with the subjunctive differs from *cum* with the indicative as *qui* with the subjunctive differs from *qui* with the indicative, as characteristic differs from fact, has much in its favor, and though it is not safe to draw thorough-going parallels between relative and temporal sentences, the evolution of the subjunctive use in both classes is instructive. *Cum* with the indicative is more like *ὅτε* which connotes *χρόνος*, *cum* with the subjunctive more like *ἥνικα* which connotes *καιρός*—the one the English *time when*, the other the obsolescent, if not obsolete, *what time*;—or if a Latin illustration be preferred, *cum* with the indicative is *tempus*, *cum* with the subjunctive *tempora*, if not *mores*. That the distinction is not clear-cut, that the lines shift, that the rivalry with the Greek participle has something to do with the increasing use of *cum* with subj., are points that are sufficiently familiar. But a certain *modus vivendi* had been reached. And now comes Dr. ARNIM DITTMAR, who in his *Studien zur lateinischen Moduslehre* (Teubner) takes Professor Hale as the representative of the latest views on the use and significance of the Latin moods, and maintains that the Latin language is a duck-pond, not a river; that the literary development postulated by Hale is impossible; that Hale's distinction between *cum* with the subjunctive and *cum* with the indicative is inadequate, and that the preliterate development sketched by the same Hale is improbable. This is a

formidable indictment, but Professor Hale is perfectly able to take care of himself and to answer volume with volume, and even if he prefers to keep silent, there are others who will consider themselves aggrieved, for in his closing words Dr. Dittmar tells us that he might have attacked anything, anybody else, any of the scientific grammars, any of the weightier monographs, any of the more important commentaries; but Hale is a shining mark, and relative and *cum*-sentences are exposed points in which the inadequacy of all pre-Dittmarian theories may be shown plainly and conclusively.

But Dr. DITTMAR is not satisfied with negative results, and after clearing the ground by the demolition of Hale and the rest of them, he proceeds to the constructive portion of his essay and expounds the true theory of the moods. The subjunctive, it seems, is 'polemic,' the indicative 'apodictic.' Certainly, nothing can be more simple, nothing more elastic. Only one is haunted by a certain family-likeness to our old friends 'subjective' and 'objective,' and to the recently deposed giants 'relative' and 'absolute.' In the eloquent opening of his chapter on the indicative, which has for its motto Juvenal's *Hoc volo, sic iubeo*, Dr. Dittmar says: "Im Indikativ liegt etwas Souveränes, Apodiktisches, zugleich etwas Ruhiges, Friedliches, Behagliches, Schlichtes, Gleichgiltiges. Er ist der Ausfluss der *aequa mens*, des seelischen Friedens." How fortunate it is for so many American scholars that we can read these words, which fall on the soul like a benediction, without translating them into our own idiom, for then, I am afraid, we should have to render 'Souverän,' of which Dr. Dittmar is inordinately fond, by 'absolute,' and we should have Hoffmann back again, Chaos and Old Night.

The *Wasps* is a good centre of Aristophanic work. Up to this time it has not been done to death by commentators, and the play itself raises some of the most interesting questions as to Aristophanic art. Nor does its *vis comica* lose by closer study. It gains rather by the calculation of its dynamics, by the resolution of the mirthful explosion into foot-pounds of merriment. The larger aspects of antique literature are not obscured by too much analysis. In fact, the impression of the 'altogether' is made up of minute impressions that pass from conscious individuality into unconscious totality, and no element can be neglected if a just estimate of the whole is to be made, and the student of Aristophanes will welcome Mr. STARKIE's edition of the *Wasps* (Macmillan), in which he has tried to do justice to every side of Aristophanic study as well as to give a full commentary on the play itself; and whatever mistakes and omissions he may have made in his endeavor to sift the Aristophanic literature of the last half century, it is no little comfort to have the results of so

many articles, dissertations and programmes brought together in convenient compass.

The introduction deals with the formal division of an Attic comedy, large use being made of Muff and Zieliński, and the importance of the *ἀγών* being fully recognized. No mention is made of Professor Humphreys' elaborate articles on the *ἀγών* (A. J. P. VIII 179 foll., IX 344 foll.) or of Professor Allinson's arrangement of the *parodos* (A. J. P. I 402 foll.), though the editor has elsewhere cited the Journal freely. The chief metres are discussed after Rumpel and Bachmann, the MSS largely after Zacher. The lyric metres follow, in the main, the analyses of J. H. H. Schmidt. Vv. 274-83 he treats as ionics, a view for which much is to be said (A. J. P. I 458). The 'Aristophanic literature' to which the editor acknowledges his obligations is full, though not exhaustive, and will stir at once the envy and gratitude of those who are not so well equipped. The proof-reading is far from faultless. The editor is almost persuaded to be a Dörpfeldian, and yet adorns Dörpfeld's name throughout with an otiose *t*. Kock's *Fragmenta* is said to have 30 volumes, 'Ritschl' appears in one place as 'Ritsche,' 'Petropoli' as 'Petro-pzli.' Wilamowitz is H. and not U., and similar irritating lapses are scattered through the volume. The critical notes contain useful observations and the commentary is a serviceable summary of modern Aristophanic research, for the annotations are not regulated by fashionable reserve and go beyond the needs of the passages commented upon—indeed, often contain in brief whole chapters of Greek grammar, lexicography and antiquities. Of course, the specialist will be tempted to take exception here and there, but detail criticism of such matters, as well as of the constitution of the text, cannot find place in so brief a notice as this. As a whole, the edition is a boon to the student of Aristophanes, not merely as a *résumé* of a vast amount of special work, but also as a sympathetic guide to the appreciation of a great genius, whom to know aright is to know the heart of Attic life and Attic speech.

With the end of 1897 the *Neue Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* (Teubner) closed an honorable and useful history of sixty-seven years and an imposing series of one hundred and fifty-six volumes. Originated by JAHN, inspired by PASSOW, and for the last thirty-five years ably conducted by that admirable scholar ALFRED FLECKEISEN, whose name the periodical bears in popular parlance, this rich repertory of knowledge and research has passed into a new form under new editors, and will be known henceforth as the *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und für Paedagogie*, under the management of JOHANNES ILBERG and RICHARD RICHTER. The title of the new magazine is somewhat cumbrous, its appearance,

however, more attractive, at least more sumptuous, than that of its predecessor. May it have as long and as useful a life. The face of the veteran FLECKEISEN, which adorns the last number of the old *Neue Jahrbücher*, is a study in expression which will long haunt those who, like FLECKEISEN, have largely renounced production in order to tend the intellectual offspring of other scholars.

In his Tübingen *Antrittsrede* (*Ueber den kulturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang u. die Bedeutung der griechischen Renaissance in der Römerzeit*), Professor WILHELM SCHMID does not fall into the common error of specialists and extol beyond measure the authors with whom he has spent so many years in preparing his *Atticismus*. It is true that the authors of the Greek Renaissance, flimsy as many of them are, have a strong claim on our attention, if it were only for the occasional glimpses they give into the secrets of Attic speech; but the main service these later sophists have rendered in the history of culture is the one that SCHMID has emphasized. The cast-iron bridge of rhetoric spanned the chasm between Heathenism and Christianity, and it was fortunate, as SCHMID says, for the Christian world that the church bears the stamp of Greek classicism, and not of Oriental mysticism, and this we owe to the Greek renaascents and to their maintenance of the best standards—the three stars of Attic tragedy, not the tragic Pleiad of the Alexandrians, Herodotos and Thukydides, not Ephoros and Theopompos, the canon of the Attic orators and not the sounding brass of Hegesias. The tear we shed for the loss of Menander is dried by the smile of Aristophanes.

Nearly all the more important papers mentioned in the *Verhandlungen der 44. Versammlung der deutschen Philologen u. Schulmänner zu Dresden*, 1897 (Teubner), are to be printed or have been printed *in extenso* elsewhere, but to the busy student the summaries here given will be heartily welcome, for in our crowded day Hesiod's *δοῦν πλέον ἡμῖν πάντος* has more than its original significance. Especially worthy of note is Brugmann's abstract of an article intended for the *Indogermanische Forschungen* in which that eminent scholar formulates the law for the dissimilation of *ē* in Ionico-Attic, and takes occasion to make a neat thrust at those editors of Homer who go beyond Homer and reproduce the pre-Homeric forms of folk-poetry. "*νέει*," he says, "is to be rejected as well as *'Αρπειδης* and *θείοιο* and the like." But surely one might resign *θείοιο* and yet have a word to say for *'Αρπειδης*. Proper names cannot be held to strict law, and Pindar's *'Αρπειδας* is metrically inevitable P. 11, 31, as is *'Αρπειδαιος* l. 8, 51, and Pindar's use may possibly mean something for Homer.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 812 Broadway, New York, for material furnished.

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I.—ERNST CURTIUS.

Ernst Curtius died in Berlin, July 11, 1896. His labors as a historian and archaeologist, his service to the world as the initiator of the excavations of Olympia, and the extraordinary charm of his personality invite and justify a detailed account of his varied and influential life. He was born in Lübeck, Sept. 2, 1814. His birth fell in the very centre of the humiliation of the Germans under the yoke of France. In one of his little poems he thus acknowledges the debt which he felt to parents and home :

Das Beste ist gegeben
Von unserm Erdenloos ;
Die Weihe für das Leben
Ruht in der Heimath Schoos.

What is best is given
By our earthly lot ;
The hallowing touch for life
Lies in the heart of home.

And he writes elsewhere as follows: "A city like Lübeck *must* awaken a feeling for history. Under the potent impressions of its churches one becomes conscious of those impulses and forces which inspire the human spirit to the highest service. My father was always a true friend of ancient poetry, and, in his advanced old age, when past his eightieth year, read with me, then a Göttingen professor, at home on holidays, his favorite poet, Virgil. When I was a pupil in Quarta, in the Katharineum, the painted covers of the composition-books, which represented Marco Bozzaris and the Fire-ships of the Hydriotes, pictured to my fancy the regeneration of the Greek people, and I received a savage box on the ear, from our harsh Gymnasial-director, because I had arranged, in class-hours, a collection for the benefit of the Greeks!"

Curtius's father, Carl Georg Curtius, was syndic of Lübeck for fifty years. In his youth he studied law at Jena, where he had known Schiller. In early manhood he corresponded with the poet about the drama. With his duties as syndic, or legal counsellor of the city government, were connected much influence in town affairs and an active oversight of the schools. He was a man of unusual physical vigor, energetic and exact in the discharge of all public and private business, inclined, before advancing age had tempered his spirit, to severity and sternness. This sternness, however, was united with deep religious sensibility, and all his children inherited the religious convictions of their father.

Ernst Curtius has drawn charming pictures of his early days in Lübeck, in his sketch of the poet, Emanuel Geibel, the friend of his youth. (Geibel's father was pastor of the great St. Mary's Church, and the intimate friend of Curtius's father.) We see a home where integrity, sobriety, industry, culture and piety were deeply rooted. From homes not wholly unlike this, it may be remarked, the scholars have come who have given Germany its intellectual eminence during the last hundred years. The resources of the home were scanty, judged by present standards, but an inherited culture was found there. This holds true of Niebuhr, the Humboldts, Otto Jahn, Mommsen, Trendelenburg, Helmholtz, and many others.

There was nothing phenomenal about Curtius's early development. In fact, through all the early years of his gymnasium course his rank in his classes was not high, and the "notes" of 'lack of industry in home work,' 'disinclination to commit to memory,' 'habit of relying too much on his native resources,' and 'tendency to playfulness which sometimes verges on mischief' are interesting reading. It was only in the last year and a half, when Friedrich Jacob, one of the great German teachers, came to the directorship of the gymnasium, that his spirit fully awoke, and the somewhat fitful application of the playful boy gave place to that determined toil which the man prosecuted for sixty years.

There are preserved in the archives of the Katharineum three essays of Curtius in Latin, Greek and German, which were part of an examination for a stipend, or scholarship, to be used at the University. The title of the German essay is: "Why did art and science attain in Greece so fortunate a development?" Curtius received his certificate of "maturity" April 1, 1833. The certi-

ificate declared that he had attained the highest rank. His acquisitions were designated, in general, as "very good": in Hebrew, French and mathematics, as "good." The next semester after he left the Gymnasium, Johannes Classen, one of the most eminent of German teachers, entered the Katharineum as instructor, and to him and to Jacob, Ernst's younger brother, George, owed a more sympathetic and more able Gymnasium training than Ernst had received.

In the autumn of 1833 Curtius went to Bonn, taking with him a letter of introduction from Classen to Professor Brandis. He wavered at first between theology and philology, but soon chose philology, though he studied philosophy with Brandis, who admitted him into his intimate friendship. In classical study he was inspired by the brilliant Welcker. After a year and a half at Bonn he went to Göttingen, attracted by the rising fame of Karl Otfried Müller. These names alone are full of suggestion to those who know the intellectual impulses which they represent. Few pupils have been more fortunate in, or more influenced by, their teachers than Curtius. Rarely, too, have university teachers, so early and so uniformly, discerned in a student unusual promise.

From Göttingen Curtius passed, after a year and a half, to Berlin, where he studied, especially, with Boeckh, then the great master of classical learning in Germany. Welcker, Müller and Boeckh were alike in regarding all classical antiquity as their field and refused to be excluded from any of its departments. They were able to lecture on grammar, epigraphy, numismatics, geography, history, government, mythology, metrics, art, archaeology. The time of such scholars is now past. Curtius is the last, we are told by Hermann Grimm, of that older generation. And with the disappearance of such scholars the interest in classical studies has also diminished, so that university teachers who, ten years ago, had a hundred listeners have now less than a score, and this has happened in the very period when the classic lands, Greece, Italy, Asia Minor and the entire Orient have revealed to us their treasures, in a fullness of which the great masters, named above, never even dreamed.

In 1836, as Curtius was approaching the close of his University studies in Berlin, there was brought to his student's room a letter from Bonn. It was an invitation from Brandis to go with him to the newly established kingdom of Greece, where he had accepted

the position of privy-counsellor to the young King Otho, whose education he was to supplement by lectures and whom he was to advise in framing an educational system for Greece. Brandis wished a teacher for his own sons, and his thoughts turned to Curtius as the person of his choice. The offer was quickly accepted, arrangements for the departure were made as soon as possible, and on January 1, 1837, a heavily-laden private family omnibus, carrying the entire party and all their effects, rolled out from Frankfurt and directed its course toward Greece, then wholly unknown and remote from all travelled routes. So large was the omnibus that it occasionally stuck fast in the gateways of the hotel courtyards.

Picture the vividness of the impressions made upon the gifted, emotional student, by travelling at this period, when travel was most rare! Think of the inspiring companionship of Brandis! Recall the picturesqueness of costume and custom in the different states of Europe in those days! Imagine the consideration with which the travellers were treated as soon as Brandis's position was learned! Think of the passage of the Alps! Picture the reception at Munich, the home of Otho, King of Greece, who was of the Bavarian royal family. Those who have read Goethe's journal of his journey to Italy can partly reconstruct the scene.

Nearly two months were occupied in reaching Ancona. Thence a sailing-vessel was taken to Patras. From Patras a gunboat carried the party to Corinth. Thence a caravan-train conveyed them to Athens, camels carrying the baggage, while the travellers rode on horseback. They arrived at Athens, near the end of March, 1837, in a pouring rain.

The best intellectual life of Athens had its centre in the home of Brandis, where, on one evening each week, there was a reunion for reading in common and for social intercourse. Curtius devoted himself with special zeal to the study of Strabo and Pausanias. He also attended lectures in the newly-founded University of Athens, and he embraced every opportunity to make himself familiar with the topography of the country. His summers were largely passed in the cool, elevated village of Cephissia or at Piraeus. He undertook many tours, in company with Brandis. During this first year he had the good fortune to be the companion of the great geographer, Carl Ritter, in an extended tour in the Peloponnesus, and learned, as he says, from him how to

travel, and exercised himself, after Ritter's example, "in interpreting the significance of the configuration of the earth's surface."

An important event in Curtius's second year at Athens was the arrival of the poet Geibel, who came to take a similar place in the family of the Russian ambassador to that which Curtius held in the Brandis house. The relation between the two young men, which had already been close in the Gymnasium at Lübeck, became still more intimate, and, when their duties with their pupils were ended, they spent the afternoons in excursions, and the evenings, which they made true 'Attic nights,' in study and social intercourse. Out of this study in common grew their first publication, 'Classic Studies,' which originated as follows :

Brandis had undertaken to give a course of lectures on Greek literature to the young Queen of Greece, Amalia. He called on the two young friends to prepare for her use metrical translations of selected passages from the tragic and lyric poets. Curtius writes as follows :

"What we had begun, as gymnasiasts, in our walks on the walls of Lübeck, we now renewed, sometimes on the quiet banks of the Ilissus, where Socrates sought solitude, sometimes in the olive grove or on the slopes of Colonus. We studied the language of the poets, striving to catch its inmost meaning, and to find for it the exact German expression. In the evening we wrote down the lines which we had composed, and found in loving poetical imitation a task of inexhaustible charm."

It has been pointed out as an interesting fact that the first published productions of the eminent historians, Von Treitschke, Mommsen and Curtius, were in verse. Curtius exercised his poetical gift with great ease and delight. His poems have never been carefully collected, though their number is considerable. During the French-German war he wrote some stirring songs which attracted much notice.

After three years spent in Greece, Brandis and his family returned, but Curtius felt that he had not gathered all the fruits of his sojourn, and decided to remain a year longer with his friend Geibel. The two friends kept bachelor's hall during this year, in a newly-built house of a Bavarian quartermaster named Rupp. This house they christened 'Ruppsburg,' and the upper floor, reached by an external staircase, was theirs exclusively. These rooms became the gathering-place of a circle of friends,

comprising painters, architects, students. Here is Curtius's own description: "In the morning each devoted himself to his own studies. In the midday hours we gave lessons: Geibel in the palace of Katakazi, the Russian envoy; I in the house of a friendly English clergyman whose daughters were learning ancient Greek."

Toward evening, dinner gathered them about their frugal board. Haussmann, nephew of Brandis, Kretschmer, a painter, and Hochstetter, an architect, were daily guests. After dinner other friends came, each of whom contributed his experiences; a male quartet was formed, of which Curtius was one; a literary circle was organized, of which Geibel was secretary and custodian; poems, novels, dramatic scenes were read and discussed; the artists displayed their sketches; abundant and delightful recreation regularly followed serious work. In fact this interchange of labor and recreation was something which Curtius constantly insisted on, and which he enforced both in theory and practice.

But now occurs another event, of prime importance for Curtius's life. Karl Otfried Müller, the most brilliant classical scholar in Germany, Curtius's teacher in Göttingen, arrived in Greece, with the intention of making a protracted stay, after several months spent in Italy. Müller was then in his forty-third year. Curtius was twenty-six years old. He writes as follows in a letter to his parents, dated April 15, 1840:

"Though I wrote you a fortnight since, and have now my hands full of work, I must yet inform you, at once, of what so much stirs me and what appears to me a new epoch in my life. Müller arrived a week ago. Last Monday morning I saw from my seat at my writing-table three men coming to Ruppsburg. Rupp showed them the way, and, in a few moments, Müller entered our dwelling, perfectly well, fresh, charming, and, as of old, electrifying every one by look and word.

For the first day I was really abashed; when I saw how he comprehended things, with what fullness of intelligence and knowledge he understood how to bring the smallest thing into its place, I felt utterly annihilated; but his gentle friendliness soon placed me in quite different relations to him: I finish my hours of study, in the very early morning, and then spend the whole day with him, on the Acropolis or in the museums.

We put together the fragments of inscriptions and puzzle them out, in company. Daily we discuss the old buildings, the sculp-

ture, the vestiges of color, the topographical points, and only think what I must be learning from it all, especially as Müller is always communicative, entering into every difficulty.

Our meals are splendid: real Attic symposia. Professor Göttling, a jolly Thüringer, from Jena is with us. Müller can then be so unrestrained and jolly. O, how different the professors are, in the lecture-room and on the journey!

Müller cannot express often enough how far his expectations of Athens are surpassed by the reality, and how happy and at home he feels here, and everybody admits that all Italy and Sicily could not be compared with Athens. Schöll and Emanuel (Geibel) have gone to Cephissia. The little Göttingen painter Kretschmer sits in our balcony to paint the Acropolis, for Müller thinks the view especially fine from this point. Night before last we got our quartet together; then I induced my friends to go, in the lovely moonlight, under Müller's window, and we sang, in his honor, as a serenade, *Integer Vitae*, which sounded grandly through the silent Athena street. Yes, dear parents, I am happy, very happy; Heaven has kind thoughts for me. I do not know how I have deserved it—God grant that I may not show myself unthankful and unworthy."

There is not space here to relate at length the sad story of Müller's imprudent exposure to the sun, in copying inscriptions at Delphi; of his prostration by fever; of how his devoted pupil brought him, still alive, back to Athens; tended him till he died, and then cared for his burial on the hill Colonos. Who can tell what grief must have entered Curtius's heart as he lived through these experiences? But this was the resolve which awoke within him: "As I followed his bier to the grave, I vowed that, according to my powers, I would replace what the study of antiquity had so early lost in him."

In December, 1840, Curtius left Greece and proceeded to Rome, where he spent the winter, becoming acquainted with Abeken, then Director of the German Institute of Classical Studies. He reached Lübeck the following summer. What a return it must have been for parents and for the town! "Ernst Curtius, son of the syndic, student and poet, who with Geibel has published '*Classic Studies*,' who has been four years at Athens, has come home!"

Curtius describes how he and his brother George labored at Berlin, in the fall of 1841, over their doctor dissertations, each at

his own table in adjoining rooms. The subject of Ernst's dissertation was *De portubus Athenarum* and the degree was taken in Halle, in December, 1841, when he was twenty-seven years old.

In 1842 Curtius began his career as a teacher in the Joachimsthal Gymnasium, conspicuous among the Berlin Gymnasiums for the able men who had taught there. In the following year he sought and obtained the appointment of Privat-docent in the University of Berlin. And now occurs an event of great importance in its bearing upon his future life. For a number of years there had been given in the hall of the Academy of Music, each winter, a series of popular lectures on subjects connected with Art, Science, History, or Literature. These lectures may be considered the forerunner of the many steps which have since been taken at Berlin in the interest of the higher education of women.

The wife of Prince William of Prussia, the Princess Augusta of Weimar, regularly attended these lectures, regarding them as a means of qualifying her better to guide her son, the Prince Frederick William, the heir to the Prussian throne. Curtius, the young teacher at Joachimsthal Gymnasium, had been invited to occupy one of the evenings, and he chose for his subject the "Acropolis of Athens." The date was Feb. 10, 1844.

The interest in Greece, Curtius's exceptional experiences at Athens, the novelty of the subject had gathered an audience which completely filled the hall. Humboldt, Ritter, Boeckh were all present. No other man living knew more intimately the spot than the young scholar of thirty years, and he knew how to invest the subject with a peculiar charm.

First came the clear portraiture of the locality, then followed a rapid, graphic sketch of the successive fortunes of the Acropolis, under Greek, Roman, Frankish, Venetian and Turkish rule. His descriptions of the temples and sculptures which adorned the Acropolis, of the festivals and processions which centered there, the rhythmic beauty of his language, his grace of person, his charm of delivery, combined to make a mighty impression upon the audience. And it was only an incident in the universal impression when the Princess Augusta, the mother of the heir of the Prussian throne, turned to Humboldt and said, "That is the man whom I would secure as educator of my son."

It was soon arranged that, on the thirteenth birthday of Prince Frederick William, the general charge of the Prince's literary

and historical training should be entrusted to Ernst Curtius. This duty occupied him during a period of six years. He describes, in his discourse before the Berlin University commemorative of the Emperor Frederick, many incidents of this relationship. He was able to imbue his pupil with a deep and intelligent love for art and literature, he helped him in acquiring that gift of graceful and ready speech for which he was distinguished, he drew him into profound sympathy with those ideal aims which actuated Curtius himself. The six years of the relation of teacher and pupil fell between 1844-50.

Curtius, who was invested, at the time when he assumed this duty, with the title of Professor Extraordinary in the University of Berlin, lived for four years, during the winter, in a modest suite of rooms, in the Bendler Strasse, behind the royal palace; in summer, in the pleasant chateau of Babelsberg, in Potsdam. The Princess Augusta was regularly present at lessons, both in winter and summer, and the teachers of her son became her friends. Provision was made for companionship and social diversion for the Prince. Beside the young nobleman who shared his lessons, other boys were invited to familiar intercourse with him. In the evenings the Princess occasionally invited to tea the leaders of thought in the University and in Berlin. It was natural that a Weimar princess who remembered Goethe should love the drama. The Court Theatre was frequently visited, where the Prince saw the German classic plays represented, with the nicest regard to propriety of costume, by the ablest actors in Germany. There grew up in the Prince a strong love for dramatic representations, and on occasions he took an actor's part. Geibel's drama, *Master Andrea*, was composed, at Curtius's suggestion, expressly for the Prince, and was brought out for the first time in the palace gymnasium, transformed for the time being into a theatre. In the summer, life in the open air was fully enjoyed, and the daily morning plunge and swim, the horseback ride, the long walks in the beautiful parks which line the banks of the Havel, were shared by Curtius and his pupil. With such opportunities of free intercourse, Curtius must often have rehearsed his unique experiences in Greece, and his knowledge of men and places, as well as of books, must have appealed to the enthusiastic pupil.

In 1848 came the revolutionary outbreak at Berlin, during which Prince William, later, as German Emperor, the best-beloved ruler in Europe, suffered under such a storm of unpopu-

larity that it was necessary for him to go into voluntary exile in England. The uncertainties of power were deeply impressed upon the Princess Augusta and her son Frederick William, and a whole winter was spent in the closest retirement, in a small private household in Potsdam in company with Curtius, the trusted family friend.

These experiences and many others gave Curtius a place in the regard of the Hohenzollern family which has rarely been held in a royal court by one who was, before all things, a scholar. There grew up between him and all the members of what was later to be the imperial household a mutual regard which assured a sympathetic hearing and full consideration for whatever he might propose.

The last act which Curtius performed for his pupil was to accompany him to Bonn, the University of the Rhine. No heir to the Prussian throne had ever before attended a German university, and it was Curtius's duty to introduce Frederick William to the leaders of the University, to guide him in the choice of his lectures, and to initiate him into the rich life of that community, where his own intellectual nature had first been quickened. The Prince's natural temperament, and six years of companionship with Curtius, made it natural and easy for him to mingle with his fellow-students on the free level of university life. And Frederick William's bearing as a student at Bonn did much to develop that love for him which became later almost a national passion.

Many a young man admitted to so unusual a position in the regard of the royal family, and regarded with such favor at court, might have lost something of his simplicity of character, or have suffered in his habits as a student. It was not so with Curtius. In the year following the close of his special relations with the Prince appeared his work on the Peloponnesus, in two volumes: the first, dedicated to his father, Carl Georg Curtius, syndic of the free city of Lübeck, on the fiftieth anniversary of his entrance into public service; the second, to his never-to-be-forgotten friend, Brandis, in recollection of journeys in common in Greece. Michaelis, Professor of Archaeology in Strassburg, calls the Peloponnesus Curtius's master-work, and quotes from Herder the following: "In some respects the first work of a man is always his best work. He may later gain in ripeness, in strength, in learning, and in knowledge; but he gives us the morning-glow and a fragrant, youthful bloom in his first work." Curtius entertained the thought of following the Peloponnesus by a second work on Northern Greece, but other multiplying duties

claimed his interest more strongly, and Bursian performed this task. Read the *Peloponnesus*, if you would get a vivid, accurate picture of Southern Greece.

My space will not allow me to follow Curtius's life step by step, and to show how each year witnessed the accomplishment of some fresh scholarly work. The years immediately following the publication of the *Peloponnesus* were devoted, in large part, to the driest labor of his life, as editor of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. In 1853 he was elected member of the Berlin Academy. In 1854 he married. A house which Ernst and George Curtius much frequented at Berlin was that of the publisher William Besser, a man of pronounced literary tastes. Besser's wife was born a Reichhelm, and three younger sisters made the house an attractive place to many of the most promising young scholars of the University. Besser died prematurely, and his wife became the wife of Curtius. About the same time George Curtius married the second sister. Frau Curtius did not long survive the birth of her son Friedrich, named after the Crown Prince, who stood as his godfather, and after her death Curtius married, as his second wife, the youngest Reichhelm sister, who survives him.

Curtius was invited, in 1855, to write, for the Weidmann publishing house, a popular history of Greece. Such a task appealed strongly to him, for, in his own words, "It is the noblest work of classical research to preserve the immortal part of that which has been thought and wrought in antiquity and to make it fruitful for the present time." It was in this year that Curtius, in company with Hermann Sauppe, was called to Göttingen. Here he labored for twelve and a half years. This was his most influential period as a teacher. One of his pupils, Professor Heinrich Gelzer, of Jena, thus describes the manner and the results of his teaching in his early prime:

"The moment stands distinct in my memory when I first sat, at Göttingen, at his feet. He made an ineffaceable impression upon me. The thickly crowded lecture-room was waiting in eager expectation the coming of the beloved teacher. Suddenly the door was opened; with great quickness and with light step he reached his chair. A solemn pause followed, and he began, in the noblest language, his course on the history and the antiquities of Athens. It was as if a prophet had appeared among us, who bore us aloft into a higher, ideal world. My friend and I stood alike under the spell of this extraordinary personality."

Such was the man who, by a wonderful course of events, had come to fill the chair of Otfried Müller, at just about the age of Müller when he died. He had, indeed, been enabled to fulfill the vow which he made fifteen years before, at his teacher's grave, that he would, as far as his powers went, make good the loss which classical studies had sustained in Müller's death. During the quiet years at Göttingen the composition of the history went steadily forward. The first volume appeared in 1857, with dedication to the Crown Prince Frederick William. The fifth, and last, volume appeared in 1867. It remains, in its sixth German edition, the most popular history of Greece for the class for which it was written—the intelligent, educated public. It is the history of Greece which every earnest Gymnasiast who feels a true interest in classical studies reads, as a matter of course, and it is a book which one would not hesitate to recommend to a young student who wishes to know who the Greeks were and what was their life.

Curtius had an unequalled preparation for writing this history, in his intimate acquaintance with Greece, his knowledge of inscriptions, his familiarity with Greek literature, and in his gift of graceful style.

Interesting glimpses of Curtius's home life at Göttingen have been granted me. Here his children, Frederick and Dora, passed through their happy childhood. Here the daughter used to play in her father's study while he was writing the history, and those were delightful evenings for mother and children when the father, his day's task done, came out of the study and told them the story of the Iliad and the Odyssey.

Here in Göttingen began that open-hearted hospitality which was continued at Berlin, and which ended only with Curtius's life. His house was a veritable home to his students, and many an eminent professor in the universities of Germany and of other countries looks back to the evenings in the Curtius house at Göttingen as the place where he tasted, perhaps, the most delightful social enjoyment of his life.

Curtius's last great change of residence was made in 1868, when he was called to Berlin. He was made Professor of Archaeology. He took the place of Gerhard as Director of the Antiquarium, that department of the Berlin Museum which contains, not casts or reproductions, but genuine objects of antiquity, such as coins, small bronzes or terra-cottas, painted vases, marble statues. Soon after the close of the war with

France the Crown Prince was made Protector of the Museums of Berlin, and it was natural that, as a pupil of Curtius, he should magnify his office. He desired to do, for the popularization of the study of art in Germany, a similar work to that which his father-in-law, Albert, the Prince Consort, had done in England, through the collections and schools at South Kensington. It would carry us too much into detail to describe how a thorough reorganization of the museums of Berlin was effected between 1868 and 1895, and how greatly the value and usefulness of the immense collections were increased. This was in no small measure due to the royal interest which Curtius was able to inspire and direct, and to his success in drawing many able young men, as assistants, into special researches and into the preparation of the various handbooks and catalogues.

Curtius not only held the chair of archaeology, but also, like Boeckh before him, that of eloquence. In this capacity it was his duty to deliver before the University the yearly oration on the birthday, first of the Prussian King, and after 1871 of the German Emperor. These addresses have been collected in three volumes: the first two entitled 'Alterthum und Gegenwart'; the last, 'Unter drei Kaisern.'

These discourses are all marked, in greater or less degree, by the characteristics which have been commented upon in the address on the Acropolis (1844). They are always short; their theme is usually drawn from classical antiquity; they are written in an elevated, half-poetic style; they always breathe a hopeful, inspiring tone. They are a rich series of pictures of contemporary history and deserve to be translated, at least in part, into English.

Before closing, an account should be given of Curtius's relation to the excavations of Olympia. These excavations owed their impulse to one of his occasional addresses. In 1852 he delivered, again in the Academy of Music at Berlin, his epochal address on Olympia. He began with a sketch of gymnastic training among the Greeks, and, with the aid of Pausanias and his own personal familiarity with the spot, he drew a vivid picture of the lovely site of the Olympic games. The temples, the theatres, the treasure-houses, the inscriptions and all the animated life of the great festival rose before the audience. He closed with these words: "What lies there, hidden in dark depths, is the *life of our life*. Though other divine messengers have gone forth into the world and proclaimed a *higher power* than the truce of

Olympia, yet Olympia remains for us holy ground, and we should carry the sweep of enthusiasm, the self-sacrifice of patriotism, the spell of art, and the strength of a joy that outlasts all the toils of life, into our world, which has been lighted by a purer light!"

The results of the address were like those of eight years before. Admiration and enthusiasm were universal. King Frederick William the Fourth declared himself ready to take his place at the door of the hall, with a plate, to beg for contributions for Olympia, and the Crown Prince promised his best efforts to carry out the excavations which Curtius urged. But the attempt to raise funds proved unsuccessful. Prussia was too poor, and the outbreak of the Crimean War, soon following, seemed to postpone indefinitely this great undertaking. Yet the result of the postponement was only that the task might be taken up again, shortly after the close of the Franco-Prussian War, and carried to a magnificent completion, as the first great disinterested work of peace of the German Empire.

To this great work Ernst Curtius gave the effective impulse: he was authorized to sign the treaty between Greece and Germany under which it was carried out; he directed the general plan, had decisive voice in selecting those who carried it out, superintended the publication of the great results, and, shortly after his eightieth year, received the most signal mark of the love and gratitude of students of antiquity of all nations in the splendid festival, in his honor, at Olympia. On this hallowed spot, April 19, 1895, a noble bust of Curtius, the gift of some two hundred of the pupils and admirers, was set up in the museum where the vast results of the excavations are kept. The French, English, American and German schools of classical study at Athens were represented by their directors. The addresses which were made were worthy of the occasion and full of such unstinted recognition as is rarely rendered to man from his fellow-men. A striking feature of the celebration was the gathering of the Greek people, who came by thousands from the neighboring towns, so that there had been no such gathering on the spot since the Olympic games ceased to be celebrated, at the end of the fourth century after Christ. And to this great scholar, by a united act of scholars of the civilized world, this unique mark of honor has been accorded, that his bust should be placed in Olympia and should remain, for all coming time, among the statues of Olympian victors.

It seems appropriate to attempt, at this point, some description of Curtius's personal appearance. He was small of stature, of well-knit and well-proportioned frame, which he had trained by early exercise to great physical endurance. He required but little food or sleep, and valued the pleasures of the table chiefly because of the social intercourse which they promote. In his various trips in the Orient he exposed himself, with little thought and with no ill results, to fatigue which others could not bear. He had labored, unhurt, by Müller's side when the latter was prostrated with fatal sickness, under the blazing sun at Delphi, and H. Gelzer tells the following story of his exploit on the Lydian plain, on his visit to Sardis in 1872, in his fifty-eighth year. The soldiers of the Turkish escort were displaying to the German scholars whom they were escorting their skill at trick-riding. Suddenly Curtius let the reins fall on the neck of his strange horse, extended his arms forward over the horse's head, and charged, at a dead run, across the plain, fairly outdoing the Turks on their own field.

To speak of Curtius's features more in detail, his head was large and gave the impression of a larger man. The forehead, nose, mouth were nobly formed, and the abundant wavy hair added to his beauty. His eyes were large and prominent. His step was elastic, and he fairly flew through Berlin streets. He held his head high, with eyes slightly raised, and was habitually so occupied with his own thoughts that he was not apt to recognize his friends on the street.

He was at once social and solitary, for, though he took great delight in seeing his friends gathered at the tea-parties in his house, especially his young friends, he would not make conversation where his interest did not carry him. Hence his wife found occasion to exercise her skill in placing him, in social gatherings, at a little table with some congenial spirit. He had no love for long, stiff supper-tables, which he likened to the tables of railroad eating-rooms. He has sometimes been seen sitting in the centre of a group of admiring pupils, who were satisfied to gaze upon his beautiful, benignant face until he gave utterance to some characteristic sentiment, so expressed that his hearers could not easily forget it. His speech was monologue rather than conversation, and he spoke in a musical, somewhat plaintive tone.

Wherein lay the wonderful charm of the man? All who came

near him felt this charm, and numberless tributes, since his death, have borne witness to it.

The answer to the question is neither easy nor simple. This charm was due, in part, to his personal beauty. The perfect form and face seemed a fit home for a noble mind and heart. Then, there were those treasures of learning which a long life of uninterrupted labor had accumulated. Next, there was that creative talent which enabled him to put the stamp of originality upon whatever he spoke or wrote. Furthermore, there was the artistic power, which made all his creations beautiful. He could not speak or write ungracefully. This creative faculty made it difficult for him to keep distinct the constructive operation of his mind and the process of weighing facts and evidence. His views and representations were apt to bear in a high degree the impress of his own individuality. Another consequence of this poetic temperament was that it was almost impossible for him to change an opinion when once formed. He did not possess, in eminent degree, the judicial temper. He loved the truth with an impassioned love, but the truth as he saw it must be beautiful, or it could not be truth to him.

A characteristic trait was his love of communicating knowledge. His delight in communicating was little less intense than in creating. He rejected, as selfish and disappointing, the pursuit of knowledge without reference to imparting the same to others. So his Greek history was delivered, in successive lectures, to Göttingen students as fast as it took shape under his hands.

The unswerving devotion with which Curtius gave himself to the study of Greek antiquity is noteworthy. His own view of the importance of this study was exalted. In studying the language, the history, and the art of the Greeks, he felt that he was studying the highest manifestations of the human mind and soul, and that the ground on which he daily trod was holy ground.

The two best rooms of his spacious and cheerful Berlin house were devoted to his study. The arrangement of this study was attractive and delightful. The chief furniture consisted of the books. Here Curtius perhaps best loved to be. His day was divided between his study, the University lecture-room, and the Antiquarium at the Museum. On days when he had no duties outside of the house he would often spend, without apparent fatigue, almost the solid day in close work in the study.

Most characteristic was the place which he made in his life for Christian faith. He never laid aside the faith of his boyhood.

This faith he held in the most liberal spirit, but regarded the idea as false that Christianity was needed only by people of a certain lower level of intelligence. He did not hesitate to avow, on the most public occasions, his conviction of the necessity of Christian faith to quicken patriotism and to keep alive scientific investigation.

The question of the relation of a man's opportunities to his achievements naturally arises in the case of Curtius. Rarely has a man been more favored in home, parents, native city, teachers, friends. Rarely have such exceptional opportunities of travel and study been enjoyed. Rarely have there come to a scholar tasks so conspicuous and recognized as of such commanding importance. But the man was greater than his opportunities, extraordinary as these were, and his use of them gave them their significance. The impression made by the epochal Berlin addresses was due to the personality of their author. Berlin audiences are not easily carried away by enthusiasm for an ideal. And the friendship of the house of Hohenzollern in three generations for Curtius, which led to the excavations at Olympia, was no fortunate accident, but a gradual growth, and was, perhaps, the most remarkable tribute to the charm of his character.

In closing one cannot but emphasize Curtius's resolute, self-denying industry, prosecuted unremittingly through more than sixty manhood-years; his absolute freedom from vanity and envy, faults to which scholars have often shown themselves prone; his deep sense of responsibility, which made every new distinction a new spur to yet higher performance and kept him, like Milton, ever mindful of his "just account."

The following unpublished poem is characteristic of the man. The coincidence of sentiment with a stanza from Tennyson's 'Crossing the Bar' is remarkable:

"Es sei uns so von Gott beschieden	May God so order our lives
Dass, ist das Tagewerk gethan,	That, when our day's work is done,
Auch unser Leben, ganz in Frieden	Our life in perfect peace
Ausströmen kann zum Ocean."	May flow out into the ocean !

"But such a tide as, moving, seems asleep,
Too full for sound and foam;
When that which drew from out the boundless deep,
Turns again home."

ROBERT P. KEEP.

II.—PARALLEL FEATURES IN THE TWO SANSKRIT EPICS.

The most striking parallels in the Hindu epics are found in the phraseology of peaceful scenes, though identical phrases of battle are more frequent. Between these two classes stand a few colloquialisms and short descriptive phrases which are almost or quite the same in both epics. Thus, in Mahābhārata xv. 23. 8 we read

pāṇḍureṇā 'tapatreṇa dhriyamāṇena mūrdhani,

a phrase repeated in v. 178. 77. In Rāmāyaṇa iv. 38. 31,

pāṇḍarenā 'tapatreṇa dhriyamāṇena mūrdhani

shows only a slight variation in B., and this vanishes in C., the Bombay text.¹ In like manner the verse Mbh. vi. 97. 33,

kāñcakoṣṇiṣṇas tatra vetrajharjharapāṇayaḥ,

is almost identical with R. vi. 99. 23:

kāñcukoṣṇiṣṇas tatra vetrajharjharapāṇayaḥ ;

and the following words, *protsāhayantaḥ śanakāiḥ* in Mbh., *utsārayantaḥ sahasā* in R., look like a conscious variation in the second hemistich. As an example of the colloquial *pāda* may be taken *no 'tkaṇṭhāṁ kartum arhasi*, a phrase found both in Mbh. iii. 216. 10; xii. 170. 11, etc., and in R. v. 36. 76. Here, too, belong the cases of colloquial didacticism which abound in both epics. A long proverb, for instance, is given from the Rāmāyaṇa in the Petersburg Lexicon under the word *kṛtaghna*, but the Mahābhārata, though it is not credited with the word, has at xii. 172. 25-26 both the same word and the same proverb:

*brahmaghne ca surāpe ca cāure bhagnavrate tathā
niṣkṛtīr vihitā rājan kṛtaghne nā 'sti niṣkṛtīḥ
mitradrohi kṛtaghnaś ca nṛṣaṅsaś ca narādhamāḥ
kravyādāiḥ kṛmibhiḥ cāi 'va na bhujiyante hi tādṛṣāḥ*

This quotation is introduced with the words *kravyādā api rājendra*

¹ My references are to B., the Gorresio text, unless otherwise indicated.

kṛtaghnān no 'pabhuñjate. In the Rāmāyaṇa one verse of the two is cited as a *brahmaṇā gītaḥ ślokaḥ* in iv. 34. 17, while the introductory verse of the Mahābhārata is found in another form in another section, iv. 30. 13: *tān mṛtān api kṛavyādāḥ kṛtaghnān no 'pabhuñjate*. As the abstract of this word is cited only from later literature, I may add that *kṛtaghnatā* is also found in the Mahābhārata, xii. 133. 16.

That a careful consideration of such parallels in the two epics will add very much to our knowledge of their mutual relations is perhaps too much to expect, but that something may be gained by studying epic phraseology as a whole is a fact easily illustrated. Professor Jacobi says in his *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 97: "Dem Dichter des Rāmāyaṇa, oder denjenigen, bei denen die Rāma-sage sich bildete, scheint sie [die Seeschiffahrt] entweder gänzlich unbekannt oder doch etwas so wenig bekanntes gewesen zu sein, dass nicht einmal der Gedanke auftauchte, den Rāma nach Laṅkā mit Schiffen übersetzen zu lassen." To this surprising statement is added a note which, while it admits that the Rāmāyaṇa often speaks of ships, yet maintains that we must generally understand river-shipping to have been intended; while the last clause of this note reasserts by implication the position maintained in the text: "Vielleicht bestand schon Flussschiffahrt; aber von ihr zur Seeschiffahrt ist noch ein grosser Schritt." Since shipwreck is alluded to as early as the Vedic period,¹ this last admission is not a very generous one, but there seems to me to be error in the whole argument. The *vyathitā senā mūḍhavāte 'va nāur jale* of C. 50. 1 implies the same ocean as is expressed in B. vi. 25. 1, *senā bhinnā nāur iva sāgare*; while there is no varied reading to take refuge in for the ocean-faring ship of v. 28. 8:

mahārṇave nāur iva vātamūḍhā;

and C. v. 25. 14 = B. 26. 12:

samudramadhye nāuḥ pūrṇā tāḍitā mārulāir yathā,

for here in C. the change is only *vāyuvagāir iva 'hatā*. In all these passages the same image is before the poet of the Rāmāyaṇa as before the Mahābhāratakr̥t when he speaks of the *nāur bhinnā* (or *bhagnā*) *agādhe* of merchants, in ix. 3. 5. The reason why Vālmiki employs the device of a bridge is that the legend existed before the poet and the rocks were there to prove (as

¹ AV. v. 19. 8: *nāvān bhinnam ivo' dakam*.

they prove to the natives to-day) the correctness of the tradition. No wise poet ignores such tradition, and that Vālmiki utilizes it while he alludes to ships wrecked "in mid-ocean" shows, as I think, that he was acquainted not only with 'Seeschiffahrt,' but also with local tradition.

Formulae sometimes pass from scenes of peace to those of war, proving that they were fixed as formulae rather than as adjuncts of any particular action. Thus, in Mbh. vi. 59. 66 there is battle-action and men see the great warrior plunging between two armies "emitting showers of darts without stopping," and *pratapantam ivā 'dityam* (ib. vi. 106. 80: *ivā 'dityam pratapantam svalejasā*). But in R. ii. 117. 16, there is a scene of peace: "May the guilds, great king, and all the chief men (of the city) see thee standing in thy kingdom *pratapantam ivā 'dityam*."¹

It is sometimes a matter of indifference which end of a phrase comes first. The Mbh. form *ṣaravarṣāṇi sṛjantam*, given in the last note, appears in R. vi. 18. 36, for instance, as *sṛjantam ṣaravarṣāṇi* (not in C.). But usually the same order obtains. Thus in Mbh. vi. 47. 20 and 67 and R. vi. 32. 28, *vavarṣa ṣaravarṣāṇi*.

The phraseology of battle is practically the same in both epics, and it is quite surprising that special critics of the epics have not emphasized this fact, as it is a matter of some moment.² I have here collected a few examples to illustrate this point, chiefly from the sixth book of each epic. Every reader of the epics must have noticed how the same phrase repeats itself not only in one epic, but in both. Sometimes these are almost identical, as in *utro raṇaviṣāradaḥ* of Mbh. vi. 57. 16, compared with *raṇe raṇaviṣāradaḥ* of R. vi. 60. 4; or *karma kurvāṇam duṣkaram* of Mbh. vi. 105. 6, compared with *kṛtaṁ karma suduṣkaram* of R. vi. 46. 43; *raṇe karma suduṣkaram* and *kṛtvā k. s.*, ib. 55. 36 and 65. But though there is not (as in C.) absolute identity, the virtual oneness of

pūrṇāyataviṣṭena ṣareṇā 'nataparvaṇā, Mbh. vi. 95. 72, and *karnāyataviṣṭena ṣareṇā 'nataparvaṇā*, R. B. vi. 51. 75,

can scarcely be doubted, and the question arises whether one is

¹ The phrase in the Mbh. version, *ṣaravarṣāṇi sṛjantam aniṣaṁ yudhi*, is also common. Compare the whole repeated hemistich in Mbh. vi. 106. 53. The word *aniṣa* is ascribed in the Lexicon only to R. and later literature.

² Professor Jacobi, loc. cit., p. 77, note, cites two "stehende Ausdrücke," but does not discuss the matter.

taken from the other, or whether each belongs to a common stock of older epic phraseology. Though the shorter parallels are not so striking, they must nevertheless be taken into account, and to my thinking they must be explained like the longer; but for the present I will waive all discussion of this question.

Of these shorter resemblances there are not a few, and they are strewn over the whole epic. Thus, *vivṛyādha niṣīlāiḥ ṣarāiḥ* is a constant phrase, e. g. Mbh. vi. 45. 77; R. vi. 19. 55. The same phrase is expanded, *vivṛyādha niṣīlāiḥ tṛkṣṇāiḥ ṣarāiḥ kanakabhūṣaṇāiḥ*, in Mbh. vi. 64. 15; to which comes like an echo R. vi. 18. 45, *ṣarāiḥ kanakabhūṣaṇāiḥ* in B., where C. has *kāñcana-bhūṣaṇāiḥ*, though the same phrase occurs in R. vi. 51. 38, where B.'s *kanaka*^o is also found in C. Variations on the *niṣīlāiḥ ṣarāiḥ* phrase are numerous. R. vi. 28. 4 has *niṣīlāiḥ ṣarāiḥ . . . kañkapatrāir ajihmagāiḥ*; Mbh. vi. 48. 68 has *kañkapatrāiḥ ṣīlāiḥ ṣarāiḥ*. Then, with the substitution of synonyms, we find *vivṛyādha niṣīlāir bāṇāiḥ*, Mbh. vi. 59. 61, or *cicheda niṣīlāir bāṇāiḥ*, Mbh. vi. 45. 23. In the last we have *prahasann iva*, as in R. i. 41. 3. Compare Mbh. vi. 47. 14, *nṛtyann iva*, or R. vi. 55. 12, *hasann iva*, all current phrases. The form *niṣīlāiḥ ṣarāiḥ* generally ends a *pāda*, as in Mbh. (above and) vii. 115. 7; R. vi. 28. 4; but is sometimes inverted, *cicheda bāṇāir niṣīlāiḥ supatrāiḥ*, R. vi. 36. 75, for the metre.

Another of these stock phrases which every one must have noticed in both epics is *tam (tām) āpatantam sahasā*, e. g. in Mbh. vi. 116. 50 and 57; when feminine, usually a club or spear "resembling Yama's rod." Thus Mbh. vi. 116. 49: *cikṣepa gadān yamaḍaṇḍopamān raṇe*,¹ *tām āpatantīm sahasā*, etc.; while in R. vi. 36. 10-12 *yamaḍaṇḍakalpa* follows as an epithet of the arrows, after *tam āpatantam sahasā*. The first two words occur too often to count; e. g. Mbh. vi. 49. 28; 62. 36; R. vi. 28. 35. The phrase is applied to an army corps in Mbh. vi. 95. 83, *tām āpatantīm sahasā . . . mahācamūm abhidudrāva vegena*. Here, as in many other cases, one phrase runs into another: *abhidudrāva vegena* is a constant support to the poet, who leans upon it whenever his wit wearies, as in Mbh. vi. 100. 49; 104. 34-35; R. vi. 55. 43, 47. A stock phrase is also *sa viśphārya mahac cāpam*, e. g. Mbh. vi. 49. 26; 95. 70; R. vi. 51. 5. Like *vegena*, which rounds off a phrase, as above or in *pālayāmāsa vegena*, is *vīrya-*

¹ This phrase also in Mbh. vi. 94. 22, and often; *kāḍaṇḍopamān raṇe*, ib. vi. 45. 8 (32 has a v. l.).

vān,¹ a very useful space-filler. It occurs in a characteristic group of similar but not quite identical phrases:

gadām ādāya vīryavān, Mbh. ix. 55. 24.

gadām udyamya vīryavān, Mbh. ix. 33. 37.

dhanur ādāya vīryavān, R. vi. 36. 7; 38. 1; 73. 17.

(Compare R. vi. 87. 20; 88. 2; 91. 10; and 49. 18.)

The passage Mbh. vi. 111. 27 ff. gives a capital illustration of the hand-work in some of the battle-scenes, which are almost as mechanical as Homer's, and shows how the two Hindu epics correspond in respect of phraseology. The few verses from vs. 27 to the end of the chapter are replete with epic iterata: *tatrā 'dbhutam apaśyāma* (a Mbh. phrase²); *ājaghāna śarāis tūrṇam*; so *'nyat karmukam ādāya*; *ājaghāno 'rasi kruddhaḥ* (repeated three times in this passage alone and current elsewhere, e. g. Mbh. vi. 61. 36; R. vi. 55. 20); *tayor yuddham samabhavat ghorarūpam*; *tiṣṭha tiṣṭhe 'ti cā 'bravīt* (41, 45)³; *vīryādha niṣītāis tikṣṇāiḥ kaṅkapatrāir ajihmagāiḥ*.⁴ In 38, *ājaghāno 'rasi kruddhaḥ*, one common phrase, is joined to another, *śareṇā 'nataparvanā*, almost as frequent. The next verse ends in the well-beloved space-filler, *raṇamūrdhani* (Mbh. vi. 103. 12; R. vi. 50. 55; 55. 68). The word *māriṣa* used in this passage is, I think, as a terminal peculiar to the Mahābhārata. In the Mahābhārata it occurs as here, vi. 111. 51, hundreds of times, merely to fill up. Such terminals are generally common to both epics. Thus, *paravīrahā*, Mbh. vi. 116. 49; R. vi. 36. 53 (and often elsewhere); *tejasā*, in the phrase *āditya iva tejasā*, e. g. N. 1. 2; R. vi. 29. 4, and as mere terminal, quite current, *jvalantam iva tejasā*, *pradīptam iva tejasā*, R. vi. 51. 73; 46. 87, etc.

The collocation of two set phrases, to which I have just alluded, is very usual. Thus, the phrase cited above, *ājaghāno 'rasi*

¹ Sometimes the two are combined, as in R. vi. 36. 44: *pātayāmāsa vegena . . . vīryavān*.

² Not in R. (on account of the conditions of narration).

³ This *tiṣṭha tiṣṭhe 'ti cā 'bravīt* occurs over and over again, e. g. Mbh. vi. 54. 72; 116. 22 (and often); R. vi. 58. 47. It is united with *abhidudrāva vegena* (text above) in Mbh. vi. 101. 9.

⁴ Frequent close of a verse, Mbh. vi. 103. 11; compare above, R. vi. 28. 4. Another formula is *rukmapurūṣhāir ajihmagāiḥ*, Mbh. vi. 114. 11; R. vi. 20. 26; joined with the common phrase *vīryādhur niṣītāir bāṇāiḥ* in the former case. It either begins or ends a verse, as in R., loc. cit., and vi. 19. 68, respectively.

kruddhaḥ, is very common, and so is *bhallāiḥ sannataparvabhiḥ*. The two make a hemistich in Mbh. vi. 114. 26; while in 104. 14 the equally common turn, *ṣarāiḥ sannataparvabhiḥ* (cf. 47. 5; 101. 21, etc.), is united with *chādayāmāsa samare*, which is also a frequent expression. The fact is that the epic to a great extent is made up not of *ślokas* but of *pādas*. The *pāda* is something complete in itself, a block to build with, to fit in beside other such blocks squared to it in advance. Of whole words making such blocks the epic style (for in this regard there is no difference between the style of the Mahābhārata and that of the Rāmāyaṇa) preserves a sufficient number. As familiar examples may serve *palāyanaparāyaṇaḥ*, Mbh. vii. 103. 32; R. v. 33. 31; and *paras-parajighāṅsavaḥ*, Mbh. vi. 46. 5, 15, etc.; R. vi. 29. 16 (or *ghāṅsayā*, ib. 55. 24, etc., sometimes only as v. l. in one edition).¹

From the language of battle-scenes a large number of *pāda*-filling phrases common to both epics might easily be collected, but I will cite here only a few examples illustrative of different situations.

avaplutya rathāt tūrṇam, R. vi. 18. 47.

avatīrya rathāt tūrṇam, R. vi. 36. 87.

avaplutya rathāt tūrṇam, Mbh. vi. 94. 22; 96. 39.

avatīrya rathād ārttaḥ, Mbh. vii. 3. 8.

avatīrya rathottamāt, Mbh. iii. 43. 16.

rathād avaplutya tataḥ, Mbh. vi. 59. 99, etc.²

agamayad yamasādanam, Mbh. vi. 54. 77.

anayad yamasādanam, ib. 81; R. iii. 34. 31.

nayāmi yamasādanam, R. iii. 28. 4; vi. 20. 14, 17.

nayiṣyati yamālayam, R. vi. 36. 42.

¹Close resemblance without actual touch occurs at times. One of the best examples is that of the two Rākṣasas, who are spoken of as *prabhinnāv iva mātāṅgāu*, and are said to be *parasparavadhāiṣṇāu* in R. vi. 69. 1, compared with the two Asuras of Mbh. i. 210. 19, who are described as *vadhāiṣṇāu prabhinnakaraṣṭāu mattāu bhūtvā kuñjararūpiṇāu*. In the latter case the demons become what in the former they resemble. Compare R. i. 13. 17.

²In Mbh. this is the preferred order. Another stop-gap is found in R. vi. 46. 9, where *vira* ends this phrase: so *'vaplutya rathād viraḥ*. It occurs often at the end of another phrase, *etasmīnn antare*, which is found everywhere and is filled out with *viraḥ*, *tatra*, or some such word. Mbh. vi. 48. 96; 74. 36 (*eva kāle tu*); R. vi. 25. 8; 36. 99; 72. 60; etc. Here colloquial language first furnishes the block, which has to be filled out to the size of the octosyllabic *pāda*.

prāhiṇod yamasādanam, Mbh. vi. 103. 17.
prāhiṇon mṛtyulokāya, Mbh. vi. 54. 82; 113. 15.
anayan paralokāya, Mbh. vi. 103. 18.
yiyāsura yamasādanam, Mbh. i. 163. 10 and R. vi. 57. 23.¹

tasya tad vacanaṁ śrutvā, Mbh. ix. 65. 21; R. vi. 37. 21.
etat tu vacanaṁ śrutvā, R. vi. 27. 6.
etac chrutvā tu vacanam, Mbh. vi. 48. 98.²

hanta te 'haṁ pravakṣyāmi, Mbh. vi. 101. 5.
hanta te saṁpravakṣyāmi, R. vi. 3. 1. Compare R. i. 49. 14.

siṅhanādāṅḥ ca kurvatām, R. vi. 32. 13; 54. 39.
siṅhanādāṅḥ ca kurvantāḥ, Mbh. vi. 64. 84.
siṅhavad vinadan muhuḥ, Mbh. vi. 91. 10, etc.³
nedus te siṅhavad, R. vi. 58. 7.
vinadya jalado yathā, Mbh. vi. 49. 35.
vineduḥ . . . jaladā iva, R. vi. 21. 22.

Before passing on to other similes, to which the last quotation naturally brings us, it is worth while to compare the various turns given to one of the commonest phrases of battle in both epics, the 'tumult' description, which ordinarily intervenes between the more carefully described actions of individual heroes. In its simplest and usual form it appears as

babhūva tumulaḥ śabdaḥ,

which is found, for instance, in Mbh. vi. 56. 22 and R. vi. 32. 13; or, as in Mbh. vi. 119. 19 and R. vi. 19. 4 respectively,

ity āstī tumulaḥ śabdaḥ

ity evaṁ tumulaḥ śabdaḥ

¹ Analogous are *anayat pretarājasya sādhanam*, Mbh. vi. 104. 1; *gamitāḥ* (and *jagmus te*) *paralokāya*, ib. 115. 4; 116. 76; *vyaktiṁ vā yamasādanam*, R. vi. 68. 11.

² More of these phrases are scarcely worth recording, as they belong to the language of scarcely differentiated prose. The following are found passim in both epics: *tasyāi 'tad vacanaṁ śrutvā*; *tasya tad vacanaṁ śrutvā*; *idaṁ vacanam abravīt*. Perhaps the commonest is the last with its variants, *vacanaṁ ce 'dam abravīt*, *tato vacanam abravīt*, e. g. Mbh. v. 178. 27; R. ii. 16. 23; vi. 36. 33; 41. 1; and *evam uktaḥ pratyuvāca*, or *tathe 'ty uktvā*, as in Mbh. vi. 59. 47; vii. 202. 70; R. vi. 36. 102.

³ The last word is often repeated at the end of a *pāda*, as in Mbh. vi. 112. 8: *vyāharanti muhur muhuḥ*; R. vi. 18. 45; 51. 35, etc.: *nanāda ca muhur muhuḥ*; ib. 55. 21: *cacāla ca muhur muhuḥ*.



Other forms of the phrase are:

- saṁjajñe tumulaḥ śabdaḥ*, Mbh. vi. 46. 17.
tumulaṁ yuddhaṁ saṁjajñe, R. vi. 28. 2.
 . . . *tumulaṁ samapadyata*, Mbh. vi. 70. 4.
sutumulaḥ . . . saṅgrāmaḥ samapadyata, R. vi. 28. 9.
tatrā 'sit sumahad yuddhaṁ tumulaṁ lomaharṣaṇam, Mbh.
 vi. 58. 13; R. vi. 18. 23.
tad babhūvā 'dbhutaṁ yuddhaṁ tumulaṁ lomaharṣaṇam, R.
 iii. 31. 44. Compare Jacobi, loc. cit., p. 73.
tasmins tu tumule yuddhe vartamāne mahābhaye, Mbh. vi.
 44. 30.
tasminn ākulasāṅgrāme vartamāne mahābhaye (and also)
tasmin mahābhaye ghore tumule lomaharṣaṇe, Mbh. vi. 70.
 3. 13.
vartamāne tathā ghore saṅgrāme lomaharṣaṇe, R. vi. 19. 13.

But perhaps the most striking similarities are to be found in the similes:

- śalabhā iva pāvakaḥ*, Mbh. viii. 24. 61.
śalabhān iva pāvakaḥ, R. vi. 44. 38.
ḥimūta iva bhāskaram, Mbh. vi. 64. 44.
ḥimūtam iva bhāskaraḥ, R. vi. 21. 43.
pāṣaḥastam ivā 'ntakam, Mbh. vi. 109. 11; R. iii. 43. 33.
pāṣaḥasta ivā 'ntakaḥ, R. vi. 39. 30.
pāṣaḥasto yathā yamaḥ, R. vi. 46. 36.
daṇḍapāṇir ivā 'ntakaḥ, Mbh. vi. 48. 90; 62. 55.
pālāyāmāsa samare¹ daṇḍaḥasta ivā 'ntakaḥ, Mbh. vi. 102. 36.
daṇḍaḥasta ivā 'ntakaḥ, R. vi. 65. 25.
totrāir iva mahādvīpam, Mbh. vi. 101. 13.
totrāir iva mahādvīpam, R. iii. 34. 10.
totrāir iva mahāgajam, Mbh. vi. 111. 7.
totrā 'rdita iva dvīpaḥ, Mbh. vi. 54. 69 and R. ii. 39. 43.
śaravarṣeṇa . . . parjanya iva vṛṣṭimān, Mbh. vi. 63. 25.
bāṇāughāñ . . . parjanya iva vṛṣṭibhiḥ, R. vi. 54. 34.

¹ A phrase found passim. So *tāḍayāmāsa samare*, prefixed to Mbh. vi. 111. 7 (below).

vavarṣa śaravarṣeṇa dhārābhir iva toyadaḥ, Mbh. vi. 58. 26.
dhārābhir iva toyadaḥ

pravavarṣa (*enam . . . śaradhārābhiḥ*), R. vi. 51. 96; 81. 24.
śaravarṣeṇa . . . pravṛṣṭāu toyadāu iva, R. vi. 55. 39.

garjantāu iva toyadāu, Mbh. ix. 55. 38.

garjanti na vrthā śurā nirjalā iva toyadāḥ, R. vi. 44. 6 (36.
 73).

prajajvāla raṇe . . . vidhūma iva pāvakaḥ, Mbh. vi. 109. 35;
 117. 48.

cuṣubhe . . . vidhūma iva pāvakaḥ, R. vi. 67. 20.

jalam sūrya iva 'ñṣubhiḥ, Mbh. vi. 109. 33.

megham sūrya iva 'ñṣubhiḥ, R. vi. 18. 40.¹

vikirṇā iva parvatāḥ, Mbh. vi. 116. 39.

vikirṇa iva parvataḥ, R. vi. 28. 39.²

śakrāṇisamasparṣān . . . śarān, Mbh. vi. 108. 35.

śakrāṇisamasparṣāiḥ . . . śarāiḥ, R. vi. 68. 6.³

śarāir (aṇisamṣparṣāis tathā) sarpaṇiṣopamāiḥ, Mbh. vi.

117. 22.

śarāḥ sarpaṇiṣopamāḥ, R. vi. 67. 17.

(*sāyakān*) *jvalitāṣṭviṣopamān*, Mbh. vi. 100. 5.

śarān . . . āṣṭviṣopamān, R. vi. 67. 3; 68. 5.⁴

śarāir āṣṭviṣopamāiḥ, R. vi. 19. 26; 27. 15.

The common epithet (vi. 30. 27; 73. 35; 74. 16, etc.), *agnīṣikhopamāiḥ (śarāiḥ)*, of the Rāmāyaṇa is apparently lacking in the Mahābhārata. It is sometimes found in juxtaposition with the older form, as in R. vi. 55. 45, 52: *śaram āṣṭviṣopamam . . . śarān agniṣikhopamān*. R. vi. 36. 110 has *śarāiḥ kālānalaṣi-*

¹ In Mbh., *teṣām ādatta tejāṇsi*; in R., *nirbibheda śarāis tikṣṇāiḥ*.

² In Mbh., *virejuḥ*; in R., *pāpāta sahasā*.

³ Variations of this formula are found in both epics. I note a few of them: *vajrasamṣparṣasamān śarān*, R. vi. 70. 15; *śakrāṇisamasvanam*, Mbh. vi. 44. 11; *indrāṇisamasvanām*, ib. 62. 61; *śakrāṇisvanam*, R. vi. 61. 1; *śakrāṇisamāiḥ śarāiḥ*, ib. 68. 10.

⁴ Compare *āṣṭviṣapraṁkhyān śarān*, R. vi. 55. 37; *āṣṭviṣābhāiḥ*, Mbh. vii. 200. 76; *āṣṭviṣākārāiḥ*, R. vi. 74. 17; *sarpān iva mahāviṣān*, ib. 68. 5; and Mbh. vi. 49. 50, *ahin āṣṭviṣān iva*; so 59. 20.

khopamāiḥ; ib. iii. 69. 19, *kālānalasamasparṣāṭiḥ*, like *ṣaram . . . ācṭviṣasamasparṣāṭiḥ*, ib. vi. 70. 32, and the examples in *sama-sparṣa* above.

Another favorite of both epics is found in the phrase

ṣakraṣambarayor iva, R. vi. 55. 72.

yathā yuddhe . . . ṣakraṣambarayoḥ purā, Mbh. vi. 100. 54.

yuddham vṛtravāsavayor iva, Mbh. vi. 100. 51; R. vi. 79. 58.

Compare also (with the verse given by Jacobi, p. 74) Mbh. ix. 55. 31: *ubhāu sadṛṣakarmāṇāu . . . rāmarāvaṇayoḥ cāi 'va vālisu-grīvayos tathā* (in 28, *mayavāsavayor iva*; in 29 as above, with Vāiṣravaṇa for Rāvaṇa).

But the *kiṁṣuka* simile is perhaps the commonest example of identical phraseology in this category:

praphulla iva kiṁṣukaḥ, Mbh. v. 179. 31 (*babhāu rāmaḥ*).

praphulla iva kiṁṣukaḥ, R. vi. 68. 20.

(*prakāṣete*) *puṣpīlāv iva kiṁṣukāu*, R. vi. 20. 10; 32. 33; 70. 11.

(*cuṣubhāte*) *puṣpīlāv iva kiṁṣukāu*, Mbh. vi. 45. 14.¹

Apart from these resemblances there are others, which consist in general content, such as the frequent lists of arms, noises, and number of arrows shot; the *kecit kecit* passages of Mbh. vi. 46. 4 ff. parallel to such scenes in R. vi. 28. 21 ff.; 32. 8; 59. 10 ff.; and the didactic literature, of which I have given a specimen at the beginning of this paper. Mbh. xiii. 88. 14 has as one half verse: *eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ putrā yady eko 'pi Gayāṁ vrajet*. R. ii. 115. 13 divides these *pādas*, inserting a whole elongating hemistich between them. Before this in R. stands, vs. 12, *punnāmno narakād yasmāt*, etc., and the same old pun is found in exactly the same words in Mbh. i. 74. 39, not to speak of legal literature. A more general resemblance is given by the similar diatribes in Mbh. iii. 30 and R. vi. 62 (where the proverb in vs. 30, *grīṣme kusarito yathā*, is attributed in PW. s. *kusarīt* only to Pañcat.).

But the most remarkable chapter of parallels in didacticism is to be seen in the *kaccit* sections of the two epics; for not only is the whole chapter in each epic practically the same, but a strict

¹ R. vi. 32. 25; 54. 24, etc., has *puṣpīlāir iva kiṁṣukāiḥ*. Mbh. has *vyarājata raṇe . . . kiṁṣukaḥ puṣpavān iva*, vi. 110. 36. R. again has *puṣpīlāv iva niṣpa-trāu yathā cālmalikiṁṣukāu*, vi. 68. 31.

comparison shows that in several instances the Bombay text of the Rāmāyaṇa agrees more closely with the text of the Mahābhārata than it does with the Gorresio text of the Rāmāyaṇa. The Gorresio text, too, is here the older.¹ The extent and variety of verses thus obtruded into both texts are of sufficient interest to call for a close examination.

The sections are Mbh. ii. 5; R. B. ii. 109 = C. 100. Mbh., vs. 36 = B. 52 and C. 53; but C., the Bombay text, alone is really the same with Mbh.

Mbh., *kaccid durgāṇi sarvāṇi dhanadhānyāyudhodakāiḥ*

R. C., " " " " "

R. B., *kaccit sadā te durgāṇi dhanadhānyodakāyudhāiḥ*

The verse preceding this in Mbh. has *kaccit sahasrāir mūrkhānām ekaṁ kṛṇāsi paṇḍitam Paṇḍito hy arthakṛcchreṣu kuryān niḥṣreyasaṁ param*. R. B. has here, vs. 17, *mūrkhāsahasreṇa*, while C. 22 has the Mbh. reading, but also *icchasi* against *kṛṇāsi* of Mbh., R. B. B.'s reading of the last *pāda*, however, is *brūyāt niḥṣreyasaṁ vacaḥ*, while that of C. is *kuryāt . . . mahat*. The reading of Mbh. and R. C. reappears in the added verse 18 = 23 of R. in B.'s version, which is not found in Mbh. In Mbh. 37 = B. 19 = C. 24 the slight v. l. *daḥṣo* makes Mbh. coincide with B. as against C. R.'s order is here better than that of Mbh. In Mbh. 39 = B. 46 = C. 37 the two halves of B. find parallels in Mbh. and C. respectively. As this verse in its three forms offers a good illustration of the plastic epic style, I will give them all:

R. B. a: *kaccit tvaṁ dviṣalām arthaḥ pratipannaḥ ca sarvaṣaḥ*

Mbh. a: *kaccid dviṣām aviditaḥ pratipannaḥ ca sarvadā*

R. C. a: *kaccid vyapāstān ahilān pratiyātāṅ ṣa sarvadā*

R. B. b: *sudurbalāṅ ca dhārayan vartase ripusūdana*

R. C. b: *durbalān anavajñāya* " "

Mbh. b: *nītyayukto ripūn sarvān vīkṣase* "

In Mbh. *pratiyattaḥ* is an alternative reading. The agreement in Mbh. 41 = B. 8 = C. 12 is stricter with C. than with B., *vidhijño* in Mbh. and C., *brāhmaṇo* in B. A conglomerate mixture of readings is presented in Mbh. 43 = B. 20 = C. 25, *pādas* 2 and 3

¹ Compare herewith Professor Jacobi's remarks on the parallels in the Rāma episode, loc. cit., top of p. 74.

being all alike, while 1 is the same only in Mbh. and C., and 4 is different in each of the three texts: *tāta niyojitāḥ* in B.; *te tāta yojitāḥ* in C.; *karmasu yojitāḥ* in Mbh. The following verse of Mbh. agrees with the order of C. 26 (= Mbh. 43, third and fourth hemistich); in B. transposed to 32.

Very interesting is the omission in B. of the verse Mbh. 44 = C. 27, for the former ends in *Bharatarṣabha*, and the latter in *Kāikeyisuta*.

Mbh. 45 = C. 28 = B. 36; Mbh. and C. agree in order as against B. Mbh. 46 = C. 30 = B. 40; slight v. l. unites Mbh. C. against B. Mbh. 47 = C. 31 = B. 39; all vary slightly. Mbh. 48 = C. 32 = B. 41; slight v. l. unites Mbh. B. against C. Mbh. 49 = C. 33 = B. 42; v. l. unites B. C. against Mbh.

Mbh. 50 = C. 34 = B. 43 contains a jumble, where Mbh. and C. are twice united against B., thus: Mbh. and C. have *kaccit sarve 'nuraktās tvām*; B. has *kaccit pūrvānuraktās te*; Mbh. and C. have *kaccit prāṇāṁs tavā 'rtheṣu*; B. has *āhaveṣu priyān prāṇān*. R. in B. and C. has *samāhitāḥ* against Mbh. *sadā yudhi*.

The Rāmāyaṇa section is shorter than that of the Mahābhārata, which has many additions. Passing over twenty verses, Mbh. 70 resembles C. 54 = B. 53, but only in general thought (made more precise in Mbh.), and Mbh. 75 suggests C. 57 = B. 56. Thus, in the first case, R.'s *āyas te vipulāḥ kaccit kaccid alpataro vyayaḥ* appears in Mbh. as *kaccid āyasya cā 'rdhena caturbhāgena vā punaḥ Pādabhāgāis tribhis vā 'pi vyayaḥ saṁcudhyate tava*. Noticeable is the absence in R. of Mbh. 72, where are mentioned the royal *gaṇakalekhakāḥ*.¹ The agricultural care of Mbh. 76, *krṣṭvalāḥ*, receives attention in R. in other sentences, C. 43 b, ff. = B. 21 ff. At the end of Mbh. 77 appears *na krṣir devamātrkā* = C. 45 (with v. l.), B. 23, beginning *adevamātrkāḥ kaṇṇi*. The subject, more fully treated in Mbh., is left in B. with the awkward hemistich 24 b, *vārlāyāṁ saṁsthitā tāta loko hi krṣijīvanaḥ*. This hemistich in Mbh. appears in 79 as *vārlāyāṁ saṁcṛitā tāta loko 'yaṁ sukham edhate*, identical with C. 47 (v. l. *sāmpratam*).

Mbh. 85-86 are an expansion of C. 51 = B. 50, but the verbal resemblance in *samalaṁkṛtān* is confined to B. The resem-

¹ So Mbh.'s verse 42, containing the *jyotiṣaḥ pratipādakaḥ* and omen-knower, is an expansion.

blances between Mbh. and B. are in general of this character, slighter than those between Mbh. and C. and less frequent.

The original Niti is now almost ended and in the finale lies pretty plain evidence that C. and Mbh. are both expanded beyond the original limit kept in B. The text of Mbh. itself shows by the interpolation of a question and renewal of the theme afterwards that it originally stopped at vs. 110, which is where R. stops now according to B., the closing verses of B. corresponding to Mbh. 107-109. The correspondence here begins by being close, but then it lessens, and finally the "twelve vices" of B. are raised to "fourteen vices" in C. and Mbh. The construction, too, of C. is that of Mbh. (acc.), not that of B.

The questions thus added in Mbh. take up the neglected subject of foreign traders, *tantra* or treatises on agriculture; the knowledge of various Sūtras on military affairs; the use of magic, *brahmadaṇḍa* (= *ābhicārikavidyā*); the application of poison; the protection of *pravrajitās*; and an entirely new group of vices. C. 68 also adds a list of groups in verses which have a slight connection with the addition in Mbh. (compare Mbh. 21-23, an introductory list); and then C., in 72, = Mbh. 110, gives the verse which suggests Yudhiṣṭhira's question of interpretation and leads up to the appended duties. Just before this, C. 70, *yātrā-daṇḍavidhānaṁ ca dviyonī sandhivigrahāu kaccid etān mahā-prājña yathāvad anumanyase*, doubtless goes back to the original of Mbh. 25, *kaccit saṁdhiṁ yathā kālaṁ vigrahaṁ co 'pasevase*. C. 73 = Mbh. 102.

Among the fourteen extra verses in C. there are, besides frequent cases of special resemblance, three, 27, 72, and 73 (and 70 may be added for the content), which are in Mbh. but not in B. On the other hand, of the six and a half verses that are in B. but not in C., none is found in Mbh. except 46 a, which may be a varied reading. Thus, B. 28, 31, 33-35, 37 fail in C. and in Mbh. alike. This points to a nearer connection on the part of the Mbh. text with the Bombay text than with the Gorresio text—an indication confirmed by the closing verses of the section; for, not to speak of the extent in Mbh. C., the fact that B. has twelve and Mbh. C. fourteen vices joins the two latter very closely and at the same time proves the priority of B., since no text would reduce a scheduled list of fourteen to twelve. Mbh. cannot, however, have copied either B. or C., as it agrees with each in turn, though, as I have shown, more decidedly with C., and it

must be remembered that B. and C., in respect of the number of verses and arrangement, are much more homogeneous as a whole than are Mbh. and C. In both epics the chapter is of course a late intrusion.¹

I need scarcely point out how clearly the *kaccil-sarga* shows the method by which an epic may be turned gradually into a text-book of morality. The Rāmāyaṇa is here entering on the path into which and along which the Mahābhārata was dragged, and its *kaccil* chapter furnishes by analogy a useful corrective to the superficial theory that the Mahābhārata was never an epic because it is now stuffed with maxims.

In a subsequent paper I hope to point out more of these epic parallels, and at the same time to discuss more fully the varied readings in the Rāmāyaṇa passages, as some of these readings seem to link one text more closely than the other with the Mahābhārata. But there is, I may say here, no uniformity in this regard, and moreover, so far as *īterata* are concerned, although a given formula of the Mahābhārata may occur in only one text of the corresponding passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, it is almost always found in some other passage of the alternate text.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

¹ The Calcutta text of the chapter in the Mahābhārata contains no important variations. The section was apparently inserted into the great epic after it had found a place in the Rāmāyaṇa, to judge by the uniformity of the former texts and dissimilarity of the latter.

III.—“CHRISTE QUI LUX ES ET DIES”
AND ITS GERMAN, DUTCH, AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS.

A CONTRIBUTION TO HYMNOLGY.

PART II.

The Translations.

In Germany, the Netherlands, and England, the three countries in which our hymn has been traced, it has met with varying fortune. In none of the three have I found any trace in translation of types I and II; Germany has preserved III, III¹ and III²; England, III and III¹; and the Netherlands, with the Rhine districts, have developed a form of their own, which has lasted down to the present day and for which no corresponding version in the Latin has as yet been found, if indeed one existed. We shall consider the several translations as far as possible in their chronological order.

A. Interlinear versions and those connected with them.

I.—The earliest German translation, and indeed the only one of its time yet discovered, is found in the Junius MSS No. 25; it is an interlinear version of type III, belonging to the 8th or 9th century, and runs as follows¹:

Christ dû der leoht pist inti take
derâ naht finstrl intdechis
leohtes ioh leoht kala[u] pit pist
leoht sâligem predigônti.

pittimês uulho t[ruh]ttfn
scirmf nahte ioh tage
si uns in dir rauua
stilla naht gip.

¹S. No. 16; Gr. No. 16; W¹. I, No. 75. I have followed S. rather than Gr. or W¹., though they differ from him only in details.

nī suârrêr slâf anapleste
 nec hostis¹ unsih untarchrisse
 noh imu kahenge
 unsih dir sculdi[ge] kasezze

oucûn sc[l]af intfâhên
 herza simbulum za dir uuachee
 zesema dlniu scirme
 scalchâ dea dih minnont

scirmanto unser sih
 lagôntê kadhtu
 stiuri dina scalchâ
 dea pluute archauftos

gihugf unser t[ruh]tln
 in suârrem desamo lîchamin
 dû der pist scirmo derâ sêla
 az uuis uns t[ruh]tln.

The language as well as the place² in which the MS containing this hymn originated show that it belonged to the Alemanian dialect of Old High German. While the Latin version to which this belongs seems to have found its way to England, I have met with no Anglo-Saxon version corresponding to it; nor, indeed, did this version have any other followers in German territory.

II.—The next translation in point of time is one found in the Vienna MS No. 2682, and placed by Kehrein, who here follows Hoffmann, in the 12th century.³ The version⁴ is an interlinear translation of type III¹.

Christ dv licht bist vn tach
 der naht vinster entekchest
 vn liehtes licht dv glovbet wirst
 lieht daz saelige bredigende

Wir bitten heilich herre
 behvte vns in der naht
 si vns an dir rvwe
 rvweclich naht gib vns.

¹ On this line S. remarks: "Ueber *hostis* steht von neuer hand, wie es scheint von Junius geschrieben, *ni fiant*."

² V. S., p. 14. Braune, Ahd. Lesebuch, p. 164: "Die aus dem Kloster Murbach stammende hs.," etc.

³ K., Vorrede, p. xvii.

⁴ K., No. XI.

niht svaerre slaf anvalle
 noh der viant vns verzveche
 daz niht daz fleisc gehengend
 vns dir scvldic setze.

div ovgen slaf gevachen
 daz herre¹ ze dir alzit wache
 div zesewe din bedече
 die scalche die dich minnent.

scermaer vnser scouwe her
 die lagunden drukche
 behvte dine scalche
 die mit blvte gechovet hast.

gehvge vnser herre
 in svarem disem libe
 dv bist bescirmaer der sele
 zv wis vns herre.

III.—Between these two, resembling the latter rather than the former, stands the Anglo-Saxon interlinear of the Durham ritual.²

eala ó pu crist pu pe leoh eart 7 daeg
 neahte peostra pu ofer helast
 7 leohtes leoht pu eart gelyfed
 leoht eadig bodiende
 pe biddap ó eala pu halga drihten
 bewere us on pissere nyhte
 sy us on pe rest
 gedyse nihte forgyf
 ꝥ ne hefi slaep onhreose
 ꝥ ne feond us undercreope
 ꝥ ne flaesc him giðafi . . .³
 us pe scyldige gessette
 eagan slaep underfon
 heorte to ðe aefre wacige
 swiðra pin gescilde
 peowan pa ðe pe lufigað.
 bewerigend ure beseoh
 pa serwiendan ofprice
 begéon pine penas
 pa ðe mid blode pa gebohtest.
 gemunpu ure ó eala ðu drihten

¹ K. remarks "lies herze."

² S. Soc., p. 12.

³ Mr. Stevenson (S. Soc., p. 12) remarks that the Durham MS originally had *geðafigende* here, but that the termination is erased.

on swarran pisum lichoman
 pe ðe eart bewerigend sawle
 aetbeo pu us drihten
 gode faeder sy wuldor.¹

IV.—In connection with the 12th-century version, perhaps influenced by a similar translation and depending upon the same Latin original, should be mentioned the versified translation given by Wackernagel from the *Sigmundslust Hymarius* of 1524. This he considers older than a version found in the *Salus Anime*, Nuremberg, 1503, which latter also belongs here.² The former is certainly a very crude attempt at versification, yet it is not on that account alone to be accredited with greater age, for with equal reason we may assume it to have been the rude efforts of a later unpoetical though earnest scribe. Here also belongs the prose version found in a MS in Ghent.³ This latter translation bears the inscription "Dese ymen selmē lesen des aunts als mē gaet slapen." The lines corresponding to st. 1 run as follows: "Criste du biste een licht ende dach, du ondeckeste die dunsternissen des nachtes, die sys ghelouet een lichte des liches predikende dat salighe licht." Hoffmann⁴ gives the first stanza of a German translation from the *Hortulus Animae* (Strasburg, 1500), which also seems to be connected with the interlinear. I have been able to find nothing more than the one stanza which he gives:

Christe der bist das liecht und tag
 der nachte vinsteren endecken mag,
 des liechtes lichte wirst glöblich geacht,
 verkundst das selig liecht mit macht.

B. So-called hymn of the Monk of Salzburg.

The next set in order of time is the one which has commonly been ascribed to the Monk Hermann⁵ of Salzburg. The hymn

¹ For a faulty prose A. S. version found in two MSS in Br. Museum, v. p. 187.

² W², III, No. 567.

³ Bibl. Gand. Cod. MS 206; Katal. No. 521; "in 8° velin belle écriture du XV^e siècle."

⁴ Hoff., p. 269, remarks: "In dieser bisher noch völlig unbekannten Übersetzung des lateinischen *Hortulus Animae* der erst in 1500 (Strazburg) erschien." Cf. Riederer, II, p. 158: "Herr Freytag beschreibt in *apparatu literariis*, To. II, p. 821, einen solchen lateinischen *ortulum anime* von 1500 zu Strazburg gedruckt."

⁵ For a discussion of the name of the monk, see Amperferer, whose conclusions I have accepted.

is found in four MSS¹: the Munich MS Cod. Germ. 715, A; a Vienna MS No. 2856, D, formerly called Cod. Lunlacensis 119; Vienna MS No. 2975, 18, fol. 159^b, F; and a German-Latin gloss of the 14th (?) century from Udine.²

A, which contains in all thirty-seven hymns, bears an inscription to the effect that its songs were composed by Hermann "mit sampt ainem laypriester herrn Martein." Aside from this general designation but one hymn, the fifth, is ascribed to a specific author.³ In regard to MS F we have Wackernagel's⁴ testimony: "Gedichten 1, 10, 13-18 [this last the Christe] den Mönch nicht als Verfasser anführt, . . . darin streitet sie gegen D." D contains two versions of the Christe. In giving the hymn Wackernagel⁵ mentions but one version, No. 64, MS D, p. 223; in the appendix, however, in describing the contents of the MS, he mentions both 64 and a second, unfinished hymn, No. 78, p. 242. Strangely enough that which he mentions in both places is not that which bears the superscription "des münichs." This is placed over No. 78 alone; indeed, in all of the MSS containing this hymn, this is the only copy that has such a heading, and upon it accordingly, in so far, the responsibility for the ascription depends.

We must then inquire into the character of the superscription and that of the copy to which it belongs. In regard to the superscription Kehrein⁶ remarks: "Die Ueberschriften der Lieder sind roth von älterer, die Worte *des münichs* schwarz von jüngerer Hand geschrieben." The completed hymn in MS D, No. 64, is the second of four, VIII-XI, not ascribed to the Monk by this later hand, while II-VII and XII-XXV,⁷ with one exception,⁸ have his name added to the part of the superscription which is written by the older hand. As for the character of this second versification, Wackernagel passes it over in the comparison which he makes of the versions of the three MSS, and Kehrein,⁹ though giving No. 78 in the order belonging to it in the MS, does not mention it by cross-reference in any of the three other versions which he gives. It is indeed incomplete, and while in general it does not differ materially from No. 64, yet the work-

¹ For a description of three of the MSS, see W³. I, pp. 365-6, and K., Vorrede, pp. xvii-xix.

² V. Germ. 23, p. 30.

³ V. Altdeutsche Blätter, II, p. 327.

⁴ W³. I, p. 370 g.

⁵ W³. II, No. 563.

⁶ K., Vorrede, p. xix; cf. W³. I, p. 368 e.

⁷ The second D. version is No. XXIII in K. and in the MS.

⁸ No. XVIII, "von unser frowen."

⁹ Religiöse Lieder.

manship seems ruder and leaves the impression of a trial piece which might later have been revamped by some other hand.

Doxologies often form a distinguishing feature of different hymns. In this version we shall find that the doxology more certainly than any other evidence obtainable confirms or refutes the claims of the Monk of Salzburg.

In the MS from Udine, as also in MSS D and F, the doxology has the following form¹:

Got vater immer glori² sey
und auch seim eingeporen sun
darzue dem geist des trost uns bei
sei ewiglichen³ in allen tun.

In MS A⁴ the last two lines are slightly different :

"Der heylig Geist der won uns pey
und sey allzeit in allem tun."

This, of course, is a more or less free rendering of the common Latin doxology "Deo pater sit gloria."

Of the thirty-two hymns⁵ aside from the Christe which are categorically assigned to the Monk by Wackernagel, only eight⁶ have any doxology at all, and of these eight one⁷ consists of only a single line and a second⁸ can be called a doxology only by an inexact use of that term. But taking the whole number we find that not one of them makes use of a Latin original even freely, but seem to be forms peculiar to the Monk. This is the more remarkable, in view of the fact that four⁹ of the hymns are translations from Latin originals.

On the ground of the doxology, accordingly, it would seem either that the Monk had here made a very decided departure from his usual manner of composing doxologies or else that this one had not been written by him. This, in connection with the fact that the burden of evidence in favor of the Monk rests upon

¹ V. Germ. 23, p. 30; K., No. XI, p. 152; W², II, No. 563.

² Udine MS, *ere*.

³ MS F, *ewichleich*.

⁴ W², II, No. 563.

⁵ Ibid., Nos. 547-553, 555, 557-560, 562, 568, 573, 575-584, 588-592. For all of these up to 588 W. gives MS authority for the authorship; just before No. 588 he remarks: "Die folgenden sechs Gedichte wird man dem Mönch von Salzburg zuschreiben dürfen, obschon dieselbe in keiner der hss. als Verfasser bezeichnet ist."

⁶ Ibid., Nos. 555, 559, 568, 588, 589-591, 593.

⁷ Ibid., No. 591.

⁸ Ibid., No. 590.

⁹ Ibid., Nos. 555, 559, 568, 590.

the designation of but one of the four MSS in which the hymn is found, and in that MS not upon the completed hymn, but upon the slightly different and unfinished one, leaves no good evidence upon which to assign it to him. Indeed with equal reason the versions might be assigned to the lay-priest Martin or to other collaborators.¹

The version of the hymn which Wackernagel² gives is the following :

Christe du pist liecht und der tag
du deckest ab dy finstern nacht,
Des liechtes liecht ye in dir lag,
der selden liecht hat aus dir bracht.

Wir pitten dich, heyliger herr,
bewar uns heint in dieser nacht.
Gib rue in dir das uns icht werr
tue ruesam nacht in unser acht.

Uns won kain sweres slaffen zue
noch das der feint uns icht betor,
Das fleisch im kein verhängen tue
davon wir dir sten schuldig vor.

Dy augen slaffens sein begreiff,
das hercz dir zu wach aller stund,
Dein zesem ze schermen icht entschleif
dy dich liebhaben in herczen grunt.

Anplikch uns unsers hailes kempfh,
und wiedertrieb der sunder gluett,
Hilf das er dy icht verdemph
dy da erloset hat dein pluett.

Gedachtig pis, o herre mild,
an uns in diesem sweren leib,

¹ W³, I, p. 368, himself remarks: "Die Münchener Hs. A. scheint ihm [the Monk] auf den ersten Blick vermöge der Erklärung über dem Register mehr Lieder [than the 24 (?) of the Vienna MS] zuzuweisen; allein das dies Register auch 3 Lieder von Oswald v. Wolkenstain aufführt, da es bei einigen Liedern der vorangegangenen Erklärung den Mönch doch noch besonders als Verfasser aufführt, und da jene Erklärung aussagt, dass der Laypriester Martein an den Liedern mitgearbeitet, so werden von denen welche die Wiener Hs. dem Mönch nicht ausdrücklich zuschreibt, manche von diesen Martein, andere vielleicht auch von unbekannten Verfassern herrühren; wer ist Muczlin No. 83?"

² W³, II, No. 563.

Du pist allain der seele schilt,
nw won auf pey, von dir nicht treib.

Got vater immer glori sey
und auch seinem aingeporen sun,
Der heylig Geist der won uns pey
und sey allzeit in allem tun.¹

C.—We shall consider very briefly the small group of hymns which translates the added eighth stanza in the Latin "Ad te clamamus domine." Hoffmann's authority for the statement that this translation remained for a long time in the hymn-books of the Roman Catholic Church, appearing in Leisentritt's, 1569, in the two hymn-books published in Cologne in 1610 and 1619, and in the great Corner Hymn-book of 1625. In all of these, however, it is given without the additional eighth stanza which particularly distinguishes this set from all the others. Although it is very freely rendered, this eight-stanza version seems on the whole to be connected with the 12th-century interlinear version. But it appears not to have had a very wide influence, and is chiefly interesting because of its seventh stanza. The numerous variations between the texts is shown by the notes.

Christe³ der du bist liecht und tag,
der nacht finstrin bedecken mag,⁴
Des liechtes liecht geloben wir dich,
daz selb liecht kündet offentlich.⁵

Wir bitten, hailiger herre dich,
beschierm uns hinnacht sicherlich,

¹ In 'Die Erlösung mit einer Auswahl geistlicher Dichtungen,' Quedlinburg u. Leipzig, 1858, No. 31, Karl Bartsch gives a version of the hymn taken from a paper MS of Nuremberg belonging to the 15th century. In some particulars it is like the above, and in others, the added verse excepted, it resembles the following version, to which Bartsch compares it.

² Hoff., p. 291. Hoffmann also mentions a Lutheran hymn-book of 1524 as containing this hymn, but possibly it too did not contain the added stanza.

³ From a Stuttgart MS of the 15th century; v. W². II, No. 565. Cf. with this the *Hortulus Animae*, Nurnberg, 1503, in Riederer, II, pp. 159-61; Hoff., No. 155; W². II, No. 566. In a Dutch *Hortulus Animae*, Antwerp, 1590, p. cxiii³, there is a version which was probably taken from the Nurnberg H. A.

⁴ Hoff. W². II 566, die vinsternuss der nacht veriag.

⁵ Ibid., Wir glauben dich des liechtes schein, das du dich verkündet hast zu sein.

In dir syg uns rūw bewant.
ain grūbig nacht gib uns zehant.¹

Das uns kain schwärer schlaff berūr,
noch uns der finde itt bekūr,
Noch unser flaisch jm nit verheng,
das er uns kaine schuld abtreng.²

Die ougen stülen schlaff enpfahen,
das hertz dir allzyt wachen nachen,
Din rechte hand behüte schon
din diener die dich liebe han.³

Beschmermer unser, schouwe, herr,
die nydigen vinde vertrybe ferr,
Verricht din diener all in gut,
die du hast koufft mit dinem blu

Bedenck unser, vil lieber herr,
in diesem unserm lybe schwer.
Das du der sele schirmer bist,
bysz uns by yetz und zū aller frist.⁴

Wir alle ruffen, herr, hin zū dir,
nit lasz uns nach unser begird;
Il bald, das du itt kommest zū spat
uns armen mit getrūwen rat.⁵

Gott vater dem sig lob und er,
und darzū sim ainigen sūn vill her,
Mit dem gaist, der ain tröster ist,
Yetz und ouch nun zū aller frist.⁶

All three of these groups, although they differ in many particulars as has been seen, have one thing in common—namely, that

¹ Hoff. W¹. II 566, wir bitten herre, dein heylige gūt, das sie uns dise nacht behūt; sey uns rūw in deiner macht, verleych uns ein ruwige nacht.

² Ibid., Das nit ein schwerer traum zūfall, noch uns begreyff des veindes schal, das nit das fleysch verwillig jm und uns schuldigen schaff deinen grym.

³ Ibid., Unser augen der schlaff begreyff, das hertz wach zu dir alle zeyt steyff; dein recht hand wōl beschirmen, herr, deyn diener die dich lieben sehr.

⁴ Ibid., Herr unser schyrmer sey und bleyb; alle widersacher von uns treyb; dein diener, herr, regier und tröst, die du hast mit deim blūt erlost.

⁵ Ibid., Bedenck an uss o gott und herr, in disem leyb der uns ist schwer, du der der selen schirmer bist, o herre uns bey won, Jhesu Christ.

⁶ Ibid., Wir schreyen zu dir, ruffend an, nit wöllest unsz in nōtten lan; eyle baldt und nit zū lang verzeuch, dein hilf die wone unsz armen bey.

⁷ Ibid., Got vater dir sey lob und er, christ eingeporner sun und herr, und dem tröster geyst da mitte, nun und zū ewiger zeyte.

they all translate more or less exactly the third line of the first stanza of the Latin version which contains the words *crederis—geloubet*. For convenience' sake they may be classified as the *Crederis* group.

D. *West German Group.*

This group, which embraces the hymn not only in the German dialects but in those of the Netherlands as well, contains a set of versions differing in some striking particulars from any of the foregoing versions. The points of divergence are: 1. Group D has the rhyme-scheme *aa, bb*, instead of the *ab, ab* of the hymn ascribed to the Monk. The former scheme was used also in group C, which, however, preserved the Latin order of words. But here the Latin order is reversed, and instead of *lux et dies* we have *tag unde licht*. In consequence, the second line has undergone a complete change. 2. In st. 1, ll. 3, 4, this group conforms neither to any of the *Crederis* types nor yet to any of the other Latin types; 3. the several versions of this group have doxologies which differ from those found in any other group; 4. in st. 5 we have the most characteristic feature: here we find a line thrust in, for an explanation of which we must look to the circumstances of the time rather than to any variant Latin form. This line appears nowhere except in the versions of this group.

D may be further subdivided into a) the set that belongs to the North, and β) the set that belongs to the South. This necessary subdivision gives rise to three questions: 1) what is the relation of the several members of each set to one another? 2) what is the relation of the two sets? and 3) what was the dialect of the original version? In order to answer these questions, each set must first be studied in detail.

a) The examples which we have of this set appear no earlier than the 15th century, although it would seem that they may claim an earlier date of composition. The latest MS in which the type appears may be dated about the first third of the 16th century. The versions hitherto published were taken from

1) A Low German prayer-book¹ in a MS of the 15th century in the ducal library at Oldenburg.²

¹ Among the Roman Catholics this hymn, after the 15th century, is found chiefly in books of private devotion; among the Protestants, on the other hand, it was widely diffused in church hymn-books.

² V. W³. II, No. 564.

2) The song-book of Anna of Cologne,¹ contained in Msc. Germ. 8°, 280, in the royal library in Berlin.

3) Msc. Germ. 8°, 185, fol. 208-210, in the same library.²

4) A song-book of the 15th-16th century found in Werden.³

5) A transcript of the song-book of Amalia of Cleves, fol. 14^a, made in 1825 and now in the public library of Frankfort a. M.; the original of this book has been lost sight of.⁴

To these five we may add

6) A hitherto unpublished version found in fol. 85^b-86^a of a manuscript prayer-book, a detailed description of which has been given in the introduction. The book is undoubtedly of West Flemish origin.

I.—*Comparison of the six versions.*

The relationship that exists between these versions must first be established, if possible, before the larger questions of the interdependence of sets α) and β), and of the original form of the hymn, can be properly discussed.

I.—W². II, No. 564.

Criste, du byst dach unde licht,
vor deme syk kan vorborghen⁵ nicht,
Du vaderliken lechtes glans,
du lerest den wech der warheyt ghantz.

Wy bydden, leve herre, dy,
in desser nacht behude my,
In dy so sy die rouwe myn,
de nacht de lât bevredet syn.

Vordryf de swere in slapes vryst,
dat uns nicht bedrighe des duvels lyst,
Unse vlesch in tuchten reyne sy,
so sta ik swarer schulde vry.

Nu slapet, oghen, sunder leyt,
nu wake, herte, in soticheyt,

¹ A description of this MS is given in Zfd. Ph. 21, p. 129.

² Hor. Belg., vol. X, No. 113.

³ Published by Fr. Jostes in Jhrb. f. nederdeutsche Sprachforschung, vol. XIV, p. 88, No. 22.

⁴ For description of song-book v. Zfd. Ph., vol. 22, p. 403.

⁵ W. changes this to *verbergen*.

Bescherme my godes vorder hant
unde thee my in der mynnen bant.

Beschermer aller crystenheit,
dyn hulde stark sy my bereyt,
Help my, here, ut aller not
dorch dyne hilghen uns wunden rôt.

Gedencke, here, der swaren tyd
de an deme lyve ghewangen lyt,
De selen de du hest ghelost
den ghyf, here, dynen trost.

Des vaders ere, des sones kunst,
des hilghen gheystes gunst,
Hebbe ere, lof unde werdicheyt,
in der vormeten ewycheyt.

2.—Anna von Köln.

Cristus du bust dach en licht
voer dy en is verborgē niet
du vaderlicke lichtes glans
leer ons den wech der waerheit gans.

Wy biddē heilige here dy
in deser nacht behuede my
in dy soe sy die ruste m̃
laet ons dese nacht in vrede syn.

Verdryf here des swaerē slaps vryst
dat ons niet en bedriege des duuels list
dan m̃ vleis kuys en reyne sy
soe staen wy in swaeren schulden vry.

Nu slaept ogē sond^a leit
nv waket hert on stedicheit
nv bescherm ons gads recht^a hant
en trecke ons in synre m̃nen bāt

Beschermer alre cristenheit
dyn hulpe stercke sy ons bereyt
nv help ons got wt al onser noet
en drucke dyn heilige vyf wonden roet.

Gedencke here der swaere tyt
die an den lieue geuangē leget
die sielen die du heuest verloest
den gyf lieue here dyn ewige troest.

Des vaders kraft, des sonen kunst
des heilige geestes gude gunst
heb lof eer en weerdicheit
in synre heiliger dreiuoldicheit
amen.

3.—Horae Belgicae, X, No. 113.¹

Cryste du byste licht en dach,
voer di sich nymant verbergē en mach
een licht van licht men di verstaet
een solich licht gi ons verclaert.

Ick bidde di, hilige here di,
in deser nacht behoede my,
in di soe sy die ruste myn,
laet ons desen nacht in vredē syn !

Verdryft des swaren slapes vryst,
geeft ons te ontgaē des viandes lyst,
dat vleysche dat suver en reyne sy,
so stae wy sware sorgen vry !

Nu slapet oghe sonder leyt,
dat herte waket in stedicheit,
bescherme ons godes rechter hant,
vloest ons van d' sonden bant !

Beschermer alre kerstenheit,
din hulpe sterck sy ons bereyt,
nv helpet ons here vt alre noet
doer din hilighe wyf wōden roet !

Ghedencke here der swaere tyt
die in den liue geuangen licht,²
der zielen die du heueste verloest,
der geuet, lieue here, uwen ewigen troest.

Des vaders cracht, des sonen list,³
des hiligen gheestes gued' gonst
hebt lof en eer en weerdicheit
door dyn onghemetē ewichheit !
Amen.

¹ The published version has been compared and corrected by means of a transcript made directly from the MS by Prof. Collitz. Hoffmann expanded all contractions and made several changes in spelling.

² Hor. Belg. *leit*.

³ Ibid. *cunst*.

4.—Amalie van Cleve.

Christe du byst dach vnd dat lÿcht,
 vur dÿr en ÿs verborgen nÿcht,
 dÿns vaders licht vnd clair gelantz
 leer, vns den wech der wairheit gantz.

Wÿr bydden hÿllige here, dich
 jn dieser nacht, behuede mich
 ÿn dir so sy die raiste mÿn,
 lais vns diese nacht jn vreden sÿn.

Verdrÿff des swaren slaiifes frÿst,
 dat vns nÿet bedriege des vyantz bÿst,¹
 dat dat fleÿsch yn duegden reÿne seÿ,
 so staent wÿr van swaeren sünden frÿ.

Nu slaeffet ougen sonder leÿdt
 nÿ wach du hertz ÿn stedicheit,
 vnd beschyrme vns godes rechte hant;
 vnd verloiss vns van der sünden bandt.

Beschirmer aller Christenheit,
 dyn hülpe starke sy vns bereÿt,
 nw helff vns here vÿs aller noÿt,
 durch dÿne hÿlge fünf wonden roit.

Gedenck lieff here der swaerer tzyt,
 der pÿnen die an dÿm lÿffe vergangen ÿs,²
 desen die dw hais verloist,
 den gÿff lieff here dÿnen ewÿgen troist.

Des vaders krafft vnd sones kunst,
 des hÿlgen Geistes goide, gunst,
 nw haue loff ere und wirdichheit,
 der hoigeloyfte hÿlge Drÿueldicheit.
 Amen.

5.—Werden Song-book.

Christe du bust dach ende licht.
 voer dy en is verborgen niet,³
 du bust des vaders lichte glans,
 leer ons den wech daer waerheit gans.

¹ Read *lyst*.

² This curious rendering appears to have been perpetuated through a misunderstanding in Brandt's Danish Psalm-book, p. 116: "I dette suare Legeme vi nu gaa."

³ Jostes *nicht*.

Wy bidden, heilige here, dy,
in deser nacht behuede my,
yn dy so sy die roste myn,
laet ons dese nacht in vrede sijn.

Verdriff des swaren slapes vrist,
dat ons niet en bedrijge des viants list,
geeft, dat ons vleesch in tuchten reyne sy,
so staen wy van allen sunden vrij.

Nu slape, oghe, all sonder leit
end waecke, herte, yn stedicheit,
nu bescherm ons godes rechterhant
end behoede ons voer hoeftsunden bant.

Beschermmer all der cristenheit,
dyn hulpe sterck sy ons bereit,
nu help ons here uut alre noit
doer dyne heilige vijf wonden roit.

Gedencke, here, der swaerre tijt
daer aen die ziell gevangen lijdt,
die zielen, die du heves verloost,
den gevet, heer, dynen ewigen troist.

6.—Flemish Prayer-book.

Criste die bist dach ende licht
voer dy canmen verberghen nicht
O vaderlike clare glätz
du weets den wech der waerheit gantz.

Wy bidden heilighe here di
in desen nacht behoede mi
in die so sy die ruste myn
laet mi desen nacht rustelyc syn.

Verdryft des swares slapes frist
dat mi niet en bedrieghe des viants list
dat vleys hem niet ghehoorsam sy
so stae ic wt allen sonden vry.

Nu slapet oghē sonder leit
nu waec du hert in ghestedicheit
nu bescherme godes rechter hand
dyn knecht die di moet syn wel bekant.

Beschermmer alder cristenheit
dÿ sterc tzoe hulpe sy mi bereit

nu hulpt mi god wt alder noot
doer dÿ vyf heilighe wonden root.

Ghedenc lief heere der swarer tyt
die ons in die leden beuangenhe leyt
die zielen die du heests verloost
den ghif hen allen dinen troost

Des vaders lof, des sonens gunst
god heilighe gheest moet hebben lof
eñ eere ende eerwerdicheit
dorch syn heilighe driuoldicheit.

Amen.

1. *W². II, No. 564.*—This version is taken as the starting-point because, according to Wackernagel, it may be assigned a somewhat earlier MS date than can be positively asserted for the others. Does it, therefore, represent the original form of the others¹ or is it a translation from another dialect?

St. 1, l. 2: vor deme syk kan vorborghen nicht. Cf. An. v. K., W. S. B., and Am. v. Cl. *is verborgē, js verborghen*, where the participle is correctly used. Either the scribe is entirely responsible for the mistake here or he may have had before him some such version as any of those cited and have made a slight change in it.

St. 1, ll. 3, 4: glans : ghantz. Lübben²: "Bemerkenswert ist die Verbindung *-ns* (m.h.d. *nz*). Sie findet sich in *dans, kans(c), krans, swans, glans, gans*; man sollte hier unverschobenes *t* erwarten; dass hier *s* statt *t* steht hat wohl darin seinen Grund dass sie ganz oder halb Fremdwörter sind . . . *Glans*³ (*splendius*) ist ganz ungebräuchlich, ich weiss es nur einmal zu belegen; es ist deshalb kaum anzuführen, *gans* dagegen ist sehr üblich."⁴ Here, however, we find the word *glans*, which, on the authority of Lübben and the lexicon, we must conclude would not have been used by a Low-German composer.⁵ But it has been preserved here because of the rhyme, and that, too, in a characteristic form; while, on the other hand, the word which rhymes with

¹ V. W². III, No. 1076.

² L., §35.

³ Sch. L. give *glans*, adj. *glänsend*, but do not give the word as a substantive.

⁴ Sch. L., vol. II, p. 11, give but two examples of the word in this form; the others are all with *s*, as in this version.

⁵ In Old Saxon we have *glimo* 'glanz' and *liomo* 'strahl'; v. Gallee, Alts. Grammatik, §194.

it we find in the form most common in Low German—that is, with *z* and with a L.G. *t* thrust in.

St. 2, 1. 2: In dy so sy die rouwe myn. Cf. An. v. K., Hor. Belg., W. S. B., Fl. P. B. *ruste, roste*; Am. v. Cl. *raiste*. Both *rouwe*¹ and *reste*² (*raste, roste*) were known to the Low German as well as to the High German, while in the Netherlands there was but the one word *reste, ruste*; *rouwe* there meaning pain. Had the form *reste* been the original form, the L. German would have had no linguistic reason for changing; had it been *rouwe*, the retention of the word in the Netherlands would have been impossible without a change of meaning.

St. 2, 4: de nacht de lat in vreden syn. *de nacht de* is certainly not a form which a translator would use to give the meaning of *quietam noctem tribue*; furthermore, the tautology is awkward and senseless, and leads us to ask whether the scribe would have made such a blunder had he thoroughly understood the version from which he was copying.

St. 3, 1: verdryf de swere in slapes vryst. Schiller and Lübben³ give *swere*, fem.: *schwere, kummer*; the line, according to this, would read: 'remove heaviness in time of sleep.' This is a possible meaning, but when taken in connection with the following line, "Dat uns nicht bedreghe des duvels lyst," it immediately becomes clear that this meaning is not suitable. Comparing, further, the Latin "ne gravis somnus irruat," or some such form as An. v. K.: "verdriff, here, des swaerē slaps vryst," or Hor. Belg.: "verdrijft des swaren slapes vryst," we see how incorrect the L.G. is and how easily it might have arisen through a misreading or a misunderstanding; that is, *de swere in slapes* < *des swaren slapes*. But it could not have come from a version having *des swares slapes* or *swarer slaiiffes*, as in Fl. P. B. or Am. v. Cl.

St. 4, 2: nu wake, hert, in soticheyt. All the other versions have *stedicheit* or *ghestedicheit*, which, unquestionably, gives a better meaning to the sentence and one more in accordance with the other petitions.

St. 4, 3: Bescherme my godes vorder hant. All the N. German versions down to modern times have the masculine form as opposed to the S. German feminine, which is the correct form. This northern usage, which is not recorded in Sch. L., does not seem peculiar to any locality. It should be remarked that this is

¹Sch. L., vol. III, p. 515.

²Ibid., p. 469.

³Ibid., vol. IV, p. 491.

the only version that has *vorder hant*, a perfectly possible word in O.D. and L.Rh., where, however, we find *rechter hand*, corresponding to the S. Ger. *rechte hand*.

St. 4, 4: unde thee my in der mynnen bant. An. v. K. is the only other one of this group having a form anything like this: *Eñ trecke ons in synne mýnen bāt*. Cf. Hor. Belg., Am. v. Cl., and the S. Germ. versions: *verloost ons van der sonden bant*. W¹. 564 and An. v. K. give a meaning somewhat nearer to that of the Latin original. If we take into consideration the correspondence of Hor. Belg. and Am. v. Cl. with the S. German versions, it would seem that some such versions as theirs stood in the original. But it may well be that at least one of the N. Ger. scribes, who perhaps had the Latin hymn before him, changed this line to bring it nearer the Latin, at the same time preserving the rhyme of the German copy.

St. 5, 4: dorch dyne hilghen uns wunden rot. Cf. An. v. K.: *En drucke dyn heilige vyf wonden roet*; Hor. Belg.: *doer din hilighe wyf wōden roet*. W. S. B. and Fl. P. B. and the S. Ger. versions agree substantially with Hor. Belg. What was the cause of such a different form in W¹. 564? This form of adjuration, though not very frequent, is found in other documents, but not in any line that resembles W¹. 564. Moreover, this sentence as it stands scarcely offers a good meaning. While it is not clear how forms in *vyf*, *fünf* could have entered into versions which show no such scribal errors as are found in W¹. 564 unless they had been contained in the original, on the other hand, carelessness or a misreading on the part of the scribe of W¹. 564 might have caused the change in the latter case.

St. 3, 2: . . . duvels list, with which An. v. K. agrees. Cf. Hor. Belg.: . . . *viandes list*; so all the other N. and S. Ger. versions. Both *viand* and *duvel*, *fiant* and *teufel* were used interchangeably in M.H.G., O.D., and L.Rh., and had *duvel*—*teufel* stood in the original, there was no reason why it should not have been retained in these versions. On the contrary, the word *viand* was not in common use in L.Ger.,¹ which would be a reason for the *duvel* here.

From the mistakes made by the scribe of this version we may fairly conclude that he was copying from a dialect slightly different from his own and one not thoroughly understood by

¹Cf. Sch. L., vol. V, p. 250.

him, and that he did not hesitate to supply better known for less known words. As to the probable form of the original version, we learn that, presumably, it had the rhyme *glans* : *gans*, *viand* instead of *duvel*, and *vyf* (*fünf*) *wunden rot*.

2. *Anna von Köln*.—Bolte¹ tells us he surmises from the contents of the song-book in which our hymn is found that Anna v. Köln was a beguin or nun who lived in the Lower Rhine district about the beginning of the 16th century. The hymn occurs in fol. 133^a, and according to Bolte "die blätter 129^a–134^b sind der schrift nach der älteste bestandtheil der sammlung und bildeten offenbar im 15ten Jahrhundert noch den anfang eines besondern büchleins." The language corresponds to that of Cologne—that is, it is Low Rhenish or Middle Frankish, which on one side was influenced by the language of the Netherlands, on the other by Low German and to a certain extent also by High German.² Our effort will be to find out in this hymn, if possible, which had the greater influence; that is, from what source this version was derived.

St. 1, l. 1: *Cristus du bust dach en licht*. *bust* is a form which does not appear in the pure speech of the Netherlands, nor does it appear to be common in the dialect of Cologne³; on the other hand, it is the usual Low German form.

St. 1, 3, 4:

du vaderlicke lichtes glans
leer ons den wech der waerheit gans.

Here again we find the word *glans*, as in W³. II 564, and coupled with the very form *gans*, which we might have expected but did not find in the L.Ger. Though we have the authority of both dictionary and grammar to the effect that *glans* is a word which does not occur in L.Ger., yet we find it in a play on the Resurrection which, according to Mone,⁴ is of Low-Rhenish origin. For example, l. 455 f., *glans* : *dans*. *Gans* does not appear in

¹ Zfd. Ph. 21, p. 129. The book did not originally belong to An. v. K.

² High German influence is seen especially in the use of *s* for *t*; ex. in Köln. Mundart, in Die deutschen Mundarten, 1. Jahrgang, p. 176, 20; p. 177, *sit*; p. 178, *herz*. Braune, Zfd. Ph. IV, p. 287: "Das kölnisch-niederrheinisch ist eine niederdeutsche mundart deren tenues aber mit einigen bestimmten ausnahmen die hochdeutsche verschiebung erlitten haben."

³ Die dt. Mundarten, 1. Jahrgang, p. 182, *du bis*; p. 210, *du enbis*, etc.

⁴ Mone, Schauspiele des Mittelalters, II, p. 303.

rhyme, but is found in the midst of l. 402: "er wil dy gans bedrighen." In the same song-book from which this hymn is taken¹ are found, No. 13, l. 7 f., *gans* : *krans*. The presence of these words in L. Rh. is thus definitely proved by these examples taken in connection with others to be given later. The use of the imp. in the last line should be noticed as a stronger form and one nearer the Latin than is the L.Ger. form.

St. 2, 2: behuede my. The form in the Netherlands is *behoede*,² and here we have the L.Ger. form.

St. 4, 2: nu waket hert on stedicheit. An. v. K. may possibly have *on* for an older *an*, or the change may be analogous to O.D. *begonnen*—*beghinnem*.³ More remarkable is the use of the imp. plu. where the others—Hor. Belg. excepted—have the singular.⁴ The scribe in Hor. Belg. may have derived his form from such a one as An. v. K. through a recognition of the strained use of the plural in such a context.

St. 4, 3: nu bescherm ons gads recht⁵ hant. In *gads* we have a well-recognized L.Ger. form which in the 15th century stood side by side with *god*, while in the 16th the latter was almost entirely supplanted by the former. Gaffender⁶ has remarked that not only did the change of *o* to *a* spread all over Low Ger. territory with the exception of the southern portion, but "sie erscheint auch in dem nördlichen Teil des Reinprovinz, während das eigentliche Westfalen davon frei blieb."⁶ Cf. with this *got* in st. 5, 3, which is both a H. and a L. German form, but does not appear to be found in the Netherlands.⁷

St. 6, 1, 2:

tyt
die an dem lieue geuangē leget.

The contraction of *leit* < *leget* does not seem to have been a usual one either in the Netherland speech⁸ or in L.German.⁹ The

¹ Zfd. Ph. 21, p. 156.

² Frk., §75.

³ Ibid., §58.

⁴ Unless the verb is taken as part of an address to the Deity, with *hert* as accusative; but, on the other hand, God is throughout addressed in the singular.

⁵ Jhrb. 19, p. 132.

⁶ From an examination of several L.Ger. as well as L.Rh. texts it would seem that the forms in *a* were confined to the oblique cases.

⁷ Frk., §92: "Tonende Laute werden im Auslaut der Silbe oder wenn ein noch zur selben Silbe gehöriger Konsonant folgt, tonlos, daher Medien zu Tenues . . . Nur in *god* 'Gott' hat mann sich allgemein gescheut, eine alte hergebrachte Schreibung auszutasten."

⁸ Ibid., §93.

⁹ L., §40, p. 56.

scribe must have had before him a contracted form which was not familiar to him or which might have seemed ambiguous, and have put in its place, regardless of rhyme, the full form which he considered it to represent. But in doing so he made use of a form which is not found in L.Ger., for the double forms *liggen*, *leggen* appear only in O.D.

In its doxology An. v. K. stands between W¹. II 564 and Hor. Belg. on the one hand, and the Fl. P. B. on the other, inclining rather to the former.

We should judge from this examination that the scribe, a man of L.Rh., O.D. origin, as proved by the use of the word *leget*, had before him, if not a L.Ger. version, one, at least, belonging to a region farther north than Cologne and closer to W¹. 564 than to the other L.Rh., O.D. versions. This is shown not only by certain dialectic peculiarities, which might be accounted for otherwise in L.Rh., but also by turns of expression which are common to these two alone.

3. *Horae Belgicae*, 113.—In the first stanza of Hor. Belg. we find so complete a change from all the other versions with which it otherwise more or less perfectly agrees, that there is nothing to compare it with. It preserves in the first line the order of words found in the Latin texts and the German types II and III at the same time that it holds to the rhyme of the group to which it belongs. In order that it might do both, the form of the second line had to be changed, although the sense is preserved. The next two lines suffer a still greater change from the typical German version, but stand nearer the Latin. It would seem that the scribe had this stanza of the Latin hymn either before him or in his memory, and that he also had by him a copy of a N.Ger. version. Where the two most radically differed he changed his German copy to agree more nearly with the Latin. But as the further changes which he made are not in the direction of greater conformity to the Latin text, we may infer that he was not acquainted with more than the first stanza.

St. 1, 1: *biste*. This form with *i* was not common to the whole Netherlands, but was peculiar to Brabant and Holland.¹ The *e* was probably caused by assimilation of *bist de licht*.²

St. 3, 2. In *verdriift* and *gheeft*, as well as in *helpet*, st. 5, 3, and in *ghevet*, st. 6, 4, we have the plu. imp. where the other

¹ V. Frk., §169.

² Ibid., §§111-12.

versions—Fl. P. B. excepted—use the sg. In so doing it shows a greater conformity to O.D. usage.¹

St. 3, 3: *dat vleische dat suver en reyne sy*. We have here not only the useless repetition of *dat—dat*, but also a form which accords only with that of An. v. K. *suver* and *kuys* (*cuusch*) are interchangeable words, and we have already seen this scribe use his own judgment within certain limits. It does not seem probable that two scribes working independently would have hit upon a form so nearly alike as these two did, and yet it does not look like a form from which the others might have been derived. It would rather appear that the basic form was that with which three of the N.Germ. and all of the S.Germ. versions accord, viz. “*uns vlesch in tuchten reyne sy*.” The three which do not agree with this—Hor. Belg., An. v. K., and Fl. P. B.—are more easily deducible from it than it from any of their forms.

St. 4, 4: *v'loest ons van d' sonden bant*. Here again Hor. Belg. stands with the L.Ger. versions.

St. 5, 1: *Beschermer alre kerstenheit*. This is the only one of the Netherland versions having the form proper to the Netherlands; indeed, according to Frank it is the only form which is found in L.Frankish.² The reason probably is that of all the versions it seems to be most free from foreign influence.

St. 6, 1:

*Ghedencke here der swaere tyt
die in den liue geuangen licht.*

Hoffmann changed this last word to *leit* in order to better the rhyme, although, as *leyt*, st. 4, 1, is found rhyming with *stedicheit*, he cannot be said to have accomplished his purpose. Even if, with Braune,³ we assume a different pronunciation for *leit*, that would not afford a good rhyme. But this subject will be discussed further on.

St. 7. The first three lines of the doxology correspond exactly, the omission of one *ende* excepted, with the same lines in An. v. K. But it is to be observed that, though they correspond so closely, Hor. Belg. makes use of the Netherland forms of the words; for example, *cracht* and *gonst*, where An. v. K. uses almost exclusively the H. or L. German forms.

¹ Wackernagel, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte des dt. Kirchenlieds*, Frankfurt a. M., 1855, p. 498: “Die niederländische Sprache redet Gott in der zweiten Person Pluralis an.”

² Frk., §106.

³ Zfd. Ph. IV, p. 273; cf. Frk., §26.

We may infer from the foregoing examination—1st, that the copyist allowed himself a certain freedom in changing words and even lines; that the changes in the last two lines of the first stanza were probably caused by his recollection of the Latin lines; and that the change in the first two lines was brought about by this cause, working either with the fact that the form *nicht* was strange to him or that *neit* presented a difficulty in the way of rhyme. Probably it was the former. 2d, that in such forms as *kerstenheit*, *cracht*, *licht* (for *leget*) and *gonst*, Hor. Belg. stands equally apart from High and from Low German influence. This, taken in connection with the word *biste* and the way of addressing the Deity, is in favor of a place removed from the border as the home of the transcriber. It argues also for a copy which was, in part at least, uninfluenced by the border dialect.

4. *Amalie v. Cleve*.—This version has no peculiarities which may not as well be treated under the following heads.

5. *Werdener Song-book*.—Franz Jostes, who has given an account of this song-book,¹ informs us that it consists of three several parts, written by three several hands. "Der erste Teil, der geistliche Lieder enthält . . . ist von einer älteren Hand aufgezeichnet; die Schreibweise ist noch ganz die des XV. Jahrhunderts, wodurch jedoch nicht ausgeschlossen ist, dass die Niederschrift im Anfang des folgenden durch einen älteren Schreiber statt fand . . . Ob die vorliegende Sammlung in Werden veranstaltet ist, lässt sich nicht mit Bestimmtheit behaupten; so viel lässt sich nur sagen, dass der Sammler selbst von der westfälisch. ndrrh. Grenze gebürtig war und zwar wol aus einer Gegend westlich von Werden. Er hat den Dialect nicht gleichmässig geändert; man sieht dass nicht alles einer Vorlage entnommen ist, manches mag auch aus dem Gedächtniss aufgezeichnet sein."

As might be expected from their probable starting-points, this version and that of An. v. K. stand very near together. For example, it has the same rhyme of *licht* : *niet*² in the first stanza, and *glans* : *gans*,³ both of which must be considered O.D., L.Rhen. Also in the use of the pronouns and of the imperatives it is like

¹ Jhrb. XIV (1889), p. 62. The hymn is No. 22.

² Jostes changes this to *nicht*.

³ In the Song-book there is another case of *gans* : *glans*, No. 2, st. 3.

An. v. K. In st. 4 the singular of the verb and noun, *nu slape, oghe*, is to be noticed. This is the only version that has such a form, and seems therefore to stand half-way between the other versions and that of Hor. Belg. with its *nu slapet oghe*. Such of the other characteristics as have not already been touched upon in the foregoing can best be treated in the next section.

This is the only version of all the set which has no doxology, though it is not necessarily older on that account. It seems, indeed, to represent a stage between An. v. K. and Hor. Belg., showing many of the Rhenish peculiarities of the former, and leading the way to some of the O.D. peculiarities of the latter.

6. *The Flemish Prayer-book*.—In the Prayer-book this hymn stands with the superscription *En is goet sanons eer ghi gaet slape gelesē*. It seems to be the only hymn of the group bearing this inscription, which, in slightly differing forms, is found over the Ghent prose rendering of the hymn and over that attributed to the Monk of Salzburg.

St. 1, 1: Christe die bist dach end licht. The form *die* was used in the Netherlands for the relative pronoun as well as for the article and demonstrative pronoun.¹ It is an important element in estimating the relative place of this version, that it is the only one to make use of the pronoun corresponding to the Latin *qui*, instead of the relative and the personal pronoun, or the personal pronoun alone, which are found in the other versions. Hoffmann,² as has already been mentioned, gives a stanza from the Strasburg *Hortulus Animae* of 1500 which begins "Christe der bist liecht und tag." This translation, as far as may be judged from one stanza, belongs to Group II, and with the Fl. P. B. version makes up the two out of all the metrical versions—Anglo-Saxon, Dutch, and German—which have observed this stricter form of translation. But the *der* of the *Hortulus* may be explained by the seeming dependence of this version upon the interlinear translation of the 12th century; on the other hand, the *die* of the Fl. P. B. seems explicable on no other ground than that of a closer dependence upon a careful translation of the Latin, or of a revision by means of the Latin itself.

St. 1, 2:

licht.

voer dy canmen verborghen nicht.

¹ Frk., §229 b.

² Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenlieds, p. 269.

Cf. W². 564, *licht : nicht*; Am. v. Cl., *ljcht : nycht*; An. v. K., W. S. B., *licht : niet*. Here we have two cases of *licht : niet*, and three of *licht : nicht*; the Hor. Belg., as will be remembered, having a form which cannot be compared with any of the above. What is the explanation of these different rhymes?

When we compare W². II 564 with the Fl. P. B., it might seem as if the L.German could stand sponsor for the original version. But the mistakes in the L.Ger., which would have been almost impossible had the scribe been copying from a version in his own dialect, but which "beim Uebersetzen aus einer Mundart in der andern um so häufiger vorkommt je verwandter die Mundarten sind,"¹ put this out of the question. To this we may add the further objection that in Fl. P. B., st. 5, 2, we find the word *toe* 'to,' which does not occur elsewhere in the Prayer-book, but points to this form in the copy. But both the forms *licht* and *nicht* are possible in H.Ger. and are found in Am. v. Cl., which was written at a time when Middle Frankish was greatly influenced by H.German. Did the hymn then originate in H.German territory?

Set β) of this group contains versions belonging to the South, and if the original version was in the H.Ger. dialect, we should expect these versions to be free from characteristics peculiar to the North. But such is not the case; on the contrary, we find throughout all the various copies of the set a rhyme which was impossible in H.Ger., and which betrays beyond question the N. Ger., or more exactly the L.Rh. or O.D. origin of these versions. In st. 2, 1. 2 we find *kraft : nacht*; but only in the O.D.-L.Rh. forms *kracht : nacht* would this have given a perfect rhyme, consequently we are forced to assume that H.Ger. was not the dialect of the original version. Where, then, did *licht : nicht* originate?

While in O.D. *ch* before *t* was usually preserved, it was dropped in the L.Rh. territory, particularly in the district in the immediate neighborhood of Cologne. This is especially true, according to Braune,² "nach langen vocalen und consonanten, *leit* (= mnl. leicht), *besat* (= hd. besuoht), *sole*, u. s. w., aber mnl. *sochte*. In den denkmälern aus dem Kölnischen des XIII. jhrh. ist das *h* geschwunden. Hagen reimt ganz gewöhnlich *leit* (licht) : *neit*, *vorten* : *porten*." Braune gives seven examples of

¹ Mone, Schauspiele des M. A., II, p. 3.

² Zfd. Ph. IV, p. 280.

the former found in Veldeke's Eneide. But other examples of the dropping of *ch* before *t* are found in L.Rh.

In an Easter play published by Zacher,¹ which he calls 'Mittelniederländisch,' but concerning which Braune² remarks: "Das eben veröffentlichte 'mittelniederländische osterspiel' ist weder mittelnl. noch mastrichtisch, sondern trägt ganz die characteristic des kölnisch-nderrh. dialects," we find the following: l. 546 f., *gesait* (= O.D. *gesacht*) : *mait* (*macht*); l. 326 f., *nait* : *cracht*³; l. 1401 f., *brait* (*bracht*) : *nait*⁴; l. 1066, *nait* : *gesait*; l. 242 f., *reitthe* : *geslete* (*geschlecht*); l. 376, *lithe* : *richte*.⁵ Mone,⁶ in a play of the Resurrection, which he asserts to have been written in the Rhine valley, perhaps not far from Trier, gives two examples: l. 1410 f., *hast* : *machst*; l. 1888 f., *schuch* : *zu*, which he says "können nur durch ausfall des *ch* reimen."

But while almost every L.Rh. poem gives some examples of this kind, which undoubtedly show the main tendency of that dialect, might we not expect that, in a dialect of such mixed forms, even in poems of undoubted L.Rh. or Cologne origin and not traceable to H.Ger. influences apart from those exerted on the dialect as a whole, we should find examples of the opposite kind as well, mixed, perhaps, with the more usual forms?

In the Katharinen Passie⁷ we find, ll. 61 f., 159 f., *nicht* : *pflicht*; l. 340, *licht* : *nicht*, beside l. 159, *niet* : *pflicht*; l. 69, *niet* : *strift*; l. 139 ff., *niet* : *niet* : *neit* : *niet*; l. 252, *iet* : *niet*. In Barbaren Passie,⁸ l. 145, *nicht* : *Gesicht*; l. 299, *niet* : *antlit*. In the Dorothean Passie,⁹ l. 96, *wicht* : *nicht*; l. 212, *pflichte* : *ichte*; l. 246, *nicht* : *geschicht*. In the 'Kranz der Gotlicher Liefden,'¹⁰ l. 85, *suicht* : *nicht*; l. 111, *nicht* : *sicht*; l. 73, *dreit* : *overlecht*. In the next poem, 'Anselmus Boich,'¹¹ of which Schade remarks "es ist ein niderrheinisches und zwar tief unten am niderrhein zu hause. Es hat schon eine starke färbung niderländisches an sich. Die reime sind um eben dieses schärferen gepräges willen für die kenntniss des niderrheinischen idioms lehrreicher als die der übrigen gedichte," we find *nicht* : *bericht*, ll. 279, 507, 599, 625, 859, 1008; *icht* : *bericht*, ll. 165, 769, 1157; *nicht* : *gericht*, l. 860;

¹ Zfd. A. II, p. 302 ff.

² Zacher, in a note, remarks "*nacht* : *kracht*."

³ This Zacher did not emend.

⁴ Schauspiele d. M. A., II, p. 177.

⁵ Ibid., p. 52 ff.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 225 ff.

² Zfd. Ph. IV, p. 251.

⁵ Z. in a note *litte* : *rihte*.

⁷ O. Schade, p. 104 ff.

⁹ Ibid., p. 6 ff.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 240 ff.

niet : *bericht*, l. 33; *niet* : *gescheit*, l. 761 (cf. *brief* : *dreif*, l. 1103). Within the sentence in this poem as in the others, *niet* is used exclusively. In the poem of St. Ursula,¹ while there are several examples of such rhymes as *geschiet* : *niet*, l. 337, *nicht* is not found. However, enough examples have been given to prove that in this portion of the L.Rh. territory *nicht* : *licht* were possible forms as well as *leit* : *neil*. We shall see further on how this dialect accords with the original.

St. 1, 3. 4: *glantz* : *gantz*. These words, which either could not be found in L.Ger. or were very unusual there, appear in the poems just mentioned. St. Ursula, l. 333, *glanz* : *hantz*; 'Der Kranz der Gotlicher Liefden,' l. 93, *kranz* : *danz*; l. 153, *ganz*. Further, in a play on the Resurrection² written on the Lower Rhine, we have, l. 455, *glans* : *dans*; and in l. 402, *er wil dy gans bedrighen*. In O.D., especially in the later periods of the language, *z* and *s* are used interchangeably; *ts* is also found for *s*, though usually in words from foreign sources.³ It is probable that, as we have *tzuo* for the usual O.D. *to* through the influence of the version that the copyist had before him, so here we have the same spelling through the same influence. The further changes in l. 3 seem explicable on no other ground than that of taste, for it does not approach nearer to the Latin forms, nor because of lack of similar forms, can we say that it is nearer the original.

St. 2, 1: Wy bidden heilighe here di. Only in one other place, st. 6, 2, where the singular would have given a form of expression not so good, does the writer of the version make use of any other than the first person singular. When this form became necessary because of the rhyme (st. 2, 2) he adheres to it, whereas all the other versions change from one to the other with seeming indifference.

St. 3, 3: dat vleys hem niet ghehoorsam sy. Cf. W³. II 564 or Hor. Belg. Here, as in the first line, the Fl. P. B. seems to have followed a more careful copy or else it was corrected by the scribe from the Latin itself, *nec caro illi consentiat*.

St. 6, 1. 2:

Gedenc lief heere der swarer tyt
die ons in die leden bewangen leyt.

Compare W³. II 564, *tyd* : *lyt*; An. v. K., *tyt* : *leget*; W. S. B.,

¹ O. Sch., p. 164 ff.

² Mone, Schauspiel, p. 47 ff.

³ Frk., §126.

tijt : *lijdt*; Hor. Belg., *tyt* : *licht*; Am. v. Cl., *tzyt* : *vergangen ys*. We have here two very different words represented in the same rhyme: which was the original?

In W¹. 564 *lyt* may be a contraction for *lidet*¹ or *leget*,² in which latter case it would be short. But according to Mone,³ rhymes between long and short vowels were allowed even in the best times of Old German poetry. That just such a rhyme as this was not unknown in L.German may be seen from the following:

unde an dy al unse hulpe lyt;
help uns, jincvrouwe, an der tyd.⁴

Moreover, the contraction for *lidet* in L.Germ., as in O.D., is more frequently written *leed*, *lede*⁵; while, aside from this consideration, *lyt* < *liget* gives a better meaning here. Whatever the version before the scribe of An. v. K., there can be no question that he uses the word *legghen*, the contracted forms in the 3d pers. sg. seeming to be more frequent in later than in earlier L.Rh., where the two were used indiscriminately. We have already spoken of this scribe's sacrificing rhyme for the sake of clearness.

Turning to Hor. Belg. we find *licht* resting upon the same reading or misunderstanding as that found in An. v. K.—that is, that it must come from *ligghet*.⁶ The tendency of the Cologne L.Rh. to drop the *ch* before *t* has been already discussed. Judging by examples taken from poems which do not show any marks of having been written first in another dialect, it would seem that spelling, at least in the neighborhood of Cologne, did not always conform to pronunciation. For instance, there are a number of cases in the Sacred Poems already referred to of the rhyme *kraft* : *nacht*, and such like, where the spelling *kracht* was perfectly possible, and, moreover, represented the unvarying pronunciation; probably for that very reason the orthography made less difference.⁷ Cf. St. Ursula, l. 285, *kraft* : *nacht*; Marghareten Passie, l. 397, *macht* : *kraft*; Sibillen Boich,⁸ l. 133, *kraft* : *macht*; l. 463, *jaget* : *passchaft*; Anselmus Boich, l. 961, *verzacht* : *maget*; Barbaren Passie, l. 195, *gesacht* : *maget*; l. 279,

¹ Lubben, §56; Jellinghaus, Westfälische Grammatik, §228.

² L., §54. On the other hand, v. L., §40; Jellinghaus, §254.

³ Mone, Schauspiele, II, p. 179.

⁵ Ibid., p. 688.

⁷ Ibid., §41.

⁴ V. Sch. L., vol. II, p. 691².

⁶ Frk., §§93, 129.

⁸ O. Sch., p. 164 ff.

maghet : jaget. From these examples, might we not assume that, regardless of its spelling, *licht* in Hor. Belg. rhymes well with *tyt*?¹

In O.D. the contraction for *lidet* was *liet*; Beatrijs,² l. 233, *ghescaet : leet*; Maerlant's Disputacie,³ l. 238, *leet : leet*; Karl,⁴ l. 106, *leet : briet*. On the other hand, *lighet* > *leit*.⁵ In regard to O.D. *ei*, of whatever origin, Braune has already been referred to under the discussion of Hor. Belg., and in neither place can we consider the rhyme a good one.

In W. S. B. we undoubtedly have *lijdt* < *lidet*⁶ from *liden* 'to suffer.' This not only rhymes perfectly with *tijdt*, but the two lines make much better sense than the other couplets which have been considered. The better meaning, however, does not lie in the verb alone; the rest of the line also is different: "daeran die ziell gewangen lijdt." Place beside this Am. v. Cl.: "der pynen die an dyn lyffe vergangen ys." How did the scribe come by such a form, which not only destroys the rhyme, but gives a very different line from those in the rest of the hymn? According to Frank,⁷ *liden* = *gehen*, *vorbeigehen* as well as *erduhlen*, *leiden*, and it is to this word, or to the misunderstanding of a syncopated form of the word, that we must go back for so extraordinary a form as *vergangen ys*. Was *lijdt*, then, the original word of the parent version?

The S. Ger. versions have⁸:

Gedencke, herre, der schwerer zeyt
damit der leyb gefangen leyt.

There can be no serious question of the preterite here, which would be the tense if *leyt* < *liden*. The contraction for *legel* is *lit*, and neither Müller and Zarncke⁹ nor Lexer¹⁰ give any example of *lit*—*leit*. The 3d pers. sg. indic. of *ligen*, *liget*, seems, however, to have had a twofold development—on the one hand to *ligt*, and through it to Modern German *liegt*; on the other hand to *lit*, from which, by the analogy of *zit*—*zeit*, we may assume *lit*—*leit*, especially in a time of transition such as that in which this hymn was written in S. Germany. That the form was not carried down into Mod.Ger. is nothing against it.

¹ Frk., §41.

² Ibid., p. 188.

³ Ibid., p. 174.

⁴ Zfd. A. I, p. 97.

⁵ Frk., §110.

⁶ Cf. Katharinen Passie, l. 514 f.: *bis up den berch dae si lit : nit*.

⁷ Frk., Glossar, p. 247.

⁸ W¹., No. 270.

⁹ Müller u. Zarncke, Mhd. Wörterbuch.

¹⁰ Lexer, Mhd. Wörterbuch.



The weight of evidence then seems to be in favor of *leit*, *licht* < *ligghen* rather than *lijt* < *liden*. As evidence in the same direction may be taken the changes which were made in Am. v. Cl.; these changes also point to the conclusion that the line in W. S. B. was changed and does not represent the norm. Whether the changes were the independent efforts of two scribes to better the line, or whether Am. v. Cl. was based upon a version similar to that of W. S. B., the evidence is not sufficient to determine definitely, but the latter seems the more probable.

Which of the L.Rh. forms, *leit* or *licht*, represents the original, it is impossible to say. Such a rhyme as *zit* : *leit* is found in L.Rh. Speaking of Veldecke's dialect, Braune¹ remarks: "Bemerkenswert ist auch der reim *arbeit* : *zit*, Eneide, l. 91, 39, den man nicht ohne weiteres verwerfen darf. . . . Wir haben es eben hier mit einem ungenauen reime zwischen *ei* und *i* zu tun, deren laut sich ja sehr nahe stand. Auch gibt es dazu analogen aus dem ndrrh., nämlich Marienlieder 49, 34, *schorenstein* : *sin*, Schade, geistliche ged., s. 229, v. 21, *zit* : *leit*² und aus Karl M. (Bartsch, s. 226) mehrere beispiele." On the other hand, we have the rhyme in the 'Kranz der gotlicher Liefden,' l. 73, *dreit* : *overlecht*, and in Margareten Passie, l. 367, *deit* : *lieht*, of which Schade remarks: "d. h. *liet* od. *leit* mit stark betontem *e* gesprochen."³ Either form then would seem possible, but W. S. B. and Am. v. Cl. are more easily explained from the former than from the latter.

St. 7: the doxology. As has been seen in the discussion under Hor. Belg., the doxologies are so nearly alike that they must have been taken from the same version, and not each independently from the Latin. The doxology in the Fl. P. B., however, differs in one striking particular from that of all of the others in being partly unrhymed. In this respect it agrees with the older doxologies both in the Latin and in the vernacular, which were always unrhymed. It was not until a later time that an attempt was made to bring the doxology into harmony with the rhyme of the hymn to which it was attached. The fact that many versions of our hymn were current as early as the latter half of the 15th century, requires an early date for the version which was parent to the group—a date so early in North German literature, indeed,

¹ Zfd. Ph. IV, p. 276.

² This is in the 'Kranz.'

³ V. further Beatrijs, Frk., p. 188: "bets wel recht in alder tyt : wie vore Marien beelde lyt."

that the doxology probably followed the earlier custom of the Latin and the vernacular hymn-writers, for we cannot suppose that a scribe would go back from a rhymed to an unrhymed form, when the tendency of the time was toward the former. Whether the first step toward rhyming had already been taken, as seen in the last two lines of Fl. P. B., or whether that was left for this scribe, is hard to determine; but we must conclude that this doxology stands nearer than those of the other versions to that of the original.

This brings us to the conclusion that the Fl. P. B. version stands somewhat nearer to the original than the other versions of this group; that at times it corrected this version by means of the Latin; and that in his more careful and consistent use of the pronouns the scribe followed the vernacular version rather than the Latin, which would have occasioned greater license.

β) *South German versions.*

The different versions belonging to the S. German division of this group are taken from—

1st. Enchiridion¹ geystlicher gesenge vñ psalmen, gedruckt zu Erffurt durch Johann Loeffelt, 1526.

2d. Enchiridion,² 1527.

3d. Marburger Gesangbuch,³ 1549.

4th. Enchiridion⁴ Geistliker Leder und Psalmen vom Jahre 1550.

Between the Enchiridion of 1527 and the Marburg hymn-book appeared a large number of Protestant hymn-books containing our hymn; for example, Johann Zwick's Hymn-book, 1528, 1540; the Augsburg Hymn-book, 1529; Luther's Hymn-book, Wittenberg, 1529,⁵ and many others. The version given here is the one with which the others of the set substantially agree.⁶

Christe, der du bist tag und liecht,
vor dir ist verborgen nichts;
Du väterliche liechtes glantz
lern uns den weg der warheyt gantz.

¹ V. W¹. III 161.

² W¹., No. 270; Hoffmann, No. 156.

³ R., No. 13.

⁴ Geffcken, Die Hamburgischen Niedersächsischen Gesangbücher des XVI. Jhrs., No. 51.

⁵ This is mentioned by Koch, I, p. 250. It may have been the appearance of the hymn in two or three hymn-books published by Luther which led Daniel, I, p. 33, into the error of attributing a translation to him.

⁶ W¹., No. 270.

Wir bitten deyn göttliche kraft,
 uns behüt, herr, in diser nacht;
 Bewar uns, herr, vor allem layd,
 Gott vater der barmhertzigkayt!

Vertreyb des schweren schlaffens frist,
 dass uns nit schad des feyndes list;
 Das fleysch in züchten reyne sey,
 so sein wir mancher sorgen frey.

So unser augen schlaffen schir,¹
 lasz unser hertze wachen dir,
 Beschirm uns gottes rechte hand
 und löst uns von der sünden band.

Beschirmer, herr, der Christenheyt!
 dein hilff starck sey uns bereyt,
 Hilff uns, Herr Gott, aus aller not
 durch dein heylige fünff wunden rot!

Gedenck, herre, der schweren zeyt,
 damit der leyb gefangen leyt;
 Die siele, die du hast erlost,
 der gib, herr Jhesu, deinen trost.

Gott vater sey lob, er und preysz,
 darzu seynem sune weisz,
 Des heylgen geystes gütigkeyt
 von nun an bisz in Ewigkeit.

Wackernagel,² following, as he asserts, the examples of the Brüdergesangbuch of 1566, ascribes this hymn to Wolfgang Meuslin, under whose name we find it, without remark, in Wackernagel's first collection. Hoffmann observes³: "Erst in Joh. Zwickschen G. B. v. 1540 unter dem Dichters namen: Wolfgang Meuzlin." Ranke⁴ gives the Constance Hymn-book of the same

¹ Ranke, p. 328: "Während V. Babst und bereits die früheren quellen (Erf. Ench. 1527, Zwick 1528, das Luthergesb. 1535 u. 1543, das Schuman'sche v. 1539, das Luther'sche v. 1540) die vierte strophe folgendermassen beginnen: *so unser augen schlaffen ein, las unser hertzen wachen dir*, verändert unser Herausgeber, um den Reim herzustellen: *las unser hertzen wachen fein*. Gewiss ist er damit glücklicher als die süddeutschen Herausgeber der Lieder, welche gleichfalls des Reimes wegen, jene in dieser Art lesen: *so unser augen schlaffen schier, lass unser hertze wachen dir*." Although Wackernagel gives his version as appearing in the Enchir. 1527, he does not note this emendation.

² W². II 564.

³ Hoffmann, p. 292.

⁴ Ranke, p. 327, under 'Bibliographische Anmerkungen.'

date as his authority for assigning the hymn to Meuzlin, but adds that the hymn itself first appeared in the Erfurt. Ench. of 1527. Julian¹ is authority for the statement that it appeared first in the Erf. Enchiridion of 1526. Koch² does not give the date of its first appearance, but he affirms that Meuslin was its author and that it was composed by him while he was a monk at Lixheim.

This hymn went for a long time, indeed is found even to-day, under the name of Meuslin. But Wackernagel, in the third vol. of his *Kirchenlied*,³ seems to retract his former opinion. There, in the hymns which he ascribes to Meuslin, he does not mention this one, yet he gives no reason for his change of opinion; but it was doubtless based upon the comparison of the S. German hymn and the L. Ger. version, which latter he considers the prototype of the former. Certainly in no sense could any one be said to have 'composed' this S. Ger. version, for it bears, even in the first couplet, evident marks of having been taken from one dialect into another. But, further, on linguistic grounds,⁴ as has been seen, this version seems as little to rest upon the version in the Oldenburg Prayer-book.

The version seems not only to have been taken from an L.Rh.-O.D. version, but from one standing nearer to the version represented by Hor. Belg. than to the others. Indeed, the hymn as found in the 1567 edition of Peter Datheen's translation of Marot's Psalms, seems to offer the intermediate form connecting the S. German and L.Rh.-O.D. versions together.⁵ This view is confirmed by the doxology found in Datheen's and the S. German hymn, which shows that the redaction evidently took place in the North, or more exactly in L.Rh. territory.

We may then deduce from the foregoing discussion (1) that the typical version of this group originated on the Rhine not far from Cologne and thence spread north and south; (2) that of the several Northern versions W³. II 564 and An. v. K. are farthest removed from the source, the latter appearing to have come back into L.Rh. through the medium of the former; on the other

¹ Julian, p. 227².

² Koch, II, p. 92.

³ V. W³. III, No. 161.

⁴ Cf. *feyndes list* of L.Rh.-O.D. and S. Ger. versions with *duvels list* of L. Germ., also *kraft: nacht*, which militates against a L.G. origin. St. 3, 4, S. Ger. *sorgen frey*, Hor. Belg. *sorghen vri*, W³. 564, An. v. K. *schulden*. St. 4, 4, S. Ger. *sünden band*, H. Belg. *sonden band*, W²., An. v. K. *minnen bant*.

⁵ This hymn is given in section F.

hand, in spite of some differences from the type, the hymn in the Fl. P. B. seems to represent it best, while Hor. Belg. and W. S. B. take an intermediate position, and Am. v. Cl. appears to depend upon the latter; (3) that the S. German version rests upon a L.Rh. version which is best represented by Hor. Belg. or by the later hymn in Datheen's collection.

E. Origin of the expression "dorch dyn hilighen vyf wonden rot."

This expression, as has been already remarked, is not an infrequent one; for example, in a Christmas song found in a MS of the 15th century, the last couplet of the hymn runs "sein heiligh fünf wunden, soln uns genädig sein." In a communion hymn of the pre-Reformation time, in one of the three stanzas which Hoffmann¹ considers much older than the body of the poem, we find "nu helf uns aus dem jamertal, herr durch dein heilig fünf wunden." In the Werden Song-book, hymn 9, st. 7, we have "Doer dijn heilige vijff wonden." Also in a Pilgrim Song² which is undoubtedly of L.Rh. origin³ is the stanza containing "mit seinen funf wunden also her." This is not in the form of an adjuration, but in a note to the same Hoffmann refers to another old Pilgrim Song which appeared in the Cologne Hymn-book of 1625, "mit sein heilig fünf wunden rot, behuet uns herre vorm schnellen tot." Here we find in the same territory to which Group D belongs the same form of expression. Lexer⁴ gives a reference to Wetzel's (13th century) St. Margereta as containing in l. 404 the expression "dorch din heilige fünf wunden," but a careful search through the same edition of the poem has failed to bring to light any such line, certainly not in line 404. Indeed, though this expression became frequent at a later time, I have not been able to find it in any hymn or poem earlier than the middle of the 14th century. In view of this I venture to put forth the following suggestions.

The second great pilgrimage of the Flagellants took place in the years 1348-50, occasioned this time in part by the great plague which was raging throughout Europe, especially in Germany. Probably in few other places did they arouse so much interest and have so large a following as in that city of many

¹ Hoff., p. 166.

² Ibid., p. 212, No. 98.

³ St. 1, 3, 4: *kraft: macht, leit: freud*, etc.

⁴ Lexer, Mhd. Wörterbuch, I, p. 566. The edition he refers to is Bartsch's, in Germanistischen Studien, I, 1872.

saints, Cologne. Although only fragments¹ have come down to us, it is well known that even the earlier Flagellants in the pilgrimage of 1260 used to sing hymns during the times of the daily scourging; but in the later pilgrimage singing seems to have assumed a much more important place in these ceremonies.

In the account given by Friedrich Closener of Strasburg, several of their songs occur, and in the last stanza of the second of these² we find "Jesu durch dine wunden rot, behuet uns vor dem gähen tot!" Hoffmann³ observes: "von diesen Liedern hat sich nur ein einziges vollständiges erhalten," and further in a note to the hymn⁴: "Darow entdeckte es im Osnabrückischen, es steht auf den Deckeln einer Pg. Hs. medicinischen Inhalts aus dem XIV. Jahrh. in 4°. Das Lied wie es dort erscheint, ist mittelniederländisch und zwar in der Mundart der östlichen Gegenden Hollands nach Westphalen zu. . . . Da es jetzt nicht mehr darauf ankommt einen wörtlichen Abdruck zu haben, so will ich einen hergestellten hochdeutschen Text . . . folgen lassen." In this H. German text we find again, l. 57, the same couplet that is found in the hymn in Closener's account. The acts of the Flagellants themselves would give peculiar point to such a petition, and the sympathy which the ideas represented by them met with from the people might well have caused some of their phrases to creep into the popular hymns.

If this explanation be accepted, it will clear up another point in which the hymns of Group D differ not only from the Latin, but from the other translations, and would supply a reason for the return of at least three of the group to a form nearer the Latin. In st. 4, 4 all but W¹. 564, An. v. K., and Fl. P. B. have a line similar to the following in Hor. Belg.: "verloest ons van der sonden bant." In times of terror and repentance like that near which, or at least not too far from it to be pervaded by its spirit, I assume this hymn to have originated, men were much more taken up with thoughts of God's wrath and his punishment for sin than of his mercy and reward for love. Very naturally, then, "famulos qui te diligunt" or "die diener die dich lieben han," became changed to a prayer for release from the bonds of deadly sin. This the Fl. P. B. with its greater regard for accuracy, and the original of W¹. II 564 and An. v. K., having the Latin hymn as a model, changed again to the original form.

¹ V. Hoffmann, p. 133 ff.

² Ibid., p. 145, No. 62.

³ Ibid., No. 57.

⁴ Ibid., p. 133.

When we consider the extraordinary hold which the sentiments of this half racial,¹ half socialistic, and wholly religious movement of the Flagellants had upon the masses of the people, it is not astonishing to find that the strains of their songs could so materially have influenced a hymn which for centuries had been dear to the popular heart. If, knowing the force of the movement, we are surprised that such direct influence was exerted upon so small a circle, I can but answer that the lines of this ancient hymn lent themselves with peculiar ease to a new adaptation; indeed, by the similarity of the initial words of the couplet affected to the closing words of the Flagellants' song, rather invited such a redaction. The quick response which the change met with throughout the several Old Dutch and German dialects is sufficient evidence not only of the wide extent of the popular emotions to which it appealed, but also of the eagerness with which the people embodied in a hymn of their own one of the chief petitions taken from hymns of the Flagellants.

F. Some minor translations of the Christe.

The number of translations in the three languages English, Dutch, and German, some with slight, others with more marked variations, is so very great that it would be impossible within the scope of this paper to even mention them all. In more modern times the hymn has appeared under many hardly recognizable paraphrases as well as in many real translations. I give here only the more interesting.

The following Anglo-Saxon version, somewhat different from the one given above, p. 154, is found in MS Cott. Vesp. D. XII, fol. 13-14, and MS Cott. Jul. A. VI, fol. 23^b-24. Both the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin of which it is an interlinear translation are written as prose, but for greater ease in comparison I have divided the hymn into lines and stanzas.

eala þu crist þu pe eart leoht 7 dæg
 pu oferwriht ðystra
 7 þu eart gelyfed leoht leohtes
 bodiende eadig leoht.

eala þu halga drihten we biddað
 bewera us on pissere nihte
 sy rest us on ðe
 forgif us gedefe nihte.

¹ V. Goebel, Am. Journ. of Philology, vol. VIII, p. 169 ff.

peron ne hreose swær slæp
 ne ne under creope se feond us
 ne ne gesette ure flæsc
 us sylfe scyldige pe gepafiende him

underfoð ure eagan slæp
 wacie ure heorte symle to ðe
 gescylde pin swyðra
 penas pa ðe lufiað pe.

eala ðu ure beweriend beheald
 7 of ðryc ða syrwiendan
 begyn pine penas
 pa pe ðu gebohtest mid pinum blode.

eala ðu drihten gemunðu ure
 in ðissum swæran lichaman
 eala drihten pu pe eart beweriend sawle
 æd beo ðu us.

The hymn found in W³. III, No. 808, and ascribed under the date 1523 to Urbanus Regius, has a curious historical interest because it was made a vehicle for the most extreme sentiments of the Reformation. Both this hymn and the translation which appeared in the Augsburg Form 1530 under the name of Jacob Dachser appear to have been founded upon the German 12th-century interlinear.

Michael Weisse, a monk of Breslau, who very early in the preaching of Luther allied himself to the cause of the Reformation and joined the Bohemian Brotherhood, was the editor of the first German hymn-book in that congregation. Of the one hundred and fifty hymns of this *New Geseng buchlen*, 1531,¹ Weisse seems to have been the sole translator or author. The *Christe*,² which is one of them, is not among the twelve hymns taken from the Bohemian, nor does it seem to be connected with the Latin, but rather with some unidentified German translation of the hymn. Founded upon the *Christe* in all probability, but even freer in its treatment of it, is another evening hymn of Weisse's, *Die Sonne wirt mit jhren schein*. Still another hymn by the same writer, *Die Sonne wirt bald untergehen*, has the superscription which we have observed in connection with a

¹ For a description of the hymn-book v. Julian, p. 156 f.

² V. W³. III, No. 384.

number of translations of the *Christe*, "Am abend ehe man schlaffen geht," but otherwise can hardly be said to show any resemblance to it.

For the well-known translation of Erasmus Alberus, "Christe, du bist der helle Tag," Wackernagel¹ gives no earlier date than the Hamburg Enchiridion of 1558; but according to Koch² it appeared in the church directory of Rigi in 1537. In regard to this translation, which has maintained itself until the present, Koch further remarks: "Die Verdeutschung Albers hat sich der Gemeinde empfohlen, . . . wenn bei dem lateinischen Vers 5, 'Defensor noster, adspice,' bemerkt wird, dass er oft als besonders Gebetlein gesungen wurde, so ist dies bei seiner Uebersetzung in v. 6, 7 nicht weniger der Fall. Das geläufigste Abendgebetlein in Würtemberger Lande zu Betglocke ist seit alten Tagen bis auf diese Stunde in vielen Familien eine Verbindung von *Ach bleib bei uns*, und diesen Versen *Befiel dem Engel* u. s. w."

Christe, du bist der helle tag,
für dir die nacht nicht bleiben mag,
Du leüchtest vns vom vater her
vnd bist des Liechtes Prediger.

Ach lieber Herr, behüt vns heint
in dise nacht fürn bösen feind
Vnd las vns in dir rügen fein
vnd vor dem Sathan sicher sein.

Ob schon die auggen schlaffein ein,
so las das hertz doch wacker sein.
Halt vber vns dein rechte hand,
das wir nicht fallen in sund vnd schand.

Wir bitten dich, Herr Jhesu Christ,
behüt vns für des Teufels list,
Der stets nach vnser seelen tracht,
das er an vns hab keine macht.

Sind wir doch dein ererbtes gut,
erworben durch dein heiliges blut,
Das war des ewigen Vaters Rath
als er vns dir geschenket hat.

Befiel dem Engel, das er kum
vnd vns bewach, dein eigenthum,

¹ W³. III, No. 1385.

² Koch, VIII, p. 189 f.

Gib vns die liebe wechter zu,
das wir fürn Sathan haben rhu.

So schlaffen wir in namen dein,
die weil die Engel bey vns sein,
Du Heilige Treifaltigkeit,
Wir lobē dich in ewigkeit.

The hymn of Peter Datheen referred to above, which appeared first in the edition of 1567, is here given from the edition of 1688 printed at Dordrecht, *Het Avont Gebedt Christe qui lux es & Dies, Ofte na de wyse van den C. Psalmen.*

Christe die du bist dagh en licht
Voor dy is Heer verborgen nicht:
Dÿn Vaderlicke lichtes glantz
Leert ons den wegh der waerheyt gantsch.

Wy bidden dÿn Godtlicke kracht
Behoedt ons Heer in desen nacht;
Bewaert ons Heer voor alle leyt
Godt vader der barmhertigheyt.

Verdrÿft den swaren slaep, Heer Christ,
Dat ons niet schaed' des vyants list;
Dat 't vleesch in tuchten reyne zy,
Soo zÿn wy veler sorgen vry.

Soo ons' oogen slapen by ty,
Laet ons herte waken tot dy:
Beschermt ons Godes rechter hant,
En lost ons van der sonden bant.

Beschermt, Heer, al de Christenheyt,
Dÿn hulp altÿt zy ons bereyt:
Helpt ons, Heer Godt, nyt aller noot,
Door dÿn heyl'ge vÿf wonden root.

Gedenckt, Heer, op den swaren tÿt,
Daer med' 't lÿf seer strength wert bestrÿt:
De ziele die gy hebt verlost
Die geeft, Heer Jesu, dÿnen troost.

Godt Vader zy lof, eer, en prÿs;
Daer toe oock sÿnen Sone wÿs;
Des Heyl'gen Geestes goedigheyt,
Van nu tot in der eeuwigheyt.

A curious translation of our hymn is found in 'A Compendium Book of Psalms and Spiritual Songs, commonly known as The Gude and Godlie Ballates, Edinburgh, 1578.' The hymn here given is taken from a reprint of the Compendium in 1868.

Christe qui luxes.

Christ, thow art the licht, bot & the day,
The mirknes of nicht thow puttis away ;
We knaw thow art the verray licht,
Thy schynis to vs baith day and nicht.

O haly Lord, we the' beseik,
This nicht vs to defend and keip,
Thy rest and peace be with us all,
Lat neuer na euill thing vs befall.

Na heuy sleip, nor deidly sin,
Lat not our ennemeis vs ouercum,
Not zit our flesche giue na consent ;
Grant vs our faultis to repent.

Lord, lat our eine sum sleip do take,
Our hartis all tyme on the' may waik,
Thy richt hand keip us from all euill,
Thy awin seruand that luffis the' weill.

Our defender, to the' we pray,
All ire and malice thow put vs fra,
Thy seruandis gouerne in the steid,
For quhais ransom thow did sair bleid.

Haue mynde on vs, thou Lord Jesu,
In this fals world that is vntrew ;
Thow art defendar of our saule,
Lord, heir vs quhen we on the' call.

Gloir be to God, Father of micht,
And to Christ Jesus, his sone sa bricht,
The Haly Gaist that is sa fair,
Keip vs this nicht, and euer mair.

Among the many Modern English translations or paraphrases of our hymn may be mentioned the version by Prior Aylward in 'Annus Sanctus,' London and New York, 1884; that by Mrs. Charles in 'The Voice of the Christian Life in Song,' New York,

1865 (?); and also the translation by Dr. Samuel Duffield, in 'Latin Hymns and Their Writers,' New York, 1889. The one given below is the translation made by Rev. W. J. Copeland for 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' London, 1867, No. 83.

O Christ who art the Light and Day,
Thy Beams chase night's dark shades away:
The very Light of Light Thou art,
Who dost that blessed Light impart.

All-Holy Lord, to Thee we bend,
Thy servants through the night defend,
And grant us calm repose in Thee,
A quiet night from perils free.

Let not dull sleep the soul oppress,
Nor secret foe the heart possess,
Nor Satan's wiles the flesh allure,
And make us in Thy Sight impure.

Light slumber let our eyelids take,
The heart to Thee be still awake;
And Thy Right Hand protection be
To those who love and trust in Thee.

O Lord, our strong Defence, be nigh!
Bid all the powers of darkness fly;
Preserve and watch o'er us for good,
Whom Thou hast purchased with Thy Blood.

Remember us, dear Lord, we pray,
Whilst burdened in the flesh we stay;
Thou only canst the soul defend;
Be with us, Saviour, to the end.

Blest Three in One and One in Three,
Almighty God, we pray to Thee
That Thou wouldst now vouchsafe to bless
Our fast with fruits of righteousness.

DOROTHY WILBERFORCE LYON.

IV.—THE LITERARY INFLUENCE OF MARTIAL UPON JUVENAL.

In all the field of Roman literature there are perhaps no two writers who are more closely related or throw more light each on the other than Juvenal and Martial. At the same time these poets, in certain respects, present a marked contrast. As the style of Juvenal, moulded and controlled by the rhetoric of the schools, differs widely from the epigrammatic terseness and pointedness of Martial, so the high moral purpose and seriousness of the former stand in sharp antithesis to the mocking triviality of the latter. But, notwithstanding this wide difference in training and point of view, so many coincidences of thought and expression crowd upon the attention of the reader that the question arises, How are we to account for these similarities, so numerous and striking? Is it sufficient to say with a recent editor¹ that they portray the social conditions of the same age? Some explanation going far deeper is in my opinion rendered necessary by the phenomena which present themselves when the two poets are placed side by side. Before entering into the discussion of this question we must glance at it from the chronological point of view.

The twelfth book of the epigrams of Martial, the last to be published, appeared toward the end of 101, or in the beginning of the following year. If, then, we are to place the work of Juvenal as a whole in comparison with that of Martial, we must assume that none of the satires were written until after that date. Leaving for the moment the question of the time of composition, we know from the reference to the condemnation of Marius (I 49) that the first book (sat. I-V), which was doubtless written first, was not published before the year 100, while other indications point to a later date.² That the publication did not take place until several years later is made more probable by the fact that the second

¹ Friedländer, Juvenal, p. 46.

² Sat. I 15 f., 25 and 33 also if the reference is to M. Aquilius Regulus; cf. Durr, *Das Leben Juvenals*, p. 18, Anm. 75.

book (sat. VI), which may with some confidence be assigned to the year 116/117, is then not separated from the first by an unnaturally long interval.¹

If the emperor of the seventh satire is Hadrian—and of this there can in my opinion be no reasonable doubt—the third book (sat. VII–IX) must have been published about 119/120. Two passages (XIII 17 and XV 27) place the date of the fifth book (sat. XIII–XVI) as late as the year 128, and the fourth book falls between—perhaps about 125. Though there is no reason to suppose that the order of the books is other than chronological, we may not assume that the same is true of the individual satires. Doubtless the first satire, as the introduction to the first book, was written later than the other satires of that book. And here arises our greatest difficulty. When were these earliest pieces written? Are we justified in placing their composition at a later date than that of Martial's twelfth book? For the assumption that some of them were written during the reign of Domitian and published only after his death, there is no ground that will stand the test of examination.² On the other hand, though absolute certainty is impossible, there is indirect evidence which points strongly to a later date. The details of this evidence need not occupy us here. Suffice it to say that the statement of the *vitae* (*ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit*), the silence of Martial in XII 18 with regard to Juvenal's poetical activity—and on this point I am inclined to lay stress—and the tone of the satires themselves, looking back as they do on the past, often on the distant past, are best explained if we assume that Juvenal not only did not publish, but did not write satire until after the appearance of the last of Martial's epigrams, the twelfth book, in the year 101/102. And it is upon this probable hypothesis that we shall proceed in considering the influence of the earlier upon the later writer.

One of the most striking features of the Roman poetry of imperial times is the almost universal dependence of the poet

¹Cf. Friedländer, p. 8 ff., who places the publication of the first book between 112 and 116, probably too late.

²Heinrich (II, p. 21) made this assumption for the second and fourth—not the second and third, as Friedländer (p. 6, n.) erroneously states—, Synnerberg (pp. 59 f., 62 f.) for the second and third, Lewis (ed. 1882, pp. 24, 57) for the first and second, Pearson (Juvenal of Pearson and Strong, 2d ed., 1892, p. 14) for the second, third and fourth, and Nettleship (Lectures and Essays, second series, p. 131 f.) for "many of the earlier satires."

upon his predecessors. True of all literature in a greater or less degree, this phenomenon is nowhere more marked than in the poetry of the Silver Age. The poet of the period employed the regular poetic phraseology, which had reached its highest development in the time of Augustus and long since become stereotyped.¹ It would therefore be a great mistake to suppose that every time we meet a passage in Valerius Flaccus or Statius which recalls a turn of expression in some poet of the preceding century, we must infer that the later was of set purpose imitating the earlier poet. No doubt indisputable examples of imitation can be pointed out in any book of the *Argonautica* or the *Thebais*, but by far the larger number of such coincidences of expression are quite unintentional and result from unconscious reminiscence. But when we turn to Martial and Juvenal, the question is a very different one. Here we are considering the influence, not of a poet of the preceding century whose works were familiar to all from childhood, but of a contemporary and friend, who, it should not be forgotten, stood further than any other poet of that day from those rhetorical tendencies so pronounced in Juvenal. In view of the intimate social relations existing between the two poets, and the fact that Juvenal is mentioned by Martial in VII 24, and addressed in VII 91 and XII 18, we must, it seems to me, assume for the satirist such familiarity with the epigrams as to reduce to a minimum the possibility of his unconsciously repeating their thought or phraseology.

It is worthy of remark that most of the passages in which Martial's influence can be observed are to be found in the earlier satires.² On general principles this is just what we would expect, for a writer is always less independent in his early than in his later period, and it seems to me to lend support to the view that the many striking similarities in the two poets are not due to accident or to a common environment, else would they be more evenly distributed.

An element of uncertainty enters when in a given parallel the features common to Juvenal and Martial are found also in some earlier writer. But in such cases it would seem more probable

¹ Cf. F. Vollmer, *Statii Silv.*, Leipzig, 1898, Einl., p. 30.

² In sat. I-VI I have recorded sixty-five instances, in VII-IX thirteen, in X-XII nineteen, and in XIII-XVI twelve. The same is true of Juvenal's reminiscences of Vergil, as pointed out by Gehlen, *de Iuvenale Vergilii imitatore*, Göttingen, 1886, p. 6.

that Juvenal had in mind the words of the epigram, still fresh in his memory; or at least, if he recalled the earlier poet at all, it was through the suggestion of Martial's lines. And even if this were not true, such instances are too rare and unimportant to affect our general conclusions. Of course, it is not claimed as certain that in every passage given in the course of this paper, Juvenal intentionally reproduced something from the epigrams; but a collective view of the material herewith presented will convince that, while some coincidences may be due to accident, others to the fact that the writers lived in the same times and beheld the same social conditions, yet a real influence of the epigrams on the satires is not to be denied.

The literary relationship of Juvenal to Martial is not now brought to notice for the first time. Many years ago W. S. Teuffel—to go no further back—called attention to some of the parallel passages in a foot-note to his essay on Juvenal.¹ More recently H. Nettleship, in his 'Life and Poems of Juvenal,'² devoted several pages to this question. After speaking of the "remarkable correspondence between Martial's epigrams and the satires of Juvenal," he continues: "The correspondence I allude to points to one of two conclusions: either that Juvenal, writing some twenty years after Martial's death, took a pleasure in imitating his friend's poetry; or that, like Calvus and Catullus, Vergil and Horace, Martial and Juvenal were much in each other's confidence, working and it may almost be said thinking together." He then quotes parallel passages from the two poets to illustrate their view of literature, their choice of subjects, their use of personal names, and their correspondence in phraseology, and concludes that these coincidences "are of a kind which points rather to independent handling of the same themes by two intimate friends than to imitation by the one of the other's work," and "during the greater part of Domitian's reign Martial and Juvenal virtually worked together." But this view has won little acceptance, is not, as far as I know, now held by any one, and must for reasons already suggested be considered untenable. The next important utterance on this subject came from L. Friedländer,³ who, reviewing Nettleship's essay, wrote as follows: "Ihre Ueber-

¹ Stud. u. Char., first edition, 1871, p. 416 n.

² Journal of Phil. XVI (1888), pp. 41-66 = Lectures and Essays, second series, Oxford, 1895, pp. 117-144.

³ Jahresb. über d. Fortsch. d. cl. Alt.-wiss. LXXII (1892), p. 191.

einstimmung in Worten und Wendungen ist grösstenteils zufällig und natürlich: eine absichtliche Beziehung möchte ich nur bei Juvenal 5, 147 auf Martial, I 20, 4 annehmen." In his edition of Juvenal (1895) he preserves an absolute silence with regard to the influence of Martial, not even remarking in his note to V 146 f. that this is in his opinion the only place in which intentional imitation of Martial can be assumed, although the Martial passage—erroneously cited as I 21, 4—is quoted. Of his introduction, so satisfactory in most other respects, Friedländer devotes only a few lines to the literary relationship of Juvenal to Martial, and in them does little more than point out the difference between the two poets in spirit, style and point of view, beginning with the words (p. 46): "Da nun die Zustände dieser letzten [i. e. the time of Domitian] sich auch in den Epigrammen seines Freundes Martial in Hunderten kleiner Bilder abspiegeln, ist natürlich, dass beide Dichter sich vielfach berühren."¹ A fuller treatment of this subject is one of the features which many scholars have missed in one of the most useful and scholarly editions of this decade.² And now we shall attempt by an examination of parallel passages to discover the attitude of Juvenal toward his friend's work, with which he was so familiar.

In the first place let us consider passages similar in both expression and thought, and in some instances even in their context. No one would think of denying a conscious reminiscence of Martial on the part of Juvenal in the following parallel:

Boletum qualem Claudius edit, edas (M. I 20, 4)
 boletus domino, sed quales Claudius edit
 ante illum uxoris, post quem nihil amplius edit. (Iuv. V 147 f.)³

The words are the same in both cases and convey the same thought in the same connection. And this is the passage referred to by Friedländer in the remark already quoted. In both poets the idea that the poor man who values his freedom and independence must dine at home, is expressed with coincidence at the main point:

¹ I except, of course, casual reference and the discussion of personal names, pp. 99 ff.

² Cf. Gercke, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1896, n. 12, p. 970.

³ Martial is cited according to W. Gilbert, ed. emendat., Teubner, 1896, and Juvenal according to Jahn-Buecheler, third edition, 1893.

Liber eris, cenare foris si, Maxime, nolis (M. II 53, 3)

Liber non potes et gulosus esse (M. IX 10, 4)

tu tibi liber homo et regis conviva videris (Iuv. V 161).¹

The extreme difficulty of earning an honest livelihood at Rome is described by Martial in two poems, one of which, after mentioning, in the form of a dialogue with Sextus, some of the honorable occupations only to show that they bring no returns, concludes :

" Quid faciam ? suade : nam certum est vivere Romae."

Si bonus es, casu vivere, Sexte, potes (M. III 38, 13 f.).

In IV 5, writing in the same vein, the poet names several of the most profitable but at the same time most dishonorable callings then practised in the city. Now, Juvenal seems to have had these poems in mind when he wrote

quid Romae faciam ? mentiri nescio ; librum,

si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere (Iuv. III 41 f.),

which—in much the same way as in Martial, though naturally the details are different—is followed by a list of base but lucrative pursuits engaged in at Rome. Again, lamenting the scanty remuneration that attends intellectual and literary pursuits, Martial speaks of the reciting poet who receives as his only reward the kisses thrown by his audience to signify approval; and even these he may not keep, but must return to show his gratitude :

Illic aera sonant : at circum pulpita nostra

Et steriles cathedras basia sola crepant (M. I 76, 13 f.).

Now, Juvenal employs the same expression with reference to the ill-paid rhetor :

paenituit multos vanae sterilisque cathedrae (Iuv. VII 203).

It will be observed that the satirist has here added 'vanae'; frequently in such passages he differs from Martial in the addition of words or phrases which either are synonymous with those he has borrowed or give further detail. The use of 'respicere' of the patronus, common as it is in Latin, may yet indicate a connection between Juvenal, III 185 and Martial, X 10, 5, because of the fact that the backgrounds in the two cases are essentially the same, and the verb occupies the same metrical position in the one as in the other :

¹ Cf. Iuv. V 127.

Qui me respiciet, dominum regemque vocabo? (M. X 10, 5)
 quid das, ut Cossum aliquando salutes?
 ut te respiciat clauso Veiento labello? (Iuv. III 184 f.).

The passages

Cum coloephia sedecim comedit (M. VII 67, 12)
 comedunt colyphia paucae (Iuv. II 53)

are alike in having feminine subjects, and though no further reflection of Martial, VII 67 is found in the context, this poem has exerted an influence on other parts of Juvenal.¹ The phrase 'di faciles,' found also in Lucan (I 510), should not be omitted:

Riserunt faciles et tribuere dei (M. I 103, 4)
 Et dare quae faciles vix tribuere dei (M. XII 6, 10)
 evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis
 di faciles (Iuv. X 7 f.).

Here may be mentioned some rare expressions which are common to our two poets. 'Dei' is used to mean 'temples':

Cum tot iam tibi debeat triumphos . . .
 Tot spectacula, tot deos, tot urbes (M. VI 4, 2 f.)
 haec Asianorum vetera ornamenta deorum (Iuv. III 218)²;

'lucernae' is found with the sense of 'night':

Seras tutior ibis ad lucernas (M. X 19, 18)
 ni parere velis, pereundum erit ante lucernas (Iuv. X 339);

'ut multum,' which is not cited from any other author before Vopiscus (Aur. 46, 4), occurs:

Et lotam ut multum terve quaterve togam (M. X 11, 6)
 hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano,
 ut multum, duo sufficient (Iuv. VII 186 f.).

The rare use of 'similis' to signify 'a portrait of' is a favorite with Statius³:

In qua tam similem videbis Issam (M. I 109, 19)
 si quis Aristotelen similem . . . emit (Iuv. II 6).

Of less consequence, but perhaps worth recording, are Mart. VII

¹ Cf. pp. 205, 208.

² Compare Iuv. I 116 and Cic. Att. IV 1, 4, where the names of the goddesses Concordia and Salus, respectively, are used to designate the temples.

³ Cf. Vollmer to Silv. I 1, 101.

78, 1 f. and Iuv. XIV 131 f., where 'conchis' and 'lacertus' are used in connection as types of poor food, and

Aspice, quam tumeat magno iecur ansere maius (M. XIII 58),

which has 'magno iecur' in the same metrical position as the corresponding words in

anseris ante ipsum magni iecur (Iuv. V 114).

But this expression was no doubt very common; compare Pliny, H. N. X 22, 27. Passages of this kind, in which both thought and phraseology are similar, are by no means as numerous as might be expected. In several instances, too, the similarity does not extend beyond a single word, and that sometimes a word not at all unusual. It is therefore quite clear that Juvenal, in a period when wholesale and unreserved appropriation of the work of others was the rule, refrained almost entirely from this most direct method of borrowing, as far as Martial was concerned.

But there is still a considerable number of Juvenal passages in which we see verbal coincidence with Martial, sometimes confined to a single word, sometimes extending to a phrase of several words. The most remarkable feature of these exact verbal repetitions is that, while the words, as far as the likeness goes, are the same, the general point of view is different, the immediate thought to be expressed is not the same, and the words themselves have usually a different application and often an entirely different meaning. Now, there can in my opinion be little doubt that Juvenal rarely, if ever, unconsciously repeated words or phrases occurring in the epigrams. Whether he was in every, or even in any, case aware that he was adapting Martial's language to another point of view or giving it a new meaning, is a different question and, of course, one which does not admit of a certain answer. It is true that the words of an author sometimes remain in the memory when their context and real meaning have been forgotten. Not long since a rather boisterous child was in my hearing reproved as an "empty-head," and the authority quoted in support of the reproof was Goldsmith:

"And the loud laugh that spoke the *vacant* mind."

But while this is not surprising in the reminiscence of older authors, it is improbable that Juvenal, in the case of his contemporary and friend, remembered the words apart from their



meaning and connection. To my mind the passages about to be given point towards a probability not only that Juvenal was conscious of using expressions found in Martial, but that he for the most part allowed himself to borrow them only when his point of view or thought was not the same. In one instance the leading word is to be understood literally in Martial, but metaphorically in Juvenal :

ardeat illa licet (M. VIII 59, 12)
ardeat ipsa licet (Iuv. VI 209).

The former refers to a burning 'lucerna,' the latter to a woman in love. In one case Juvenal uses literally the expression which Martial employed in a figurative sense :

Stat contra dicitque tibi tua pagina "Fur es." (M. I 53, 12)
stat contra starique iubet (Iuv. III 290).¹

The latter passage is taken from the description of the dangers that threatened the unattended pedestrian in the streets of Rome by night. A rare metaphorical use of 'os' is seen in both poets, but with quite different meaning :

Antiquae venies ad ossa cenae (M. V 44, 11)
ossa vides rerum vacuis exucta medullis (Iuv. VIII 90).

The epigram refers to the remains of a repast, the satire to the provincials stripped of all their possessions. The phrase 'mollior agna' is found in Martial in praise of a gentle maiden, but in Juvenal is applied to a man as a scornful epithet :

Puella . . . Agna Galaesi mollior Phalantini (M. V 37, 1 f.)
vanus et Euganea quantumvis mollior agna (Iuv. VIII 15).

A similar example, which explains itself, is

(Venus) Dixit, et arcano percussit pectora loro (M. VI 21, 9)
arcano qui sacra ferens nutantia loro
sudavit clupeis ancilibus (Iuv. II 125).

As a last instance in which the same phrase has very different meaning in the two poets, we may quote Juvenal's words about the astrologer :

nemo mathematicus genium indemnatus habebit (Iuv. VI 562),

¹ Cf. Pers. V 96 stat contra ratio.

that is to say, the narrower his escapes and the more severe his hardships, the more implicit the faith of the people in his skill. Martial, on the contrary, using the same expression, referred to the qualities of a good book :

Victurus genium debet habere liber (M. VI 60, 10).

But there is a larger class of parallels in which the repeated words or phrases, though used in the same or almost the same sense, are found in an entirely different context and have reference to persons or things of a totally different character. Martial speaks of true fame with the words

notumque per oppida nomen
Non expectato dat mihi fama rogo (III 95, 7 f.),

whereas Juvenal in the same words gives vent to his scorn :

notaeque per oppida buccae (III 35).

In a description of poverty Martial says that the poor man has nothing to live on but the smell of his dirty kitchen :

Pasceris et nigrae solo nidore culinae (I 92, 9) ;

the expression 'nidore culinae' Juvenal has taken into a quite different connection, where he speaks of the rich man thinking that his client is attracted only by his luxurious table :

captum te nidore suae putat ille culinae (V 162).

Again, Martial refers to flowers for a garland, Juvenal to provision for the table :

Seu Praenestino te vilica legit in horto (M. IX 60, 3).
asparagi, posito quos legit vilica fuso (Iuv. XI 69).

Without special comment the following parallels of this kind may be quoted :

O quanta est gula, centies comesse ! (M. V 70, 5)
quanta est gula quae sibi totos
ponit apros (Iuv. I 140 f.) ;

Non vitiosus homo es, Zoile, sed vitium (M. XI 92, 2),
nonne igitur iure ac merito vitia ultima fictos
contemnunt Scauros (Iuv. II 34 f.) ;

Succumbit sterili frustra gallina marito (M. XIII 64, 1),
quo mordetur gallina marito (Iuv. III 91) ;

Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo (M. XIV 128, 1),
tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo (Iuv. VIII 145);

Fila Tarentini graviter redolentia porri (M. XIII 18, 1),
filaque sectivi numerata includere porri (Iuv. XIV 133);

Ne tibi pallentes moveant fastidia caules (M. XIII 17, 1),
usque adeo gravis uxori natisque sibique
ut captatori moveat fastidia Cosso (Iuv. X 201 f.);

Alea parva nuces et non damnosa videtur (M. XIV 19, 1),
si damnosa senem iuvat alea, ludit et heres (Iuv. XIV 4);

Haec faciant sane iuvenes (M. IV 78, 9),
fecimus et nos
haec iuvenes (Iuv. VIII 163 f.);

iam sumus ergo pares (M. II 18, 2. 4. 6),
non sumus ergo pares (Iuv. III 104).

In several of these quotations it may be observed that Juvenal, possibly influenced by the rhythm of Martial's verse, has employed the same words in the same metrical position. This is particularly apparent in the following example, in which a verse is made up, as far as all its main parts are concerned, by a combination of two verses of Martial:

Haec ego *Pieria* ludebam tutus *in umbra* (M. IX 84, 3),
quadrans mihi *nullus* est in arca (M. II 44, 9),
nam si *Pieria quadrans* tibi *nullus in umbra* (Iuv. VII 8).

A large majority, however, of the cases in which the influence of Martial on Juvenal may be considered possible consists of passages dissimilar in phraseology, alike only in thought. Seventy-seven such instances are reported in this paper. It has usually been deemed a sufficient explanation of these coincidences of thought to say that Martial and Juvenal lived in the same age, dwelt in the same city, moved in the same society. But a careful examination of the evidence here brought together reveals, in my opinion, something beyond that. Whenever Juvenal wished to express a thought already familiar to him from Martial, with the few exceptions already noted he did so in a very different way, though no doubt the rhythmical phrases of his friend were often before him. And to a certain extent this is just what we would expect, in view of the well-known differences between the men. As a rule, however, while the thought expressed in the particular verse and sometimes even in the whole context is exactly the same as in Martial, the avoidance of the same words is apparently so studied as to strengthen the conviction that in such cases the satirist was

unwilling to borrow the exact words of his friend. If Martial's sentence is brief and plain, Juvenal's is often extended and rhetorical without adding any really new idea, though the converse of this is sometimes true, when Juvenal expresses himself in a briefer and even condensed form. In some places, too, where Martial has employed the usual word in the connection, Juvenal uses a rare synonym.¹ All this becomes clearer as we examine the following parallel passages:

Quod tam grande sophos clamat tibi turba togata,
Non tu, Pomponi, cena diserta tua est (M. VI 48)
quanto Faesidium laudat vocalis agentem
sportula? (Iuv. XIII 32 f.).

Here, as in many cases to follow, exactly the same thought is presented without the repetition of a single word. And it is interesting to observe how the different ideas of the one writer are represented in the other. 'Laudat vocalis' corresponds to 'sophos clamat,' 'sportula' to 'turba togata' and 'cena,' 'agentem' to 'diserta,' and 'quanto' (sc. clamore) to 'tam grande.'

Quaeque trahi multo marmora fune vides (M. V 22, 8)
nam si procubuit qui saxa Ligustica portat
axis (Iuv. III 257 f.).

The same picture is before the mind of each poet, the crowded streets of Rome in which the pedestrian was always in danger, but the 'marmora' of Martial is the 'saxa Ligustica' of Juvenal, for the rope which draws is put the axis which supports, and hence the 'trahere' of Martial is the 'portare' of Juvenal. So in describing a fish too large for any platter,

Quamvis lata gerat patella rhombum,
Rhombus latior est tamen patella (M. XIII 81)
sed derat pisci patinae mensura (Iuv. IV 72),

the satirist uses 'patina' instead of 'patella,' 'piscis' instead of 'rhombus' and expresses the sense of 'lata' by the noun 'mensura.' Both poets refer to the custom of training the ape to fight from the back of a goat for the amusement of the people:

Callidus emissas eludere simius hastas (M. XIV 202)
(qui) discit ab hirsuta iaculum torquere capella (Iuv. V 155).

¹The author of the lost Epitome seems to have altered the language of Livy in a similar manner. Compare Wölfflin's remarks in *Archiv f. lat. Lex. u. Gram.* XI, pp. 2, 7.

In this instance 'discit' takes up the idea of 'callidus,' 'iaculum' that of 'hastas,' Martial has no word for goat, Juvenal none for ape, the former represents the fighter on the defensive (eludere), the latter on the offensive (torquere). A good example to show how Juvenal sometimes presents the thought in a more extended and rhetorical form is the following:

Marmora Messalæ findit caprificus (M. X 2, 9)
(ad saxa) discutienda valent sterilis mala robora fici (Iuv. X 145).

Both describe the ravages of time on the stone which bears the sepulchral inscription, regardless of the fame of the man in whose memory it was erected.¹ Under precisely similar circumstances the Romans clad in festal robes are called in Martial (VIII 65, 5) 'candida cultu Roma' and in Juvenal (X 45) 'niveos ad frena Quirites.' The well-known comparisons of fine apples to those from the gardens of Alcinous and of the Hesperides are found in combination in both Martial and Juvenal:

Non mea Massylus servat pomaria serpens
Regius Alcinoi nec mihi servit ager (M. X 94, 1 f.)
(pomæ) qualia perpetuus Phaeacum autumnus habebat,
credere quæ possis subrepta sororibus Afriis (Iuv. V 151 f.).²

This identity of thought without verbal coincidence appears also in the following passages:

Nec cenat prius aut recumbit ante,
Quam septem vomuit meros deunces (M. VII 67, 9 f.)
(oenophorum) de quo sextarius alter
ducitur ante cibum rabidam facturus orexim,
dum redit et loto terram ferit intestino (Iuv. VI 427 f.);
Tendere quæ tremulum Pelian Hecubaeque maritum
Posset ad Hectoreos sollicitare rogos (M. VI 71, 3 f.)
quibus incendi iam frigidus aevo
Laomedontiades et Nestoris hirnea possit (Iuv. VI 325 f.);
Regelare nec te pestilenties possit (M. III 93, 17)
praeterea minimus gelido iam in corpore sanguis
febre calet sola (Iuv. X 217 f.);

¹ This feature may be seen illustrated at greater length in Iuv. III 212-222, a passage which, besides expressing precisely the same thoughts as Mart. III 52, 1-4 in a fuller and more detailed form, contains two clear verbal reminiscences recorded elsewhere in this paper. Compare also Iuv. XIV 145-149 with Mart. II 32, 3-4.

² Cf. Mart. XIII 37.

Aut minus aut certe non plus tricesima lux est
 Et nubit decimo iam Telesilla viro (M. VI 7, 3 f.)
 sic fiunt octo mariti
 quinque per autumnos (Iuv. VI 229 f.);
 Nunc implere sinus securos gaudet et absens
 Sortitur dominos, ne laceretur, avis (M. VIII 78, 11 f.)
 ipse capi voluit (Iuv. IV 69);
 Scis, quid in Arsacia Pacorus deliberet aula (M. IX 35, 3)
 haec eadem novit quid toto fiat in orbe (Iuv. VI 402).¹

The theory that Juvenal, when he had the same thought to convey, consciously avoided forms of expression which had already gained literary currency through Martial is further supported by a large number of coincidences different from the preceding class only in the repetition of some word. As a rule, however, this common part is nothing more than a proper name or a substantive for which no suitable synonym was available. Both poets have occasion to describe a table with large round top and ivory legs:

Tu Libycos Indis suspendis dentibus orbes (M. II 43, 9)
 latos nisi sustinet orbes
 grande ebur (Iuv. XI 122 f.).

The meaning is exactly the same and the only word repeated is 'orbes.' 'Suspendis' becomes 'sustinet,' ivory in Martial is 'Indis dentibus,' in Juvenal 'grande ebur.' The age of wine is referred to as follows:

Quod sub rege Numa condita vina bibis (M. III 62, 2)²
 (vinum) capillato diffusum consule potat (Iuv. V 30);

the size of a 'muraena':

Quae natat in Siculo grandis muraena profundo (M. XIII 80, 1)
 Virroni muraena datur, quae maxima venit
 gurgite de Siculo (Iuv. V 99 f.);

a mean habit of dress:

Sordidior multo post hoc toga, paenula peior,
 Calceus est sarta terque quaterque cute (M. I 103, 5 f.)

¹ Parallels of the same kind may be found in the following places: Mart. XI 3, 5: Iuv. XV 111; Mart. X 68, 11 f.: Iuv. VI 186; Mart. XI 43, 5: Iuv. X 224; Mart. X 35, 14: Iuv. III 17; Mart. III 30, 1. 3: Iuv. I 119; Mart. I 73: Iuv. IV 4.

² Cf. Mart. XIII 111, 2.

Rupta cum pes vagus exit aluta (M. XII 26, 9)
 si toga sordidula est et rupta calceus alter
 pelle patet (Iuv. III 149 f.);

noise in the city at night :

nec quiescendi
 In urbe locus est pauperi (M. XII 57, 3 f.)
 magnis opibus dormitur in urbe (Iuv. III 235);

the man who is suspected of setting fire to his own house :

Rogo, non potes ipse videri
 Incendisse tuam, Tongiliane, domum? (M. III 52, 3 f.)
 suspectus, tamquam ipse suas incenderit aedes (Iuv. III 222);

sham morality :

Qui loquitur Curios adsertoresque Camillos
 Nolito fronti credere : nupsit heri (M. I 24, 3 f.)
 qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt (Iuv. II 3)
 frontis nulla fides (Iuv. II 8).

Traces of the avoidance of Martial's phraseology on the part of Juvenal may be seen also in the following passages :

Vis fieri dives, Bithynice? conscius esto (M. VI 50, 5)
 quis nunc diligitur nisi conscius? (Iuv. III 49);
 (personam Germanam) haec timet ora puer (M. XIV 176, 2)
 personae pallentis hiatum
 in gremio matris formidat rusticus infans (Iuv. III 175 f.);
 O cui Tarpeias licuit contingere quercus (M. IV 54, 1)
 an Capitolinam deberet Pollio quercum
 sperare (Iuv. VI 387);
 Qua (sc. toga) . . . vellet Apicius uti,
 Vellet Maecenas Caesarianus eques (M. X 73, 3 f.)
 vestem ^{xii}
 purpuream teneris quoque Maecenatibus aptam (Iuv. X 38 f.);
 Aestus serenae aureo franges Tago
 Obscurus umbris arborum (M. I 49, 15 f.)
 tanti tibi non sit opaci
 omnis harena Tagi quodque in mare volvitur aurum (Iuv. III 54 f.);
 Auditur tota saepe poeta die (M. X 70, 10)
 inpune diem consumpserit ingens
 Telephus (Iuv. I 4 f.);
 Si facie nobis haec erit ingenua (M. III 33, 4)
 ingenui vultus puer ingenuique pudoris (Iuv. XI 154);

Nec tener Argolica missus de gente minister,

Sed stetit inculti rustica turba foci (M. IV 66, 9 f.)

porriget incultus puer atque a frigore tutus.

non Phryx aut Lycius (Iuv. XI 146 f.);

Sunt tibi boleti, fungos ego sumo suillos (M. III 60, 5).

vilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis,

boletus domino (Iuv. V 146 f.);

Gnosia Minoae genuit vindemia Cretae

Hoc tibi (i. e. passum) (M. XIII 106)

qui gaudes pingue antiquae de litore Cretae

passum . . . advexisse (Iuv. XIV 270 f.);

Hanc tibi Cumanae rubicundam pulvere terrae (i. e. patellam)

Municipem misit casta Sibylla suam (M. XIV 114)

et municipes Iovis advexisse lagonas (Iuv. XIV 271);

Gemmatum Scythicis ut luceat ignibus aurum,

Aspice. Quot digitos exuit iste calix! (M. XIV 109)

nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert

a digitis (Iuv. V 43 f.);

I precor et totos avida cute combibe soles (M. X 12, 7)

nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem

effugiatque togam (Iuv. XI 203 f.);

Nunc sunt crura pilis et sunt tibi pectora saetis

Horrida, sed mens est, Pannyche, volsa tibi (M. II 36, 5 f.)

hispida membra quidem et durae per brachia saetae

promittunt atrocem animum, sed . . . (Iuv. II 11 f.);

(Philaenis) gravesque draucis

Halteras facili rotat lacerto (M. VII 67, 5 f.)

cum lassata gravi ceciderunt brachia massa (Iuv. VI 421)¹;

Casta nec antiquis cedens Laevina Sabinis (M. I 62, 1)

intactior omni

crinibus effusis bellum dirimente Sabina (Iuv. VI 163 f.);

Tu licet et manibus blandis et vocibus instes,

Te contra facies imperiosa tua est (M. VI 23, 3 f.)

dicas haec mollius Haemo

quamquam et Carpophoro, facies tua computat annos (Iuv. VI 198 f.).²

¹ Compare Mart. VII 67, 9 f. with Iuv. VI 427 f., p. 205.

² The same conditions exist in the following passages: Mart. VII 58, 9: Iuv. II 8 f.; Mart. III 47, 14: Iuv. XI 70 f.; M. X 18, 3: Iuv. XII 96; M. XIV 221, 2: Iuv. V 115 f.; M. III 52, 2: Iuv. III 214; M. IV 5, 6: Iuv. I 38 f.; M. I 103, 7: Iuv. XIV 129; M. II 28, 2: Iuv. X 53; M. IX 63, 2: Iuv. IX 136; M. X 74, 8: Iuv. IX 54 f.; M. XIII 122: Iuv. XIII 85; M. VI 58, 7 f.: Iuv. XII 64 f.; M. XII 15, 7 and III 39, 1: Iuv. XIII 43; M. XIV 98, 2: Iuv. XI 108; M. XI 2, 1 f.: Iuv. XI 90; M. X

To say that all these coincidences of thought and expression are due only to accident and environment seems to me to be out of the question. Assuming for the satirist, as I think we are justified in doing, perfect familiarity with the Epigrams, we are led to the conclusion that Juvenal, with the few and for the most part unimportant exceptions mentioned in the early part of this paper, avoided expressing the same thought in the same way as Martial, though he allowed himself now and then to borrow Martial's words when thought and point of view were different. Moreover, the fact that this principle, with almost perfect regularity, explains the relation of the parallel passages to each other gives strong probability to the theory that this was Juvenal's conscious attitude. At all events, even if that be not conceded—and of course demonstration is impossible—surely it may never be affirmed that the literary influence of Martial upon Juvenal was slight or limited to a single passage.

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70, 7 : Iuv. VIII 142 f.; M. IX 22, 10 : Iuv. VII 142 f.; M. IX 22, 9 : Iuv. VII 132; M. III 44, 6 : Iuv. VI 270; M. X 5, 3. II 19, 3. XII 32, 25 : Iuv. IV 116. V 8. XIV 134; M. I 88, 9 : Iuv. III 27; M. XII 42, 5 f. : Iuv. II 138; M. VIII 21, 3 f. : Iuv. V 23; M. XII 36, 8 f. : Iuv. V 108 f.; M. X 68 : Iuv. VI 184-195; M. II 66, 3 f. : Iuv. VI 492 f.; M. IX 2, 4 : Iuv. V 67 f.; M. IX 73, 9 : Iuv. VII 26 f.; M. IX 2, 1 : Iuv. V 113.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Étude sur les Bucoliques de Virgile, par A. CARTAULT. Paris, A. Colin et Cie., 1897. Pp. viii + 507, 8vo. Fr. 5.

The purpose of this book, as announced in the preface, is to sift out the facts of Virgil's early life, and to trace the development of his poetic talent.

The first chapter (pp. 1-50) treats of the youth, the protectors and the friends of Virgil. It is manifest that the ancient commentators and biographers knew very little about the poet's life up to the time when he became a protégé of Octavian. Prof. Cartault examines their various statements, rejecting much that is impossible or absurd, and much that is inconsistent with the Eclogues themselves. He rejects the tradition that the Eclogues were written at the suggestion of Pollio: as early as the second half of the year 44 Virgil was already composing rustic "studies" (Ecl. IX 46-50), whereas he was not introduced to Pollio until the year 42. The words "Accipe iussis carmina coepta tuis," Ecl. VIII 11, need not refer to the entire collection, but only to the single poem. Any influence which Pollio exerted upon Virgil during this period was probably by way of urging him to attempt a loftier style: III 84 Pollio amat nostram, *quamvis est rustica*, Musam; IV 2 Non omnis arbusta iuvant; VI 2 neque erubuit silvas habitare.

Prof. C. rejects also the tradition that Virgil obtained from Octavian the restitution of his farm, at the instance of Pollio, Varus and Gallus. It was under the rule of Varus, not of Pollio, that the distribution of lands to the veteran soldiers took place, and it is unlikely that either Pollio or Gallus was in a position to show Virgil any effectual kindness in the matter. The poet probably hoped at first to receive such assistance from the new governor Varus, but he seems to have hoped in vain. The sixth Eclogue was addressed to Varus merely as a welcome to the new governor, not in gratitude for a great favor received. Incidentally, M. Cartault points out that the poem of Gallus on the "grove of Grynium" (Ecl. VI 72) was an earlier composition than his elegies, and was imitated, not from Euphorion, but from Hesiod. His elegies (Ecl. X 50 ff.) were imitated from Euphorion.

The second chapter (pp. 51-77) discusses the order and date of the Eclogues. The traditional order, which was probably fixed by Virgil himself, is not the chronological order. The tenth is in its proper place: "Extremum hunc concede," etc. The 'Tityrus' Eclogue is placed first out of compliment to Octavian. The

arrangement of the others shows some regard to the order of their composition, but is in the main a "literary" arrangement, monologue and dialogue alternating. The probable order of composition is II, III, V, VII, IV, VI, VIII, I, IX, X. The opinion that the ninth is older than the first is due to a false interpretation of the first, which sees in that poem an expression of gratitude for the restoration of Virgil's property. Virgil was only once ejected from his farm, and that ejection was final. In the first *Éclogue* there is no question of a 'restitutio,' but of a promised 'servatio.' Unfortunately, the poet's feeling of security was not justified by the event. The lines in *Geor.* IV 565-6, "*carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa, Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi,*" are perhaps intended to indicate that, in spite of its position in the published collection, the '*Tityrus*' *Éclogue* was written comparatively late. These lines seem to make an intentional contrast between the earlier, purely 'literary' *Éclogues* (cf. '*lusi*,' and '*carmina pastorum*') and the poem in which Virgil set forth the actual experiences of his neighbors and himself. The "boldness of youth" consisted in emphasizing the injustice done to the farmers of Mantua and Cremona in the confiscation of their lands.

Then follow ten chapters, devoted one to each *Éclogue* (pp. 78-408). These chapters are mainly concerned with the interpretation of the poems, and little attention is paid to questions of grammar or metre: "*il ne faut point mêler les divers genres d'études.*" The length of the book may seem to be out of proportion to its restricted scope, but it is never diffuse, and every page is interesting. There are a number of conjectures and other textual notes scattered through the volume; to mention only one, the author proposes to read in *Ecl.* VII 19-20, "*alternos—(Musae me nosse volebant)—Hos Corydon, illos referebat in ordine Thyrsis.*" The relation of each *Éclogue* to *Theokritos*, and to the earlier Latin poets, is carefully studied, and an attempt is made to point out amid the manifold borrowings and imitations the real originality of Virgil, and the stages of his progress in his art. Prof. C. nobly rejects the impious suggestion that "*omnia vel medium fiat mare,*" *Ecl.* VIII 58, is a mistranslation of *Theokr.* I 134 *πάντα δ' ἑναλλα γένοιτο*, and shows that it is unlikely that Virgil had the reading *ἐνάλια γένοιτο*. All the details of the *Theokritean* passage (I 132 ff.), which is here imitated, have been changed. The mention of the sea follows naturally upon the mention of Arion and the dolphins, in the preceding line, and the "open sea" was the Roman poet's "abomination of desolation." On p. 91, l. 8, 'Corydon' is a slip of the pen for 'Alexis.'

The last chapter of the book (pp. 409-502) discusses the "*réalités rustiques*" in the *Éclogues* and in the first eleven *Idylls* of *Theokritos*. The Sicilian poet gives a greater abundance of details concerning the care of flocks and herds. His characters are regularly mere shepherds or herdsmen; Virgil often intro-

duces the small proprietors of Lombardy. The scenery of the Eclogues has much in common with that of the Idylls, but the two poets have lived in different countries, and this difference is perceptible in their poems. Thus Virgil speaks less frequently than Theokritos of springs and mountains, more frequently of rivers, forests ('silvae,' always pl.) and cultivated fields. He has not borrowed either the flora or the fauna of Theokritos; there are imitations of detail, but he is in general independent here. He is most independent of all in the matter of plants, most dependent in matters of music and poetry.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE.

WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

The Captives and Trinummus of Plautus, with Introduction and Notes. By E. P. MORRIS, Professor of Latin in Yale College. Boston, U. S. A., and London, Ginn & Company, 1898.

The volume containing the Captivi and Trinummus of Plautus, which Prof. Morris contributes to the Ginn *College Series*, will well fulfil its purpose, announced in the preface, of giving "real help to college classes"; but more advanced students, while missing the fulness of discussion and illustration exhibited by the editor's Pseudolus, may often find these brief notes suggestive and instructive, and cannot fail to derive much pleasure and stimulus from the Introduction. The observations there made on the talent and style of Plautus, §§7-12, and on the character of the Captivi and its probable relation to the Greek original, §51, are valuable not only for the nice critical discernment which inspires them, but for the aptness and finish of the language in which they are expressed. It is pleasant to find that Prof. Morris, who once spoke, as others have done, of the injustice shown by Horace to Plautus, here puts himself by implication rather at the point of view of the later poet, who, after all, had over us the advantage of possessing Menander.

For the text Prof. Morris has in the main followed Goetz and Schoell, differing from them "not infrequently to get a readable text and less often to get correct meter." The former motive might have induced him to receive *incipisso*, Capt. 532, into the text, instead of merely remarking in the note that it is obviously the correct reading. It is of interest to notice that he retains *hi* in Capt. prol. 2; the retention of *suadeam*, v. 237, as to which he has admitted (A. J. P. XVIII, p. 135) that it is "not above suspicion," seems to represent the triumph of theory over caution. The term "potential" is as unsatisfactory for explanation here as at v. 892, where Prof. Morris in his note follows Brix, while referring to §296 of the Introduction, where he remarks that "quom causal-adversative may have the subjunctive" in Plautus. This is surely more reasonable than to hold that *iurem* may be translated as if it were *iurare possum*. Brix lays stress upon *sancte*, but Ergasi-

lus in the beginning at least swears with as much seriousness as can be expected from a professional jester, and there is no reason why *iurem* should not refer back to vv. 877-80. By an oversight the word potential is also employed to explain *ut pudeat* Trin. 348, though this passage is correctly cited in the note on Capt. 115 as an example of the jussive with *ut*—a construction which is frankly recognized also for Capt. 848, rather hesitatingly for v. 794, and which may with the less reserve be accepted in comedy as a colloquialism, since we find it also in Cic. Fam. 14, 20. Capt. 369 *rola* is explained (with Niemeyer) as the *trochus Graecus*; why should it not be the *rola figularis* of Epid. 371? V. 401-2 the words *tule audacter dicito*, *Tyndare* are interpreted with ingenuity and probability; it is not clear whether Prof. Morris means to set aside the interpretation of Niemeyer or so to superimpose his own that we should recognize a double meaning in the phrase. V. 482 the sense of *unum* is given by the partitive expression *de dictis melioribus*; cf. Spengel on Andr. 118; in Ps. 948, cited by the editor, *una*, emphatic by position, is surely the adverb. The meaning of *nec copias*, v. 529, is not clear, but the rendering "help," in which Prof. Morris follows Brix, can hardly be correct. The former cites in support Aul. 254, where *copia* clearly = *potestas*; the latter cites Rud. 557, where the relation of *copia* to the following relative clause shows that it stands for *opes*, and Epid. 323 ff., which (along with Epid. 330) is to be explained from Ter. Andr. 320 *neque pol consili locum habeo neque ad auxilium copiam*; the singular has the same force here as the plural in Cic. Quinct. 2 *exiguæ amicorum copiae*. As regards the note on Trin. 202, it is not easy to see how the fact that the *scurra* is *pathicus* (which is not alluded to in Curc. 296) disproves the epithets *feinstädtisch*, etc., applied to him by Brix and Lorenz. V. 234 *reus* cannot well signify 'pleader'; the explanation of Brix is decidedly more satisfactory, as is also his remark on the stage situation at the beginning of the third act. *Ingenio*, v. 303, cannot refer to birth; *i*, vv. 582 ff., is not "only a little stronger than *apage*," but has reference to the actual situation—as the editor seems to recognize in the last sentence of his note on v. 578. Prof. Morris regards *alienis* and *suis*, v. 684, as neuter ablatives, Brix apparently as personal datives; in favor of the latter view may be cited Catull. 72, 6 *multo mi tamen es vilior ac levior*. The treatment of vv. 748-9, by which these lines are given to Megaronides with retention of the manuscript reading, is not convincing.

Of the few misprints the most glaring is *buanont* for *abnuont* in Capt. 481. Trin. 710 *modo* is substituted in the note—with rather a forced interpretation—for the *pacto* of the text. The scansion *bonis* in the note to Trin. 714 shows that Prof. Morris had in mind the reading of A, not that of the Palatines which his text follows.

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WM. HAMILTON KIRK.

Zur Konstruktion von *licet*, von EMORY B. LEASE. From the Archiv für lat. Lexikographie und Grammatik, XI (1898), pp. 9-26.

The results reached in this paper are so important (they are characterized by Wölfflin as "vollkommen neu") that it seems fitting to give them a wider circulation among American readers than they would have in their original form, and a somewhat fuller presentation than the demands of space would perhaps allow them in the regular reports on the Archiv. For, although that journal is now fortunately on a secure financial basis, it claims but the modest number of 460 subscribers, of whom, naturally, only a small proportion are Americans.

The greater part of this thorough-going investigation is devoted to the use of *licet* with the pass. inf., of which Kühner, Ausführliche Grammatik, II 530, Anmerk. 5, merely remarks that it is less frequent than that with the act. inf., a wholly inadequate and misleading statement. As a matter of fact, the construction is not only rare, but it is actually bad Latin, and as such should find no place at all in our school grammars. True, it is found in Cicero, but this is still another instance of the great orator's freedom in innovation, and further testimony to the fact that he cannot be regarded as in all respects a model of classical style.

The construction appears first in Cornificius, for the single instance in Ter. Eun. prol. 39 is due to a species of zeugma, as the poet begins his sentence with act. or deponent infinitives, then has two passives, and concludes with actives and deponents. Cicero has nearly 50 examples (against some 500 of the inf. act.), among which the formula *licet intellegi* occurs most frequently. Caesar, who is also in other respects much more conservative than Cicero, has 22 cases of the act. inf., and but *one* of the pass., and that in the unrevised Bell. Civ. (3, 28). Livy shows the influence of Cicero's oratorical works by furnishing eight examples of the pass. inf., but he was not followed by the great stylists of the Silver Age. Seneca has but a single instance, against 200 of the inf. act.; and Quintilian but one against 80. The construction is used but sparingly in the Silver Age, and finally disappears, to be revived by Tertullian and to some extent by the later Latin writers. Here the influence of Cicero might be suspected, even without the significant fact that his formulas (such as *licet intellegi*) frequently recur. It is comparatively frequent in the Digests, chiefly in Ulpian, and here too the influence of Cicero, and perhaps also that of the early jurists, may be inferred.

The origin of the construction is traced to the influence of *potest* (= *pote est*), and of *est* = *licet*, since *licet* and *potest* with the pass. inf. frequently occur side by side, and most of Cicero's formulas with *licet* have parallels with *potest*.

As regards the case constructions, the acc. with *licet* is found to be exceptional, while the regular case is the dat. The dat. is omitted, and the infin. used absolutely, in statements addressed

to a general public, i. e. in grammatical and rhetorical works, and in poetry. It is expressed when a particular person is addressed, and so is regularly found in orations and in juristic writings.

Concerning the use of a predicate noun or pronoun a new rule of style is formulated—namely, that in the case of persons two datives should be used, while with other words ('sächliche Begriffe,' such as *oratio, animus, patria*, etc.) two accusatives were the rule from about 55 B. C. on. Fronto first uses *diebus et noctibus* by a kind of personification.

The use of *licet* as a conjunction developed from the paratactic construction, the subj. being an independent potential, and is not of frequent occurrence. Plautus has but one case (in *Asin.* 718), and although found in Cicero, it is not used by Caes., Hirt., Bell. Afr., Sall., or Nep. The indic. with *licet* appears first in Appuleius, who, however, also uses the subj., and occurs sporadically in later Latin.

By a kind of "Tempusverschiebung" the perf. act. inf. with *licet* occurs sometimes in poetry, possibly first in Cic. *Aratea*, 669; then in Virg., Hor., Ov., Luc., Sen., Mart. and Iuv. The word most frequently used is *dixisse*, and a favorite position is at the close of a pentameter verse. This usage made its way into prose in Sen. Phil., and Petron.

So also the past tense of the subj., where the strict sequence would of course require the primary tenses, is found as early as Bell. *Hisp.* 16, 3; then in Mart., Iuv., Paneg., Eccl.

This brief outline aims merely at calling attention to Professor Lease's study, and presenting some of its salient features. It of necessity does scant justice to the great amount of valuable and interesting material which he has collected, by which the conclusions summarized above are supported. A complete list, chronologically arranged, is given of Cicero's formulas with *licet* and the pass. inf. which occur but once, and a list of the writers who avoid the pass. inf. altogether, with the number of cases of *licet* with the act. inf. in each. A number of cases of *licitum est*, etc., are added to the collection in the *Neue-Wagener Formenlehre*, III³, p. 661, and statements of Schmalz in the *Antibarbarus* and the *Lat. Syntax* are corrected or modified.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN,

JOHN C. ROLFE.

A, ab, abs. JOHN C. ROLFE. [Reprint from *Archiv f. latein. Lexicographie*, X, pp. 465-505.]

Classical philologists have watched with interest the lexicon articles which have appeared from time to time in the *Archiv f. latein. Lexicog.*, as these articles have not only presented new and interesting lexical material, but have also shown what we may expect in the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, which, projected by Wölfflin, is now being prepared under the auspices of the Royal

Academies of Berlin, Göttingen, Leipsic, Munich, and Vienna. As Wölfflin himself has said, the workers have learned their art as their work has progressed, so that the later "Probeartikel" show an advance in method over the earlier ones. The latest and by far the most important article yet presented is that on *a*, *ab*, *abs*, by Professor Rolfe, of the University of Michigan; this lies before us in the form of a reprint, and from its importance calls for fuller mention than is possible in the abstract of the Archiv which will appear in this JOURNAL.

The lexicon article proper is preceded by 22 pp. of material which could not be presented in the article itself. The first five rubrics discuss the origin and the history of the usage of the forms *ab*, *abs*, *a*, *af*, *au*, and *po*-. The history of *ab* is the most complete and is of especial interest. It appears from the investigation that the elder Seneca was the first to aim at regularity in limiting *ab* to use before vowels, as required by the grammarians' rules; his example was followed by Velleius, the philosopher Seneca, Petronius (who shows absolute regularity), Quintilian, and the younger Pliny—the elder Pliny and Tacitus were less strict; also the Christian writers, as we should expect. *Ab* before consonants showed especial persistence in religious and legal formulae, e. g. *ab Iove*, *ab dis*, *ab consule*, *ab iure*; in certain expressions taken from military life, *ab castris*, *ab legato*; as well as in designations of place and time, *ab dextra*, *ab ianua*, *ab regione*, etc.

The form *af*, probably a dialectic form, which does not appear in literature, is represented by ten examples from the Corpus; *au* appears, aside from the compounds *aufugio*, *aufero*, only in codex oblongus of Lucretius 4, 288, *au speculo*. A paragraph is devoted to the position of the preposition, and the introductory article closes with a full list (occupying nearly five pages) of the *officia servorum ac libertorum* from inscriptions—a list which is of great interest and value.

These introductory chapters are followed (pp. 487–505) by the lexicon article proper, in which the various usages of the preposition are presented under the general subdivisions *de loco*, *de tempore*, *sensu causali*, = *ablat. instrumenti*. It is impossible to enter into a detailed discussion of the article, but all who examine it will appreciate the immense superiority the Thesaurus will possess over all existing lexica. The material on which the work will be based is to be practically complete from the earliest times to Isidore, and the articles, if brought to the standard here set, will meet the requirements of present day lexicography. The mass of examples which formed the basis of the present article is appalling, and the author is to be congratulated on possessing the skill as well as the patience necessary to extract what was important from the mass and to present it in interesting form. It is a pleasure to all American scholars that the first article in the future Thesaurus will come from one of their own number.

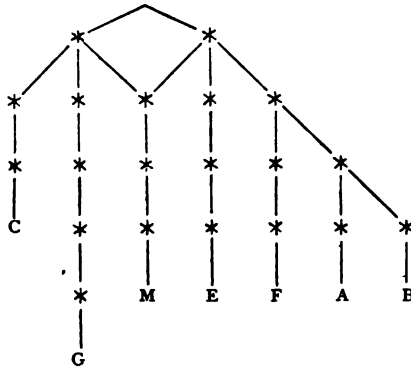
CHICAGO.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE.

Thucydidis Historiae ad optimos codices denuo ab ipso collatos recensuit CAROLUS HUDE. Tomus prior. Libri I-IV. Leipzig, Teubner, 1898.

Hude's edition of the first four books of Thukydides will command immediate attention and respect. It is based on a personal collation of the seven leading MSS, which Hude has classified according to the following *stemma*:

Archetypum (recensio principalis).



A = Cisalpinus, B = Vaticanus, C = Laurentianus, E = Palatinus, F = Augustinus, G = Monacensis, M = Britannicus.

The Laurentianus (C), which heads one family, is the oldest and the most authoritative, as the table indicates, and its readings are supported by the testimony of other writings, and especially by the quotations in Dionysios. Yet the Vaticanus (B) shows sometimes the true reading, though it is always open to the suspicion of manipulation. The Monacensis (G), though closely akin to the Laurentianus, is not dependent on it. The Cisalpinus (A) seems to have been derived from the same source as the Vaticanus. Augustinus (F) and Palatinus (E) are also of the Vatican family. Britannicus (M) stands between the two.

From the ninety-second chapter of the sixth book to the end, the Vaticanus differs so much from the other codices that a new recension must be assumed, and in his *Commentarii critici ad Thucydidem pertinentes* (1888) Hude had undertaken to show the arbitrary character of that recension, which he illustrated by a commentary on the seventh and eighth books. In the present work he acknowledges that his zeal for the authority of the Laurentianus had carried him too far.

The double toil and trouble that confronts the editor of Thukydides is not blinked by Hude, the defective tradition of the codices and the stylistic singularity of the author. Which is to

blame, the stupid scribe or the perverse writer? It is often hard to tell, and Hude's plan will not satisfy everybody. Wherever there seemed to be any excuse in the complex, any excuse in the parallelism of other passages, our editor has preferred to make no change, but where an irregularity can be corrected by a stroke of the pen, he has not hesitated to make the needed alteration. Glosses and scholia have doubtless crept into the text at not a few points, but how and when? The best witnesses often support the impugned text. In I 20, 2: βουλόμενοι δὲ πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεύσαι, Cobet would have us strike out πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι, but the text is perfectly protected by Aristotle, R. A. 18, 3: βουλόμενοί τι δράσαι πρὸ τῆς συλλήψεως. If in some places conciseness could go no further, yet that is no reason why the author should not have given himself here and there more latitude for clearness' sake. Even the much-maligned scholiast is not blind to the variety of Thukydeidean style. All this is perfectly good sense, and hence utterly repugnant to Dr. Rutherford's methods, as may be seen by comparing his edition of the fourth book with Hude's. As to the use of outside testimony, Hude takes occasion to lament the lack of a critical edition of the rhetorical works of Dionysios of Halikarnassos. Sadée's notes do not suffice, and Usener's *de imitatione* only makes us impatient for still more light. Whatever may be thought of Dionysios himself, and it is becoming fashionable to treat him as a poor creature, still he has preserved for us so many important principles and so many important facts that a decent text of his rhetorical works is one of the most pressing needs of the student of Greek literature. So much by way of announcement. The special friends of Thukydidēs will doubtless have more to say about Hude's edition in subsequent numbers of the Journal.

B. L. G.

REPORTS.

ROMANIA, Vol. XXV (1896).

Janvier.

F. Lot. Études sur la provenance du cycle arthurien. 32 pages. (For I and II cf. A. J. P. XVIII 486.) III. Les arguments philologiques dont Zimmer appuie sa théorie. "Ils portent sur les noms propres: 1° chez Gaufrei de Monmouth, 2° dans les poèmes français." "De l'examen qui précède il résulte, croyons nous, que M. Z. n'a pas apporté un seul argument sérieux en faveur de sa théorie exclusivement armoricaine . . . Seul, le mémoire sur l'origine picte de Tristan est vraiment suggestif."

Cais de Pierlas. Chronique niçoise de Jean Badot (1516-67). 47 pages. "Comme source historique, notre chronique a l'autorité d'une rédaction contemporaine aux événements qu'elle retrace et faite par un personnage marquant . . . Comme texte de langue, elle nous fixe l'état du dialecte de Nice à l'époque où elle a été écrite."

Antoine Thomas. Étymologies françaises. A series of important discussions and contributions. The words treated are: *ensouaille*, *esse* (*eusse*), *lente*, *lingue*, *loinseau*, *murger*, *oyen*, *regain*, *rinseau*, *ruisseau*, *seu*, *suage*, *tertre*, *vignoble*, *wirewite*.

Paul Meyer. Fragments d'une paraphrase provençale du Pseudo-Caton (with facsimile). "Cette petite découverte comble une lacune dans l'histoire de la littérature provençale."

A. Morel-Fatio. Les deux *Omero* castillans. With the exception of a long passage on the Trojan War in the *Libro de Alexandre*, the first attempt in Spain to furnish in the vernacular a résumé of the Iliad was the fifteenth-century *Omero romanizado*, translated by Juan de Mena from the *Ilias latina* of Pindarus Thebanus, commonly called Italicus, who flourished in the first half of the first century. The second of the two '*Omero* castillans' consists of a translation, made about 1442 by Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza (son of the celebrated Marquis of Santillana), of a Latin version of the first, second, third, fourth and tenth books of the Iliad, by the Italian humanist, Pier Candido Decembri. The second Spanish translation did not supplant the first, which was printed at Valladolid in 1519.

Mélanges. Ov. Densusianu. Roumain *abur* 'vapeur.'—A. Thomas. La date de la mort de Nicolas de Clamenges. A. D. 1437.

Comptes rendus. George C. Keidel. Romance and Other Studies. No. 1. *The Évangile aux femmes* (P. Meyer). "L'étude historique des langues modernes et de leurs littératures a pris, depuis quelques années, un développement considérable aux États-Unis. Ce mouvement, par lui-même très digne d'attention, nous intéresse particulièrement à plus d'un titre: d'abord parce qu'il a déjà produit un certain nombre de travaux estimables sur notre ancienne littérature, et aussi parce que plusieurs des professeurs qui enseignent la philologie romane dans l'Amérique du Nord ont été nos élèves. Actuellement encore, nous avons à Paris, au Collège de France, à la Sorbonne, à l'École des Hautes-Études, à l'École des Chartes, bon nombre d'auditeurs venus d'outre Atlantique. Tout cela est de très bon augure, et nous ferons de notre mieux pour tenir nos lecteurs au courant des progrès rapides de la philologie romane en des régions où, il y a quinze ans, cette science était à peu près inconnue. L'opuscule dont nous allons rendre compte brièvement nous apporte un nouveau témoignage de l'ardeur avec laquelle les Américains se livrent à l'étude de la littérature du moyen âge."—Louis Emil Menger. The Historical Development of the Possessive Pronouns in Italian; James Dowden Bruner. The Phonology of the Pistoiese Dialect (E. G. Parodi). 10 pages. "Le due memorie, che ci proponiamo di esaminare, furono entrambe presentate, come dissertazioni di laurea, all' Università di Baltimora, ed attestano che in America i nostri studi acquistano sempre nuovi cultori."—P. Le Verdier. *Le Livre du Champ d'or* et autres poèmes inédits par M^e Jean Le Petit, docteur en théologie de l'université de Paris (E. Picot).

Périodiques.

Chronique. The fourth quarto volume of the *Catalogue des manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque nationale* has appeared. The three preceding volumes of the series were published respectively in 1868, 1874 and 1881. At this rate the work will not be completed before the year 2000. In order to meet more promptly the needs of scholars, M. Omont, well known as a cataloguer (chiefly of Greek MSS), has undertaken, on a smaller scale, a new series, in octavo, of the French MSS, under the title *Bibliothèque nationale: Catalogue général des manuscrits français*, of which the first volume has already appeared.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 13 titles.

Avril.

Camille Julian. La tombe de Roland à Blaye. 13 pages. The author propounds to himself the question: "Pourquoi la légende a-t-elle fait de cette église [la basilique de Saint-Romain] la dernière demeure du mort de Roncesvaux?" In answering it he makes an entertaining as well as instructive study of the

manner in which external conditions and considerations serve to mould the forms of legend and tradition.

Paul Meyer. Version anglo-normande en vers de l'Apocalypse. 84 pages. "La version rimée de l'Apocalypse, qui est publiée pour la première fois dans les pages qui suivent, peut passer pour à peu près inconnue. C'est du reste son principal mérite... Le texte est souvent mal compris et presque toujours mal rendu. La versification est très incorrecte... Mais cette production, malgré sa faiblesse, est un hommage rendu à notre langue, et à cet égard elle a droit à notre intérêt." "Avec ces médiocres ouvrages [*l'Apocalypse* et la *Descente de saint Paul en enfer*] se clot, ou à peu près, la poésie anglo-normande. Plus tard encore, jusque vers la fin du XIV^e siècle, des Anglais pourront avoir la pensée de s'exercer à la poésie française. Gower même écrira en français un très long poème, mais ce français sera celui de France: ce ne sera plus l'idiome importé en Angleterre par les compagnons de Guillaume de Normandie."

Emmanuel Philipot. Un épisode d'*Érec et Énide*: "La Joie de la Cour." 35 pages. To this elaborate study M. Gaston Paris appends a critical note, in the course of which he remarks: "Cette observation diminue quelque peu la ressemblance signalée par M. Philipot entre *Érec* et le *Bel Inconnu*, mais ne détruit pas l'explication générale qu'il donne de l'épisode si altéré de 'la Joie de la Cour,' explication certainement préférable au rapprochement que j'avais fait entre 'la Joie de la Cour' et le 'fier baiser.'"

F. d'Ovidio. Di alcune infiltrazioni d'italiano settentrionale nell' italiano letterario. 15 pages. *Grezzo e greggio; pettego-lezzo; melazzo o melassa; mezzadro; leggiadro.*

Mélanges. P. Meyer. Le roman du conte [*read* comte] et de la veuve du jongleur, d'après Bracton.—Arthur Piaget. Un prétendu manuscrit autographe d'Alain Chartier.—Leone Luzzato. Contributo allo studio del dialetto valdostano.

Comptes rendus. A. Héron. La *Règle de saint Benoît* traduite en vers par Nicole (G. Paris). 5 pages. "Aujourd'hui [l'œuvre] ne saurait avoir qu'un intérêt philologique, mais cet intérêt est réel." In his review M. Paris gives an extended list of examples of the archaic form, without final -e, of the first pers. sing., pres. subjunc., of the first conjugation, some of which examples have not been noted elsewhere.—Francisco de Bofarull y Sans. El testamento de Ramon Lull y la escuela luliana en Barcelona (Alfred Morel-Fatio).—G. A. Scartazzini. La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri, riveduta nel testo e commentata. Seconda edizione (Paget Toynbee). "After carefully going through the present edition, we are reluctantly forced to the conclusion that, so far from being an improvement on the last, it is for all practical purposes much inferior to it."—R. V. Täckholm. Études sur la phonétique de l'ancien dialecte sousselman (J. Ulrich).

Périodiques. Zeitschrift für rom. Phil. XIX. C. Carolina de Vasconcellos. *Zum Liederbuch des Königs Denis von Portugal*. "Cet article, auquel il faut joindre l'article bibliographique de trente-huit pages inséré plus loin, est fait à propos de l'édition du *Cancioneiro* donnée par [Henry] R. Lang [of Yale University], et contient, avec un grand nombre de rectifications de texte, les plus précieuses remarques littéraires."—XX. J. E. Matzke. *Ueber die Aussprache des altfranzösischen ue von lateinischem ö* (G. Paris). "L'auteur de ce remarquable travail soutient avec moi . . . contre M. Ascoli que la prononciation originaire de l'*ue* fr. < lat. *ö* était *ue* et non *üe*."

Chronique. Fr. Novati has undertaken a *Biblioteca storica della letteratura italiana*, of which the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* constitutes the first volume.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 30 titles. Jules Jeanjaquet. Recherches sur l'origine de la conjonction 'que' et des formes romanes équivalentes (G. Paris). "Très remarquable thèse" . . . "La thèse essentielle de l'auteur, c'est que la conjonction française *que* (ainsi que ses équivalents romans) est non pas *quid*, comme on l'admet depuis Diez, mais *quem*, qui, après avoir à peu près absorbé toutes les autres formes du pronom relatif, aurait aussi absorbé la conjonction *quod*. Cette théorie est exposée avec beaucoup de force et justifiée avec une grande érudition; on hésite cependant encore à l'accepter . . . L'avenir dira si elle doit décidément triompher" . . . "Ce morceau capital est précédé d'une introduction fort intéressante sur l'extension de *quod* en latin classique et sur *quod*, *quo*, *quomodo*, *cum* en roman (*si* en roumain), et suivi d'une recherche non moins fructueuse sur *quam* et *quia* dans les langues romanes (extension de *quare*; le roumain *ca*)."—Ch.-L. Livet. Lexique de la langue de Molière. "Véritable trésor pour la connaissance du français au XVII^e siècle."

Juillet.

A. Jeanroy. Études sur le cycle de Guillaume au court nez (1^{er} article). 28 pages. Le *Couronnement de Louis*. I. Analyse du Poème. II. Sources historiques des diverses branches. III. Agencement des branches. IV. Présence de Guillaume dans les diverses branches.

A. Thomas. La dérivation à l'aide des suffixes vocaliques atones en français et en provençal. 12 pages. Although derivation by means of atonic vowel suffixes is of very limited application in the Romance languages, and especially so in the Gallic territory, the author is able to present a good number of additions to the illustrative list given in the second volume of Meyer-Lübke's *Grammatik*. The suffixes treated are Latin: *-eus*, *-ius*; *-ea*, *-ia*; *-ium*; *-uus*, *-ua*.

Jules Camus. Notice d'une traduction française de *Végèce* faite en 1380.

Paul Meyer. Les anciens traducteurs français de Végèce, et en particulier Jean de Vignai. 23 pages. Three early translations of the *De re militari* of Vegetius have been preserved: that of Jean de Meung (author of the second part of the *Roman de la Rose*), dating from 1284; that of Jean de Vignai, who flourished in the first half of the 14th century, hospitaller of Saint-Jacques du Haut Pas, and translator into French of some dozen Latin works; and finally the anonymous version described by M. Camus in the preceding article.

J. Gilliéron. Notes dialectologiques. 17 pages. I. Sur quelques noms de lieux de la vallée d'Anniviers. II. Le français *épingle* et ses concurrents patois. III. Les noms des jours de la semaine en Savoie. IV-IX.

Mélanges. A. Thomas. Franç. *besoche* et gascon *bezoch*; franç. *guideau*; prov. *orgier*, *orjaria*. Exemples du suffixe *-amen* en français.—Werner Söderhjelm. Hugues le Roi de Cambrai.—Fredrik Wulff. Dante, *Pietra in pietra*.

Comptes rendus. Karniev. Documents et remarques pour l'histoire littéraire du *Physiologos* (en russe) (André Beaunier). 6 pages. "Apporte des documents tout nouveaux dont on devra désormais tenir compte lorsque on étudiera la question du *Physiologos*, qui revient, en ce qui concerne la *Romania*, à celle de l'origine de nos bestiaires français du moyen âge."—L. Willems. L'élément historique dans le *Coronement Loûis*. Contribution à l'histoire poétique de Louis le Débonnaire (A. Jeanroy). 8 pages. Complementary to the extended article by M. Jeanroy indicated above. "[L'auteur] s'est abandonné, avec une hardiesse sans égale, à ce parti pris d'identifications contre lequel j'avais cru devoir protester."—Ed. Forestié. Les livres de comptes des frères Bonis, marchands montalbanais du XIV^e siècle (P. Meyer). "Nous n'avons pas à revenir sur ce que nous avons dit de la variété et de l'importance des renseignements, en grande partie nouveaux, que les comptes des frères Bonis fournissent sur le commerce, sur les usages, sur la vie sociale en Languedoc vers le milieu du XIV^e siècle."

Périodiques. Chronique.

Octobre.

Ov. Densusianu. Aymeri de Narbonne dans la chanson du *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*. 16 pages. M. Gaston Paris appends a lengthy note, which he begins with the words: "L'intéressante discussion qu'on vient de lire mérite assurément d'être prise en sérieuse considération. On ne peut dire toutefois qu'elle force l'adhésion."

G. Paris. *Le Donnei des Amants*. 45 pages. Edition of an entertaining unpublished poem of 1244 octosyllabic verses, riming two and two. Of the title-word *donnei* the editor remarks: "Ce mot a été emprunté vers le milieu du XII^e siècle au prov. *domnei*, tiré du verbe *domneiar*, 'faire la cour aux dames, faire l'amour' . . . C'est en effet l'entretien de deux amants, censés surpris par le poète, qui fait le sujet de notre *Donnei* . . . Ce cadre fictif sert surtout à l'auteur à insérer des historiettes, des 'exemples,' et des réflexions qui ne sont pas toujours trop bien à leur place." Contrary to the usual order, the editor, instead of prefixing, appends to the text his analysis of the poem and literary commentary, thus reserving an agreeable surprise for the reader.

P. Meyer. Notice sur un manuscrit français appartenant au musée Fitzwilliam (Cambridge). 20 pages. An early paragraph of this notice gives an accurate account of the dispersion ("l'histoire est assez curieuse") of the famous Hamilton library, between the years 1882 and 1889.

Carl Voretsch. *Sur Anseïs de Carlage*. Supplément à l'édition de M. Alton (1^{er} article). 22 pages. I. Le manuscrit de Durham.

Mélanges. T. Lot. Une source historique d'*Ille et Galeron*. Érec. Le blanc porc de *Guingamor*.—F. Novati. L'*Archimimus* di Seneca ed il *Tombeor Nostre Dame*.—E. Rolland. Une particularité de la formation du féminin pluriel en Languedoc. Le mot enfantin *nanan* [something good to eat]. "On aura d'abord dit: *du maman*, c'est-à-dire quelque chose demandé ordinairement par les enfants, puis par corruption (les enfants ignorant la phonétique) *du nanan*."

Comptes rendus. Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française, des origines à 1900, publiée sous la direction de M. Petit de Julleville (Gaston Paris). 19 pages. Leaving to be discussed elsewhere the portions of the work devoted to the history of the language, by Prof. Brunot, M. Paris devotes his elaborate article to the first two volumes of this monumental history. "En somme le but poursuivi a été atteint, et le public a désormais entre les mains un riche répertoire et comme un 'guide' de notre ancienne littérature."—A. Pauls. *Der Ring der Fastrada*. Eine mythologische Studie (Ov. Densusianu). "Légende . . . qui s'est formée autour du nom de Charlemagne et qu'on entend encore aujourd'hui raconter à Aix-la-Chapelle."—Adolf Tobler. Li Proverbe au vilain. Die Sprichwörter des gemeinen Mannes (G. Paris). "280 strophes . . . terminées par un proverbe accompagné de la formule consacrée: *Ce dit li vilains*."—Adolf Tobler. Etymologisches (G. Paris).

Périodiques. Livres annoncés sommairement. 20 titres. William Henry Schofield. *Studies on the Li beaus Desconus* (vol. IV of *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*). "Très intéressant ouvrage."

H. A. TODD.

HERMES, XXXII (1897).

W. Dittenberger, *Antiphons Tetralogien und das attische Criminalrecht*. II. Since the tetralogies are fictitious and valueless as sources of Attic law, we must reject their statements when they conflict with reliable authorities. So when they ignore the laws that leave justifiable homicide unpunished, when they lengthen the period of exile beyond the year limit or deny the testimony of slaves under torture, when they mention a *laon* to punish unjust accusers or seem to distinguish between *ieroσυλία* and *κλοπή ιερῶν χρημάτων*. III. Such errors make the tetralogies unsuitable for use in the Attic schools and, whether due to ignorance or caprice, prove that the speeches were not written by an experienced lawyer and practical statesman like Antiphon. His style is sober and dignified, theirs is bombastic and sophistic. The use of *ἀπελογήθην, καταλαμβάνειν* ('condemn') *καταδοκεῖν* and of the comparative adverb in *-ως* shows that they were written by an Ionian living in Athens during the Peloponnesian War.

R. Wünsch, *Zur Textgeschichte der Germania*, shows that B (Massmann) resembled the Arundelianus and was, accordingly, of little value, and that Rd, Re form one group, F, Rf, Rb another. He collates a new MS, Par. 1180, which is closely related to D and Ven. The archetype of all the MSS was first used by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and was found in 1458, but not by Henoch. The notice in the Leyden MS is merely an inference of Pontanus.

E. Thomas, *Zu Dionysios von Halikarnass*. In *De Isocr.*, p. 570 R., *ἀσύνυπτα* ('unconnected') *οὐδ' ἑλλειπῇ* is a single marginal note; in *De Lys.*, p. 466 R., read *τοὺς μὲν ἂν δρᾶσαι, τοὺς δὲ παθεῖν*, and in *De Isocr.*, p. 547 R., *ἐν ἀνθρωπίνοις <χαίρουσιν οἱ πολλοί>*.

G. Thiele, *Zu den vier Elementen des Empedokles*. In *Emp.* 33-5 St. Zeus is the air (cf. 99, 204), Hera the earth (cf. *Hes. theog.* 693), Aidoneus the fire. Similarly in the decoration of a Vienna (2600) and a Munich (2655) MS air and fire are represented by male, earth and water by female, figures. This principle aids in the interpretation of certain reliefs.

J. van der Vliet, *Die Vorrede der Apuleischen Metamorphosen*, publishes a revised text of the prologue with critical notes. Apuleius here speaks as a Greek who has learned Latin at Rome.

W. Helbig, *Eiserne Gegenstände an drei Stellen des Homerischen Epos*. Δ 123 is inconsistent with 139 in its original form and has no fixed place in the MSS, Σ 134 is obscure, and Δ 485-7 confused and ungrammatical, and all three must therefore be regarded as interpolations.

F. Skutsch, *Coniectanea*. In *Plaut. Merc.* 82 read *vix* for *ut*, 563 *agis*; *Ter. And.* 936 *poste* (so 509 *mihi poste*, 517 *ante*), *Hec.* 278 *pol equidem*; *Varro de ling. lat.* V 8 *religionis* for *regis*, VI 21 *suffigendo*.

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Die Xenophontische Apologie*. The false assumption of Anytus' disgrace (31) is an amplification of the Meno episode, while §28 imitates Phaedo 89 B. But the Phaedo follows after the Phaedrus, which was written about 380, so the date of the Apology must fall in the seventies. The lateness of composition, the false statements of §§13 and 22, and the borrowing from the Platonic Apology (as 26 from 41 B), all militate against the Xenophontean authorship.

L. Cohn, *Kritisch-exegetische Beiträge zu Philo*. In *De Opif* 8 read *ἔγω δὲ ὅτι*, 17 *τὴν εὐκрасίαν καὶ εὐκαιρίαν* (cf. Pl. Tim. 24 C), 171 *καθὼς*; in 30 *τὰ κριτήρια* is a gloss; 65 *λαμβάνει* may stand. In Leg. Alleg. I 16 make *ἡ ψυχὴ* the subject of *δοκεῖ* and omit *τοῦτ' ἵ*; 18 read *ἔστ' ἂν* for *δταν*, 66 *Μαριάμ*, and to 52 cf. Lev. 16. 29; III 9 read *ἐνώπιον κυρίου*, 40 *ὃν κακία*, 57 *κατέλαβε* for *ἀντελάβετο*, 130 *θυσάμενον*, 137 *παραχώρησιν*, 163 *οὐ χωρήσει*, 190 *μαχομένη*, 201 *<πληγὰς> ἀποσειόμενος*, 242 *ἐκκεκριμένην θείου χοροῦ φύσιν*; 151 *τὸν τρόπον* is a gloss; 61 *γνωρίζει*, 82 *ἱερεὺς*, 176 *κατ' εἰκόνα* may stand. De Cher. 21-3, cf. Pl. Tim. 36 C; 30 read *μέσον* for *μετὰ*, 36 *διόπος* for *πηδαιουχος*, 58 *ἀθροῦν <οὐκ> ἔχων*, 91 *ἀ* for *ἀς*, 120 *ξένην πόλιν*; 113 *χρήσιν* means 'loan' and may stand. De Sacr. Abel. 63 *ἐντραφήναι* and 101 *κατ' ἀρετὴν* may stand. Quod deterius 74 read *ὅτι* for *ἔτι*, 108 *τροφῆς* for *τροφεία*, 153 *εἰ τὸ ὃν* for *εἴτ' οὖν*; 28 *παρὰ* and 127 *φωνή* may stand.

F. Blass, *Zu Aristophanes und Aischylos*. Ran. 14 read *Λύκισι κάμειψίαις σκευὴ φέρων*, 269 *τὸ κωπῶ*; 1227 *ἀποπρίω* means 'buy again' and 1235 *ἀπόδος* 'give back'; as 1238 is not the first line of the Meleager, we need not suppose a revision, and similarly in 1206, 1225, 1244; 1291-4 are genuine; Choeph. 685 read *θάπτειν <μ'>*, 760 *τροφεὺς τ' <οὐδ>*, 983 *περισταδὸν*; 878-9, cf. Eur. Or. 1475, Ar. Lys. 428 ff. for *μοχλοῖς*.

W. Dittenberger, *Die delphische Amphiktionie im Jahre 178 v. Chr.* The Aetolian league was made up of single cities, so that when a city or a country joined the league, it lost its nationality and its *hieromnemones* were chosen by the Aetolians from their own number. In 178 the Locrians, Dorians and Aenianians were still members of the league, as appears from Delphic manumission decrees of 190-180 B. C. (v. also Liv. 41. 25, 3), but owing to the growing weakness of the league, the five Aetolian names in the decree of BCH. VII 427, vi are ascribed to the several constituent tribes and the original Aetolian representation is given up.

D. Detlefsen, *Zur Kenntniss der Alten von der Nordsee*, comments on a poem by Pedo on the voyage of Drusus in Sen. Suas. 1. 15. In Plin. 37. 35 the MSS read *Guiones*; these are the same as the *Inguaeones* of 4. 96, and the 6000 stadia of their territory is the coast from Kent to the end of Jutland. In Plin. 4. 94 *Baunonia* is a name for Heligoland.

H. Wirz, *Der Codex Nazarianus des Sallustius*. This is identical with Vat. Pal. 889 and is the work of three hands. The

collation here published shows that it is nearly as good an authority as P.

P. Meyer, *Zur Chronologie der praefecti Aegypti im zweiten Jahrhundert*, gives a list of 43 prefects from C. Vitrasius Pollio (17-31 A. D.) to Basilianus (217), with the dates of their term of office so far as papyri and inscriptions give us information.

H. von Fritze, *οὐλαί*. The *οὐλαί*, with which *οὐλοχύται* and *προχύται* are synonymous, were uncooked barley-grains, usually dry and salted, which were thrown on the altar-fire. They took the first place in the sacrifice and were presented in their natural state, because they were the earliest offering rendered by man, and they were given to all the gods who share food with men, but not to the deities of the lower world. Hence they appear in sacrifices made for the purpose of food and in preliminary rites intended to summon the gods to the main ceremony (as Eur. Iph. A. 1471). The throwing of grain upon the victim's head was not the rule, but the exception, and the scholiasts confuse *οὐλαί* with the Roman *mola salsa*.

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Chor von Hagesichora*. In v. 40 of the Paris fragment of Alcman read *ὁρῶ F' ὦτ' ἄλιον*. There is no trace of an antichorus, but we have a simple thiasos of eleven maidens, perhaps not of noble birth, but more or less related to each other. Ten names are given, but the one who sings the solo is unnamed. They have disputed the question, Who is the fairest? and not the leader, but Agido, her cousin, receives the prize. This is no national hymn, but merely a scene of every-day life. Aotis may be Medea.

C. Bardt, *Zur Provenienz von Ciceros Briefen ad familiares*. The letter of recommendation (10) published in Book I makes it probable that this volume was made from the writer's own abstracts. Furthermore, V 8 evidently consists of a rough draft and a more finished copy of the same letter united by Cicero and worked over for publication. This shows that he revised some of his letters at least. In ad Att. XVI 5, 5 read *instar ἑπτα-<τεύχων*; *hae sunt diligenter au>gendae*; from *heptagendae* arose the reading *septaginta*.

A. Schulten, *Ein römischer Kaufvertrag aus dem Jahre 166 n. Chr.* The sealed margin contains an abstract of the document and the seven seals belong to the seller, buyer, bondsmen and three witnesses. The contract is further signed by seller, bondsmen and witnesses. The papyrus shows us the blending of a (Roman) *stipulationis cautio* with a (Greek) *chirographum*, the former only the record of a verbal contract, the latter binding in itself.

K. Wernicke, *Bockschöre und Satyrdrama*. Goat-dances were first celebrated in the Peloponnesus in honor of Hermes Nomios or of Adrastos, a chthonian god. They were introduced into

Athens by Pisistratus, and the chorus of the satyr-drama were dressed like goats, even to the hoofs, till c. 450 B. C. The Cyclops (before 438) shows the transition (v. 76 ff.), when the satyrs gave place to the native sileni, who had horses' tail and ears, but kept the goat-skin apron. These sileni were miscalled satyrs in later art.

Miscellen. G. Wissowa in Cic. de leg. II 12. 29 reads *colendae VI virgines*.—K. J. Neumann shows that Silius made use of Sallust in 12. 354 and 376; also that Sallust puts in Macer's mouth (Hist. 23) a prophecy of Augustus' principatus.—A. Wilhelm cites Wien. Akad. 132, II, p. 12, 1 for *ἐνιαυτός* as 'anniversary'.—A. Rosenthal vindicates for Theophrastus the fragment in Walz, Rhet. Graec. VII 1154, 23.—F. Hiller von Gaertringen would connect Cleothera (Schol. ad v 66) as eponymous nymph with the "old city" of Kamiros in Rhodes.

D. Detlefsen, Zu Plinius Naturalis Historia, offers emendations to Book II and estimates the critical value of the excerpts.

A. Gercke, Die alte *τέχνη ῥητορική*. Gorgias wrote a complete *τέχνη*, which consisted of model speeches to be memorized for use in court, like Antiphon's tetralogies and Protagoras' disputations, each speech being preceded by a brief introduction treating of rhetorical theory (*περί καιροῦ κτλ.*). Alcidas (390 B. C.), Plato (Phaedr. 390 or 388) and Isocrates (or. 13, soon after 388) attacked this mechanical system. The Phaedrus was written as a program for Isocrates' school, and the orator adopts for his art the term *φιλοσοφία* there introduced. Plato would never have praised Isocrates, if he had read 13, 21 (cf. Gorg. 460 A).

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Die Perser des Aischylos. This play is a condensed trilogy, each act being as independent a drama as the Suppliants. Though the chorus is the same, the scene changes from the palace to the tomb outside the city and again to the highway. Perhaps the earliest trilogies, like the primitive comedies, were much shorter than in later years. The little temple, on whose steps the elders sit in council, afterward serves as the tomb. The Persians was first performed in Syracuse, 476–473 B. C.; influenced by Phrynichus, the poet follows the Sicilian fashion, and, as in the *Αἰγύπτιοι*, deals with contemporary events. The play was presented alone and not at a Dionysiac festival. The solo part in the concluding *kommos* was given by a special singer, not by an actor, since the measures are lyrical; an actor might recite *anapaests*, as they are based on the simpler music of the *cithara*.

B. Keil, Die delphischen Rechnungsurkunden. Both accounts in BCH. 1896, 198 ff. are acts of the town council, but from different periods (till 341 and 324–329 B. C.). The change in organization and procedure is due to Alexander's gain of two

Amphiktionic votes in 335, when he compromised for his added power and the title of βασιλεύς then assumed by sending four Delphian *Greeks* as his representatives instead of Macedonians.

C. Robert, *Zur Theaterfrage*. The orchestra at Athens rested on six feet of earth in order to give room for an underground passage, which existed in the earlier theatre. The stage-building must have covered part of the orchestra, for, if beyond the circle, it would have blocked the entrance to the temple of Dionysus. It was lightly built with painted pillars on its front, and had neither paraskenia nor upper story, for this would have interfered with the μηχανή. We cannot suppose that the front of the house was removed by the ἐκκύκλημα, for the tragedians take great pains to bring into the open air characters that would naturally remain within. θυμέλη (= θεμέλιον) means the orchestra, and there was usually neither altar nor bema within the circle. The clear testimony of Vitruvius to a Greek stage makes it probable that with Lycurgus a double system came in; the new plays were acted on the λογεῖον, while comedy and the old tragedy kept their place in the orchestra.

Th. Mommsen, *Eugippiana*, defends in detail the first class of MSS.

Miscellen. F. Münzer compares Valerius Antias in Gell. VI 9. 9 and 17 with Liv. XXIX 22. 7-9 and Plin. XXI 10. His history contained only thirty books.—K. J. Neumann refers *lege pulsus* in Tac. ab. exc. 3. 24 to a *quaestio*.—U. Wilcken in 'Aθ. πολ. 18. 2 makes καὶ τοὺς περὶ—πολύ a parenthesis. Thettalos was born about 553 B. C.—P. Meyer contributes notes on *focariae militum* and the governors of Egypt and Arabia.—J. Ziehen interprets and defends Honorius' poem on Seneca.—E. Schwartz in Eur. Med. 1181 takes κῶλον—δρόμου as acc. of measure with ἀνέλκων equivalent to ἀποσπῶν, and in Alc. 30 τιμὰς ἀφοριζόμενος as a translation of the Homeric γέρας ἀπούρας.

B. Keil, *Kyzikenisches*, shows from Aristid. I, p. 130 D, etc., that the great temple of Demeter and Persephone at Cyzicus was destroyed by an earthquake about 155-150 B. C., and was rebuilt by the province of Asia.

C. G. Brandis, *Ein Schreiben des Triumvirn M. Antonius* (Cl. Rev. VII 446). This letter (33 B. C.) shows that the Asiatic cities had been united in a permanent parliament by Antony some time after 42 B. C. It also gives the earliest date for a general assembly of ἱερονίκαί and στεφανίται.

A. Schulten, *Die Makedonischen Militärcolonien*. These were the settlements of veterans established by Alexander and his successors, and were fortresses like the earliest Roman colonies. Their presence is attested by inscriptions chiefly in the Seleucid kingdom, but also in Pergamon and Egypt.

Th. Mommsen, *Consularia*. The Western Fasti omit Herculeus' name in 307 because of his quarrel with Maxentius, while the hostility of Galerius and Constantine causes confusion in the lists from 307 to 310. The last Western consul ruled in 472.

Ed. Schwartz, *Die Berichte über die Catilinarische Verschwörung*. Sallust added little to the facts which he found in Cicero's works, but, perhaps in reply to the *De Consiliis*, distorts their meaning in order to attack Cicero and the Senate. He emphasizes the noble birth of the conspirators and makes their misdeeds the fruit of oligarchy, he gives as the reason for the plot not Catiline's defeat at the polls in 63, but the pangs of his conscience. To Cicero are ascribed weak and evil motives; his wise precautions are not mentioned and his triumph is treated with scorn, while his great speech appears as a piece of tactless impatience, which needlessly drove Catiline into rebellion. To draw attention from Caesar's guilt, Catiline is made unduly prominent and the inception of the conspiracy is placed earlier than the true date. Caesar, indeed, appears as a hero drawn much after the model of Cato, while Pompey is stamped as a democrat. True to his revolutionary ideals, Sallust emphasizes the individual as against the class, and brings Cato, Caesar and Catiline into high relief. In this he attacks the impartiality of the annalistic method, but forsakes his own Greek model. He is opposed to the sensational style of Poseidonios and the peripatetic school, and follows a Greek theory of historiography developed from Thucydides by some literary critic, since it suited better his polemic purpose. Livy, whose attitude may be best learned from Dio, praises the Senate and in the main agrees with Cicero, though he depreciates the services of the orator. Plutarch was not influenced by Livy, as his conception of Antony shows, and knew Cicero and Sallust only through Fenestella, who took indifferently from both sources. The authority which Appian follows bases his account on Sallust, but purposely and fancifully alters motives and facts in his endeavor to uphold the monarchy.

E. Ziebarth, *Popularklagen mit Delatorprämien nach griechischem Recht*. The rewards offered to informers in Pl. Leg. 914 A-932 D, etc., are based on existing provisions of Greek law. As in Athens, so in the islands, Phocis and Arcadia, the informer received half of the fine, in a few places only a third. Delphi usually gave certain privileges, but no money. In Teos the informer acted as representative of the state, though private suits were allowed.

Miscellen. Th. Mommsen publishes an inscription in honor of Epinikos and relates his history.—A. Stein criticizes Meyer's list of the Praefecti Aegypti (Herm. XXXI 210).—J. Beloch. Heraclia was in the Aetolian league after 187 B. C.; Aetolia Epicetetus was the N. (not the E.) district and included Agraia.

BARKER NEWHALL.

BRIEF MENTION.

The last number of the *Cornell Studies in Classical Philology* (No. VI) is taken up by Professor H. C. ELMER's *Latin Moods and Tenses*, in which my grammatical work does not escape criticism. Now, Professor ELMER belongs to a school of grammarians who attach scientific importance to their own translations, whereas to me translation is never a proof, only an illustration. Translation is a fine art, and not an exact science. The best translations have not been made by those who follow a definite scheme; and to render every potential subjunctive, every optative with *ἄν* by the same *would* and *should* formula, a formula based on the abandoned doctrine of an elliptical conditional sentence, is an artistic blunder and not necessarily a scientific success, for *would* and *should* are themselves potential optatives. At all events, I should prefer to go wrong with such a master of Greek and English as Professor Jebb is than to be right with mechanical uniformitarians. True, there is a difference, as Professor ELMER is kind enough to remind me, between *potes* and *possis*, and as I myself many years ago called attention to the contrasted *potest* and *possit* in Livy 29, 13, 18 (LG.³ 255), I can hardly be supposed to be ignorant of the difference; but there is a moral *can* as well as an intellectual, a moral *must* as well as an intellectual *must*, and to attempt to render both at the same time would be sheer cum-brousness, and in translation as elsewhere, one ought never to do anything that costs more than it comes to. The moral *must*, the *must* of conviction as to the existence of the predicate, is perfectly defensible as a rendering for the positive potential, and the moral *can't* as a rendering for the negative potential (A. J. P. XIV 499). When we are in the world of language we are in a world of makeshifts. *Posse* itself serves to supply missing future infinitives and is often a fair rendering of *ἄν*. *ἄν* is not *δυνατόν*, yet Gomperz calls τὰ *δυνατά*, Aristotle, Poetic, 1451, 37, after οἷα *ἄν* γένοιτο 'lächerlich pleonastisch,' and *ἄν* is called a σύνδεσμος *δυνητικός*, which *δυνητικός* is doubtless the parent of the much-abused 'potential.' But 'potential' is not 'possible,' any more than 'potency' is 'possibility.' Potential refers to character and has to do with *φύσις* rather than with *τύχη*. The potential subjunctive, like the optative with *ἄν*, gives the calculus of a moral subject based on moral grounds. Hence we say that *qui* with the subjunctive in Latin after *mitto* and the like is not a final but rather a potential construction. The selection of the agent is based on conceived character (LG. 630, n. 1) and corresponds to the Greek relative with opt. and *ἄν* (*κεν*)—a construction familiar from Homer down. Of course, I am aware of the danger that besets all parallelism, and yet when Professor Morris (A. J. P. XVIII 159) maintains that *velim* is not potential I must confess that I find a certain comfort in *βουλοίμην ἄν*, which seems to me

exactly parallel, and when Professor ELMER tells me that I am wrong in taking *laudaverim* as a potential perfect subjunctive in Cic. Legg. 3, 1, 1 tu Platonem nec nimis valde nec nimis saepe laudaveris, I whisper to myself *οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσεως* and need no flagons to stay me. In fact, to be frank, the theory of the potential perfect subjunctive that I have been using for more than thirty years was based on the Greek potential. To my mind, the Latin perfect subjunctive represents both the Greek periphrastic perfect optative with *ἄν* and the Greek aorist optative with *ἄν*. The time of the ascertainment is future. When the perfect optative is used the action itself may be past, present or future; when the aorist is used it is almost always future. The Roman grammarians racked their brains as to the time of the perfect subjunctive (Gell. 18, 2, 14), and many of their successors follow in their footsteps. The potential use of the German future ought to make the whole thing plain.

HANS VON ARNIM has followed up his valuable edition of Dion Chrysostomos by an elaborate work entitled *Dion von Prusa, mit einer Einleitung: Sophistik, Rhetorik, Philosophie in ihrem Kampf um die Jugendbildung* (Berlin, Weidmann). The pro-lusion is bulky and takes up a fifth of the volume, beginning with the origin of *σοφιστής* and not getting further in its 114 pages than Cicero's Orator and Cicero's supposed source, Philon of Larisa, so that the sophistic of Dion's time is left to be treated in connection with Dion himself. The study of the Greek renaissance runs through a weary stretch of disillusionments and the tone of VON ARNIM's introduction is not buoyant. One might expect more cheerful views from a student of Dion, for if there is any one of these *Graeculi* of whom something individual is to be expected, it is he, and yet Dion is an elusive problem. The real man is tucked away in the shell of the sophist. He seems to be worth knowing, and yet we are told by his editor, as we might have known in advance, that the only way of getting at him is through his relation to the classic time. "Es ist selbstverständlich," says von Arnim, "dass ein Grieche der Kaiserzeit nur charakterisirt werden kann durch sein Verhältniss zur Vergangenheit," and Dion is a Greek of the imperial time. The student fresh from the great masters of the better days naturally deems it unremunerative to weigh every sentence of a nascent, to study every allusion, to ask whether the sophist is mocking us or the philosopher enlightening us or the man recording his own thoughts and feelings in alien phrase. We are not willing to do for a Dion what we are only too glad to do for a Plato, and yet the age is an age that must be studied, and studied through its authors. It is an age that is too little understood, especially in its analogies with our own time, and VON ARNIM's work deserves ample recognition as a contribution to that end.

Professor INGRAM BYWATER holds, with Hermann and with Christ, that many of the stones of stumbling in the Poetic of Aristotle are due to the haste and carelessness of the author. The Poetic is a sketch that was never restudied, and to emend it is often to correct Aristotle himself. Hence the close adherence to the Parisinus 1741 and the avoidance of thorough-going emendations in his text of *Aristotelis de arte poetica liber*, recently put forth by the Clarendon Press. In the commentary, which he has long had in preparation, the editor promises to justify such emendations as he has admitted into the text and the punctuation, in which he has made changes throughout. The stamp of the master is on this work as on all that Bywater does.

The preface of the second edition of BUTCHER'S *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art, with a critical text and translations of the Poetics* (Macmillan) bears the same date as the preface of Bywater's edition. The chief alterations consist in the enlargement of the critical notes and, as was to be expected of so exacting a scholar, in a careful revision of the translations. It is interesting to note that Professor BUTCHER attaches increased importance to the Arabic version, which Professor BYWATER evidently holds in slight esteem.

LIDDELL and SCOTT were even greater sinners than the average lexicographer, and complaints enough were heard in their lifetime. In the seventh edition they not only kept in mistakes of their own, but spoiled other people's work, as I pointed out A. J. P. III 515, and my article on μή is no exception to their arbitrary processes. So much of the original material has been retained, however, that I am not unfrequently held responsible for statements that are flagrantly false or, at any rate, diametrically opposed to my views, and in a paper recently sent to the Journal by a former pupil on questions with μή and ἄρα μή, I find that an attack has been made on C I b, 'with the subj., when the answer expected is not so clearly negative.' What I wrote was 'questions which expect an imperative answer.' This applies not only to μή with the subj., but also to πῶς μή ἄν with the opt., the examples for which were collected by me. Only for Plat. Legg. 867 C read 887 C—a typographical error, easily accounted for. The translation of πῶς μή ἄν with the opt. there given is based on the imperative notion involved, and is not at all in consonance with L. and S.'s introductory remarks. 'Ἀλήθεια γάρ ἐστι says my poor old friend Justin Martyr—there is little else one can quote from him—ἀλήθεια γάρ ἐστι' ταύτης ισχυρότερον οὐδέν.

In an article published in the Cambridge University Reporter for March 15, Professor Conway has recorded his observations on the use of *ego* and *nos* in Cicero's letters, which are not without interest. "Where *nos* denotes the writer alone (as in the royal and journalistic use of *we*) it always [carries] with itself a sense of *superiority*: the writer chose to think of himself as *figuring* before the public, as being talked of or looked up to; as a *personage* rather than a *person*. This [is] clearest when *nos* appears side by side with the natural *ego*: Fam. 1, 9, 12 . . . ; 2, 10, 2 A parallel use is the *patronising* where the only superiority or aloofness assumed was towards an individual, sometimes one's correspondent, especially to juniors or inferiors. Its increase in the latter part of Fam. XIV marks the growth of Cicero's estrangement from Terentius (15 examples in the two latest letters)." This is well worth noting, but does not interfere with the contention that the pomp of the first personal plural for the first personal singular originates in mock modesty.

More than ten years separate the second and third editions of Part I of PALEY AND SANDYS'S *Select Private Orations of Demosthenes* (Cambridge, University Press). In the interval between 1886 and 1898 such important works as Blass's ed. of Kühner and Goodwin's revised and rewritten Moods and Tenses have appeared; but besides the modifications and additions made necessary by these manuals, the current literature on Greek oratory has been utilized, and, as in the former volume (A. J. P. XVII 391), Mr. Kirk's remarkable essay on *Demosthenic Style in the Private Orations* has received due attention. It is barely possible that excision and condensation might have been practised here and there without disadvantage, but no one will be disposed to quarrel with the slight excess in bulk over the second edition, especially as the additional thirty-odd pages are made up of real contributions to the study of the orations in hand.

M. SIMÉON OLSCHESKI having himself studied Herondas by the light of the best authorities, has been fired with a natural and laudable desire to pass on the torch of learning to others. Unfortunately, his little book, *La langue et la métrique d'Héro-das* (Leyden, Brill), is so fuliginous with mistakes of the press, to use no harsher term, as to defeat in great measure the compiler's modest attempt to facilitate the reading of a poet whom he fancies to be still too little known.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 812 Broadway, New York, for material furnished.

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I.—CERTAIN DRAMATIC ELEMENTS IN SANSKRIT PLAYS, WITH PARALLELS IN THE ENGLISH DRAMA.

FIRST SERIES.¹

The drama of India offers a fruitful field of research to those who are interested in dramatic literature and in the development of histrionic art. The old Hindu dramaturgical writings and critical works yield many a bit of information that is useful for the history of the world's stage, and we find in the Sanskrit plays themselves many dramatic devices which are worthy of study or of consideration. As an introduction to further investigations in this field, a few of these dramatic elements will be examined in the light of literary criticism and of conventions of the stage. Four (4) points have been selected for attention: the *first* of these is the employment of a play within the play as a scheme for furthering the action of a piece; the *second* relates to a device that is used for bringing about a dramatic situation and startling effect—namely, the restoration of the dead to life upon the stage; the *third* discusses scenes of intoxication as a humorous device; the *fourth*, the employment of letters and missives as a means of complicating or of unravelling the action of a drama. These four points will be discussed in order, and parallels will be pointed out upon the English stage.

¹ The results of the present studies were presented in abstract at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, in April, 1897, and in April, 1898.

1. *Notes on the Use of a Play within a Play on the Sanskrit Stage.*

The introduction of a play within a play, or the employment of such dramatic interludes, is familiar to every student of the English stage since the days of Hamlet's 'Mousetrap.' The same dramatic device was known to the playwrights of India, and it is interesting to find that the import and character of these episodic performances were duly taken into consideration by Sanskrit dramatic critics of antiquity.

An episodic play is likened by De Quincey to a picture within a painted scene. Its purpose, dramatically, is to develop the action or to bring out character. On the English stage, for example, the play scene in Hamlet is a turning-point in the drama; and the action is similarly advanced by the inserted dramatic performance in Kyd's Spanish Tragedy and in Greene's James the Fourth. An example of the use of a play within play being employed chiefly to develop character is found in the Sir Thomas More (perhaps the earliest instance of such a dramatic interlude in English), or again in the Interlude of the Nine Worthies in Love's Labour's Lost. The double usage of this dramatic element seems to be united in just proportion and in even balance when we come to the tradesman's play of Pyramus and Thisby in Midsummer Night's Dream. So much by way of introduction.

From the histrionic standpoint, the occurrence of a play within a play implies a considerable previous dramatic development and history: this is not a dramatic device that naturally belongs to the infancy of the drama; it occurs usually in the more advanced stages of the art. The preliminary steps that gave rise to the play within play we can easily trace in England. Its growth is readily seen from the old Interlude, which was the last piece of scaffolding used in the pre-Elizabethan drama before we have the completed edifice of the actual great drama under Renaissance influences. In India, unfortunately, we cannot trace the evolution of the pre-Kālidāsan drama, nor do we have the play within play in Kālidāsa's dramatic works, and yet in his successors the episodic performance appears fully developed.

In the Sanskrit dramatic canons the name of a little play incorporated within an act is *garbhāṅka*, or embryo-play; this is defined in the Sāhitya-Darpaṇa, ch. 6, 279, ed. Roer and Ballantyne, I, p. 127; II, p. 176:

*aṅkōdarapraviṣṭō yō raṅgadvārāmukhādīmān
aṅkō 'paraḥ sa garbhāṅkaḥ sabījaḥ phalavān api*

'a secondary act which is incorporated into the body of an act, and which has its own Prologue, Introduction, etc., and has a Scene of Opening Action (lit. 'seed') and a Dénouement (lit. 'fruit'), is known as a *Garbhāṅka* (i. e. interlude, play within play).' The Sanskrit commentary to the passage cites the dramatic interlude of 'Sita's Svayamvara' in Rājas'ekhara's *Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa* as an illustration of the *Garbhāṅka*: *yathā bālarā-māyaṇē . . . sītāsvayamvarō nāma garbhāṅkaḥ* (op. cit. I, p. 127; II, p. 176, transl. of Pramada-Dāsa Mitra). Three instances of the *Garbhāṅka* will be examined here (cf. also PWb. and Apte, Skt. Dict.), and one or two other scenes in Sanskrit drama that are somewhat kindred to the *Garbhāṅka* will be noticed in addition. These latter stand in about the same relation to the episodic play as the masque and dumb-show scenes in Shakspeare's *Cymbeline*, *Pericles*, and *Hamlet*. If space allowed it, attention might also be given to the nature of the *Viṣkambhaka*, which is inserted between the acts as an induction or prelude, and serves somewhat the same dramatic office as that discharged by the Chorus in Shakspeare's *Henry the Fifth* (*Sāhitya-Darpaṇa*, ch. 6, 308). The discussion, however, is limited to the single point under consideration, the *Garbhāṅka*.

Neither in *S'udraka*, the reputed author of the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, nor in *Kālidāsa*'s three dramas, have we an example of a play within play. The intermezzo of the dancing and song scene in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (act ii) is not a point for consideration here. In the *Urvas'ī* we might perhaps conceive of the *Garbhāṅka* having been introduced to advantage. In this drama *Kālidāsa* might possibly have arranged as a play within play the brief story of 'Lakṣmi's Choice,' the dramatic production in which the divine nymph *Urvas'ī* made the fatal blunder in speaking her line falsely. This he has chosen instead to give in narrative in the *Viṣkambhaka* (see also the definition of *viṣkambhaka* in *Sāh. D.*, ch. 6, 308).

The first real instance of the play within play is to be found in the *Priyadars'ikā* of *S'rī-Harsha-Deva* (A. D. 7th century). The extensive dramatic allusions in this piece and the elaborate preparations for this cleverly introduced scene on which the play turns, remind one remotely of the numerous dramatic references in the

Love's Labour's Lost, Hamlet, or Midsummer Night's Dream. The plot of the Priyadars'ikā is a story of love and court intrigue at the palace of King Vatsa of Udayana. On the evening of the Kāumudī festival, a play is to be presented for the entertainment of the queen. The circumstances of the scene are to represent, in a complimentary manner, how King Vatsa first won the love and the hand of his royal consort by giving her lessons upon the lyre. The queen's maid-in-waiting (the lost princess Priyadars'ikā in disguise) is to play the rôle of prima donna. One of the court maidens is to assume male disguise and to impersonate the king. But King Vatsa has actually fallen deeply in love with Priyadars'ikā, and by cunning intrigue it is arranged that he himself shall assume the rôle of instructor in music, and shall play the part of love-making to the fair Priyadars'ikā in the very presence of the queen. So real does the action seem that the queen heartily applauds, until the realism surpasses ordinary bounds and she discovers the ruse to which she has been a victim, interrupts the scene, and the performance is stopped somewhat as in the Hamlet episode. This interpolated play-scene occupies the entire third act of the four acts which make up this bright comedy, and it is an integral part of the drama; for, after it, the incognito heroine is discovered to be the long-lost princess whom Fate and her father had before betrothed to the king, and she is received as his youngest wife. The whole scene is one that is well managed, and the situation which is brought about by this Garbhāṅka is cleverly designed.

The next dramatist of India who makes use of the dramatic interlude is the renowned Bhavabhūti, in the eighth century of our era. In the last act (vii) of his well-known drama, the Uttara-Rāma-Carita, or Sequel to the Story of Rāma, there occurs a theatrical representation which is as much essential to the solution of the piece as is the kindred masque in the last act of Shakspere's Cymbeline. The story is the familiar one; the play is a sort of Sanskrit Winter's Tale. Like Leontes in the Winter's Tale, Rāma has banished his faithful wife Sītā, and he has never seen the twin sons Kus'a and Lava, that were born in the forest wilds. Like Guiderius and Aviragus, reared by old Belarius in the Cymbeline, they have grown to be youths of heroic mould. In the sixth act of the play, Fate has restored these manly striplings to their father's arms. But the joy is not complete; Sītā, the patient Griselda, must be restored, and for

this touching scene Bhavabhūti has chosen the device of a miniature play or masque in which the circumstances of the birth and youth of the royal lads are re-enacted before the father. A sense of the lapse of time that has taken place in the play is produced as in the Cymbeline. The scene is worth describing in the next paragraph, as it conveys a good idea of the manner in which such a masque-production was conducted on the Sanskrit stage, and it brings out the point which was noted above, that of adding reality to a play by making its own actors spectators at a mimic play within itself. The principal details of the scene may be gathered from the following notes and parallels.

Rāma, filled with grief for the loss of his banished wife, comes to the banks of the Ganges, where a play of the revered sage Vālmiki is to be presented. One is reminded of Shakspeare's lines in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*: 'this green plot shall be our stage, this hawthorn-brake our tiring house.' The audience take their seats as in the Hamlet play. The stage-manager (*sūtradhāra*, Utt. Rām. Car. vii. 20), in strict dramatic fashion, speaks the prologue. The circumstances attending upon the birth of Rāma's sons in the forest are now enacted, even with such graphic detail as bringing, or pretending to bring, the infant babes upon the stage. The divine promise of their future greatness is made, and the purity of their mother, the chaste Sītā, is vindicated. So vivid does the scene become that Rāma is moved to tears and grief; but his cup is turned from bitterness and sorrow to overflowing sweetness and joy when the fictitious Sītā of the mimic play, like Hermione of the *Winter's Tale*, is found really to be his wife and she takes her place by his side as queen, instead of the golden statue which Rāma had set up (*hiraṇmayī sītāyāḥ pratikṛtiḥ*, acts ii, iii and vii).

The third example of the Garbhāṅka is the illustration given in the commentary to the Sāhitya-Darpaṇa passage cited above (ch. 6, 279). It is found in act iii of the long ten-act play *Bala-Rāmāyaṇa* of Rājas'ekhara, whose date is placed between the ninth and the tenth centuries of our era. For the text see *Bala-rāmāyaṇa*, ed. Govindadeva S'āstri, pp. 58-85. The story is the familiar one in the Rāma cycle, and it is excellently summarized in Lévi's *Théâtre Indien*, pp. 272-7, of which I have made use. The demon-king Rāvaṇa, as an unsuccessful suitor for the hand of the beautiful Sītā, has become the sworn enemy of her husband, Rāma. The play describes how he pines away with hope-

less love. A dramatic troupe visits his palace under the directorship of Kohala; arrangements are made to have a performance before the king (Bāla-Ram. III, p. 58, ed. G. S'āstri). By happy or unhappy chance, the subject of the miniature play is the betrothal of Sītā to Rāma (*sītāsvayaṃvara iti nāṭakam*). The Garbhāṅka, interlude or interpolated spectacle begins; and its action, as before noted, serves to make the actual drama itself more realistic. The very scene is enacted of Rāma's triumph over all rivals; the enraged Rāvaṇa can scarce suppress the fury of his heart, in spite of efforts made to pacify him and despite the assurance that it is a mere exhibition or spectacle (*prīkṣaṇa*). The players' scene is interrupted as in the Hamlet, and the Garbhāṅka comes to a close: *iti niṣkrāntāḥ sarvā, sītāsvayaṃvarō nāma garbhāṅkaḥ*, p. 85, ed. Govindadeva S'āstri. A similar interruption of a mimic play was recorded above in the Priyadars'ikā. While speaking of the Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa from the dramatic standpoint, mention might be made in passing of the idea of the use of the marionettes or puppet representation which is alluded to in the Viṣkambhaka to act v of this play and developed in the course of the act, but the likeness is more remote.

Three plays, accordingly, have here been examined as illustrating the use of an interpolated act or miniature play. These are Harsha-Deva's Priyadars'ikā, Bhavabhūti's Uttara-Rāma-Carita, and Rājas'ekhara's Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa. The list may be extended by further reading.

Finally, attention may be drawn in this connection to an element or dramatic incident that is akin to the dumb-show or Prospero's beautiful masque in the Tempest: it is the scene in Harsha-Deva's Ratnāvalī (act iv, p. 67, Nirṇaya Sāgara edition; cf. Wilson, Theatre of the Hindus, II, p. 306 seq.) in which the king and the queen sit and watch the magician Samvara-Siddhi waving his bunch of peacock feathers (*picchakam bhramayan*) and conjuring up before the mind's eye marvels and wonders that surpass even the surprises which Prospero's wand called forth for Ferdinand and Miranda. It is true that this scene is merely a performance to the mind's eye and does not strictly come within the scope of a play within a play, but it requires mention because it resembles the masque element or dumb-show incident and causes the regular action of the drama to be suspended for the time being and also contributes to the dénouement. Another example comparable with this, but really one

that is more important as it forms the opening of the action of the play in which it occurs, is the magic scene in Rājas'ekhara's Karpūramañjarī (act i, pp. 25-30, Nirṇaya-Sāgara edition). In this the sorcerer Bhairavānanda, through his art as wizard, brings upon the stage the fair heroine, with whom the king falls in love. The scene reminds one in its character of the parallel situation in Marlowe's famous play in which Faustus beholds the vision of Helen of Troy (Doctor Faustus, ed. Ward, pp. 38-41). Both these illustrations, however, lie strictly outside the present subject, but there is at least an indirect kinship with the interpolated play.

In conclusion it may be said that enough has been brought forward to show that the device of a play within a play was employed with good effect in the Sanskrit drama. The employment of this element in the far-away dramas of India is not without interest, for it is a device that was unknown to the classic drama of Greece and Rome; nor does it seem to have been elaborated elsewhere until we find it fully developed and flourishing in our own drama at its rise during the great age of Queen Elizabeth. The *garbhāṅka* of early India is therefore the play within play of later Europe. Orient and Occident, after all, are not so remote from each other in art.

2. *Restoration of the Dead to Life, employed as a Dramatic Element.*

Students of dramatic literature are familiar with the Hindu rule of action which precludes death on the stage; they are equally familiar with the classic canon of India which enjoins that a happy ending shall be found for every play. In practice, however, occasions arise which require the death of the hero or heroine to be announced, and in one or two cases apparently the scene is enacted before the spectators' eyes. Yet the strict dramatic canon must not be violated and a happy issue must ultimately be found. This gives rise, in at least two instances, to the employment of a device which is effective, or even startling—namely, the restoration of the dead to life; in other words, a resuscitation or revivifying of one who is actually gone or is apparently dead. In the realm of Hindu fiction there are a number of stories told of a return from death to life, but in the drama, so far as I know, the representation of such an occurrence,

or the employment of it as a dramatic motive, is only exceptional. Two special instances are worth discussing, for they produce a striking situation in the action and a vivid effect.

The more sensational of the two illustrations to which I refer is found in a play that is remarkable for its Buddhistic coloring: I allude to Sri-Harsha-Deva's *Nāgānanda* (act v, pp. 86-91, *Nirṇaya Sāgara* edition; cf. Bergaigne, *La Joie des Serpents*, traduite, pp. 134-41). The self-sacrificing hero *Jimūtavāhana*—a noble example of vicarious suffering—gives his life to save one of the serpent race, and, to all appearance, he dies before the eyes of the spectators as a victim of the claws and ravening beak of the monstrous bird *Garuḍa*. But the play must end happily. After destroying its victim the insatiate winged monster feels remorse and repents: away it flies to Indra for a draught of ambrosia—*amṛtasamskirtana*—to restore the dead victim. The goddess *Gaurī* appears upon the scene; she sprinkles the divine liquid upon the lifeless body and exclaims *jīva jīmūtavāhana*; when suddenly, to the joy of all concerned, the hero rises up and is restored (*nāyaka ulliṣṭhati*, p. 89). A brief but vivid description then follows, portraying in narrative form the miraculous scene which succeeded. A rain of heavenly ambrosia descends upon the serpent mountain; the dry bones of the dead reptiles which the ravenous bird had previously destroyed are instantly clothed with life; in a moving mass, with raised crests and variegated hues, the serpents are described as winding their way in tortuous course down the mountain side, eagerly quaffing the divine nectar as they crawl along. The use of such a dramatic device is a bold stroke. The scene of reviving *Jimūtavāhana* is well conceived and carried out. The idea, moreover, of bringing back to life the parched bones of the serpents that had perished before the exalted hero rescued their race by his self-assumed sacrifice, is a worthy conception and shows resources of imagination. In treating both this scene and the following, however, it must be remembered that as a religious tenet the resurrection of the dead does not play any part in the faith of India as it did play in Persia. It may be added that the whole scene in the drama under discussion is almost identical with the narrative in *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, ch. 22, which preserves in verse the entire story of *Jimūtavāhana* and his self-sacrifice (cf. *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, transl. by Tawney, I, p. 184 seq.).

Superior in pathos, if not equal in sensational effect, is the

second instance to be criticised. This dramatic device is the one which the author likewise has reserved for the last act to add stir and interest to the dénouement. The allusion made is to that admirable drama, Kshemīs'vara's Caṇḍa-Kaus'ika (act v, p. 132, ed. Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara; cf. Fritze, Kausika's Zorn, übersetzt, p. 82). The curse of the wrathful son of Kus'ika has brought ruin upon the king and upon his house. His wife and child, sold, as they are, into servitude, and himself as a vile Caṇḍāla in the common cemetery, present a woeful pageant. The cup of misery is brimmed to overflowing in the fifth act of the drama, which represents the meeting of the wretched parents beside the lifeless body of their son, upon the common burning ground of the dead. Amid a scene of heartrending pathos, Dharma, the god of justice, descends, and at his word, given in commanding tone, *vatsa rōhilāśva samāśvasihi, samāvaśihi!* the youth slowly opens his eyes and is restored living to the arms of his overjoyed parents, upon whom blessings are now showered to make up for their miseries past. The ideas are not wholly remote from Biblical parallels and, dramatically, the conception is good and is well worked out.

Different in character from the two preceding, but worthy of mention, are several instances that are found in Sanskrit plays of the restoration of those who have been supposed to be dead or who have been transformed into lifeless objects. Such instances, for example, may be quoted as Vasantasena in the Mṛcchakaṭikā (act x, p. 171, ed. Stenzler; cf. Wilson, Theatre of the Hindus, I, p. 171; Kellner, Vasantasena, p. 187), or again the return of the transformed Urvas'ī in the Vikramorvas'īya (act iv, p. 116, Nirṇaya Sāgara edition; cf. Wilson, Theatre, I, p. 256; Fritze, Urvasi, p. 66), or finally Sītā, restored from the forest, in Uttara-Rāma-Carita (act vii, p. 123 seq., Calcutta edition, 1831). One or two other like instances might be cited. They merit this passing mention, not because they are actual instances of a return to life, but because they have the same effect dramatically as the restoration of Hero in Shakspeare's Much Ado, or of Hermione in the Winter's Tale.

By way of supplement in this connection, notice may simply be taken, in a few words, of several allusions to an actual restoration of the dead to life which are found elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. One of the most characteristic of these *revenant* stories is the tale of the three young Brahmins and their dead lady-love,

as told in the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, ch. 76 (Tawney's transl., II, p. 242 = Vetāla 2, cf. Manning, Ancient India, II, p. 327). A second is the story of the lady who mixed up the heads of her decapitated husband and brother when she restored their bodies to life, Kathā, ch. 80 (Tawney's transl., II, p. 261 = Vetāla 6, cf. Manning, Ancient India, II, p. 328). The Kathā-sarit-sāgara affords others; for example, the hermit, ch. 97 (Tawney, II, p. 321 = Vetāla 23, cf. Manning, p. 332), and the story of Indradatta and King Nanda, Kathā 4 (Tawney, I, pp. 21-2, cf. Wilson, Theatre, II, p. 138). The Panchatantra tells of the four Brahmins who brought a dead lion back to life (Panch. v. 4). Other familiar tales of the kind are the narrative in the Rāmāyaṇa of the restoration of the monkeys who had fallen fighting in Rāma's behalf; again of Kāma, who had been reduced to ashes, as told in Kūmāra Sambhava; or the well-known Upanishad account of Naciketas; or the story of Kādambarī calling her lover back to life by her embrace (Weber, ZDMG. VII 588 = Indische Streifen, I 367, cf. transl. of Kādambarī by C. M. Ridding, pp. 206-7). Bāṇa himself in the Kādambarī gives a half dozen other instances of a reputed return from death to life (p. 138, transl. C. M. Ridding).

3. *Scene of Intoxication on the Stage as a Humorous Device.*

Every student of Elizabethan literature is familiar with the introduction of rollicking scenes of merry-making, including drinking bouts and the singing of hilarious catches, as a dramatic device on the English stage. The amusing scene of the bibulous Tom Tossplot and his boon companions in the Morality play 'Like Will to Like, quod the Devil to the Colier' is a good illustration of the crude use of a coarse device which culminates in a subtle refinement of art when Shakspeare puts into Cassio's mouth the great lines of self-rebuke after the tipsy episode in the Othello. Euripides as well as Aristophanes among the Greeks and Plautus in Latin comedy did not hesitate, of course, to present such scenes upon the stage. It is not without interest to find that in two or three instances the Hindu playwrights employed representations of intoxication as a dramatic means to an end, for making a humorous situation or for developing the plot of the play. The Sāhitya-Darpaṇa, ch. 3, 174, incidentally alludes to the effects of intoxication (*mada-*) arising from wine.

The special incident on the Sanskrit stage to which attention is here called is, first, a scene found in a drama already mentioned—namely, Śrī-Harsha-Deva's *Nāgānanda* (act iii, 1 seq., p. 37, ed. S. G. Bhanap; cf. Bergaigne, *Joie des Serpents*, p. 59). The wedding festivities of the hero are being celebrated in carnival style; the parasite Ś'ekharaka enters in a state of intoxication (*matla-*) and with his head crowned with flowers. He is attended by a servant who bears a jug of liquor upon his shoulder; and draughts are drawn from this jug in the course of the scene. The stage directions represent the parasite as reeling, staggering or tripping (*ghūrṇan*, *praskhalan*). Humor and fun, of the Ben Jonson order, are added when the muddled and tipsy fellow mistakes the comedy-making buffoon, or Viḍṣaka, for his sweet-heart in disguise. Numerous amusing complications thus arise, and they add an atmosphere of merriment to the occasion of the marriage festivities. The scene is quite bright and it is well designed. In a remote way it might remind one of Sir Andrew Aguecheek, Toby Belch and Maria.

The second instance is found in the remarkable Sanskrit morality play *Prabodha-Candrodaya*, or 'Rise of the Intellectual Moon.' Near the end of the third act, there occurs a scene of intoxication, participated in by the votaries of several heretical sects. This situation is employed by the author for the purpose of inculcating virtuous behavior and religious belief, much in the manner of the English morality plays with which the composition is often compared. An English version of the scene is accessible in the rendering by Taylor, *Prabodha-Chandrodaya*, Bombay, 1886 (earlier edition, 1811).

The third example is of less interest and importance, but it is worth mentioning in this connection because it is found in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* (act iii, pp. 48–9, Nirṇaya Sāgara edition). The jilted queen Irāvati appears upon the scene in a tipsy condition, as both text and stage direction imply (see also note in Tawney's translation of the play, p. 38; although the note is omitted in the second edition, p. 44). The fair one's state is doubtless due to the quaffing of flower wine (cf. Tawney's note, and also C. M. Ridding, *Kādambarī*, transl., p. 109). Rising to the situation, or in apology for her mental exhilaration, she quotes a popular saying to the effect that a tipsy condition serves rather as an embellishment in a woman (*madō kila t̥hiājaṇassa maṇḍa-ṇam ti*)! Irāvati walks as best she can, but her progress is not

very happy, as she says herself that her feet refuse to carry her, *calaṇā uṇa ṇa maha paśaranti*. By way of criticism, however, it cannot be said that this scene really has any strong dramatic bearing upon the development of the play, even though it may serve to bring out certain traits in the character of the jealous Irāvati. See also Fritze, *Malavika und Agnimitra*, übersetzt, pp. 36-7; also G. R. Nandargikar, translation, p. 22; and Cimmino, traduzione, pp. 53-4.

4. *The Use of Letters and Epistolary Correspondence in Kālidāsa's Plays.*

The last dramatic device to which attention will be called in the present paper is the employment of letters, epistles, missives, or the like, as a means for furthering dramatic action in a play. We are familiar in English, for example, with Hamlet's love-letter to Ophelia, with Orlando's missives to Rosalind, and with the billets-doux of Benedick and Beatrice in which their hands are witnesses against their hearts; we recall Macbeth's written news to Lady Macbeth of Duncan's promised visit to the fatal castle, or, finally, among others we may remember the letters of state removing Othello from his office. The Sanskrit playwrights were perfectly familiar with similar devices for dramatic purposes, and I have made a collection of material on the subject from quite a number of Hindu dramas. By way of illustration I shall here briefly draw attention simply to the use of letters in Kālidāsa's plays, which is as ingenious as the usage of any author, but I shall not make any attempt at present to elaborate the theme. That is reserved for another occasion.

One naturally turns first to the *S'akuntalā*. In the third act of this play we have a dainty device by which *S'akuntalā* expresses her love for King Dushyanta by the lines of poesy which she writes with her nail upon the tender surface of a lotus leaf. Her valentine couplet reads (act iii, p. 55, ed. Pischel):

*tujjha ṇa āṇe hiaaṃ mama uṇa maṇḍo divā a rattim ca
nikkiva dābai baliyaṃ tuha huttamaṇḍorahāi aṇḍāim*

Ah, pitiless one! thy heart I cannot know;
Yet madly doth infatuation's fire

Consume my body with its flaming glow,
With love for thee, my very heart's desire.

Throughout the remainder of the act this incident of the inscribed love-leaf is prettily employed and the device is rather daintily brought in (act iii, p. 55 seq., ed. Pischel; cf. P. N. Patankar's edition, p. 116 seq.; also Monier Williams' translation, p. 74 seq.; and Edgren, pp. 68, 69, 77).

In a manner almost identical with this Kalidāsa again employs the device of a letter scratched upon a birch leaf in his drama *Vikramorvas'īya* (act ii, p. 45, *Nirṇaya Sāgara* edition; cf. Fritze, *Urvasi*, übersetzt, p. 27; Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, I, p. 216). The situation in the play distinctly recalls the incident in the *S'akuntalā*. The fair nymph *Urvas'ī*, in a like verse scratched upon a leaf, declares her love for King *Pururavas*; the leaf is tossed before the king: his companion, the buffoon, amusingly mistakes it for the slough of a serpent. The funny complications, moreover, which arise when this billet-doux leaf accidentally falls later into the queen's hand, are cleverly and even humorously worked out in the course of the act.

Of a quite different character from these affectionate missives are the official letters which play so important a part in both the first and the last act of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. These are formal epistles on matters of state addressed to the king, and they are either read to him by the minister (*Māl.* i, p. 10, *Nirṇaya Sāgara* edition; cf. Tawney's transl., 1st ed., p. 7), or the monarch himself reads them aloud (act v, pp. 102, 103; cf. Tawney, pp. 78-9); while early in act v allusion is made to a formal reading of a letter to the queen by the scribes (act v, p. 89, *Nirṇaya Sāgara* edition; cf. Tawney, p. 67). These letters, beside the part they play, have also the merit of giving us a general idea of epistolary correspondence.

In the same connection mention may furthermore be made of two allusions in *S'akuntalā* to a formal communication or to documents which incidentally play a minor rôle in this drama (*pattahatthe*, act vi, p. 238, ed. Patankar, different from Pischel, p. 116; cf. Edgren, p. 133, and *pattahattham*, act vi, p. 292, ed. Patankar, also ed. Pischel, p. 138; cf. Edgren, pp. 158-9), and also the letter which the king failed to write *S'akuntalā* as promised (act iv, p. 149, ed. Patankar, cf. Pischel, p. 77; cf. Edgren, p. 85).

The occurrences given above suffice briefly to illustrate a subject which it is hoped some time to examine more fully on a larger scale.

In conclusion I may say that the four dramatic devices to which attention has been called—namely, a play within a play, a reviving of the dead, intoxication, and the use of letters and epistles—are merely specimens of a hundred other devices employed in the Sanskrit plays and which link these compositions together with the dramatic writings of other nations and of other ages, especially with the romantic drama of England.

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II.—AFFIRMATIVE FINAL CLAUSES IN THE LATIN HISTORIANS.

The object of the present paper is to give the number of occurrences and some of the most noticeable examples of the different forms used by the Latin historians to express design. The similarity in subject-matter calls for a similar vocabulary, the variations being due to the personality of the writer which has impressed itself upon his writings. Authors in other departments of literature differ widely from the historians in the use of these forms. This is due not so much to the personal characteristics of the writer as to the department which calls for a different form of expression. For writers such as Seneca, Quintilian and Tertullian the subjunctive with *ut* is by far the most common form. Legal writers, judging by the Institutes of Gaius and of Justinian, have a decided preference for *causa* with the gerund or gerundive.

A final clause expresses an action which is distinctly considered as an 'end' by the actors in the principal statement upon which the final clause depends. Without this distinct recognition of the action as limiting the principal action there cannot be a final clause. The principal clause is primarily one expressing an action performed that the conditions may be furnished for the limiting or final action. This final action is always future to the principal action and therefore contingent. It is considered as a possible action, for man does not seek to establish conditions for the performance of what seems impossible. As the final action is contingent, the clause itself indicates nothing as to the realization of the act. However, the interpretation of the clause depends, in many instances, upon the point from which it is viewed. Such a clause may be contingent to the principal actor, but to the reader may be a realized action. *Missi sunt legati qui dicerent* is the statement of an action contingent to the person by whom they were sent; but when the context shows that they made their statement, the reader may consider *qui dicerent* as a final clause, contingent from the standpoint of the principal actor, or as a consecutive clause expressing, from his point of view, a realized action. While the reader can, by changing the point of view,

change the final to a consecutive clause, the final clause readily passes into such a clause from the standpoint of the writer himself, so that an interpretation is necessary as to which point of view was taken by him. However, to give uniformity to the discussion, all the clauses will be considered from the standpoint of the principal actor.

With the furnishing of complete conditions or means for the realization of the 'end,' the mentally realized action becomes actualized, and then we have the consecutive clause. This is complete conformity of means to an end. But the question of conformity is free from ambiguity only when we take as the starting-point the conscious purpose of the human mind. In this case that which is conformable to an 'end' is the selection or combination of means which, by their action, bring about the conditions for the realization of the 'end.' The means are of themselves not conformable to an 'end,' but are of such sort that it is possible to use them for the accomplishment of the 'end.'

The adaptation or serviceableness of things to an 'end' is of frequent occurrence, but proves nothing as to a previous action of the will. For when once there exist things with recognized properties of their own, a statement of these properties may be expressed by constructions used in the case of a personal designer. When once the grammatical form of expressing conformity becomes fixed, it may be used in statements which express, not a conformation of means to an 'end,' but only the adaptation of things to a given result. This may be due to the fact that an original will element has faded out, and there is left a certain tendency or characteristic whose grammatical expression is the same as when the original personal element was present. This can be clearly seen in the constructions which follow certain adjectives in which adaptation, and not conformation, is expressed; e. g. Tac. Ann. 3, 60, 7 *nec ullum satis validum imperium erat coercendis seditionibus populi*; 15, 67, 13 *faciendis sceleribus promptus*. Hist. 1, 9, 13 *quod saluberrimum est ad continendam militarem fidem*; 2, 99, 8 *hebes ad sustinendum laborem miles*. In none of these is there the exercise of the will for the production of conditions for the attainment of a cognized 'end,' but merely the statement of the adaptation of an unwilled condition, or characteristic of something either personal or impersonal.

As can readily be seen from the examples given, the grammatical forms readily adapt themselves to the expression of

different ideas. In the development of the expression of finality, the increasing number of forms used is due to the gradual recognition of the adaptability, for the expression of finality, of certain grammatical forms which had not at first been so used. When expressed in finite verb-form, *ut* with the subjunctive was the form developed first. But as the early language-user freely employed the accusative either with or without *ad* to express the limit of motion, accusative forms of the verb were also used to express the action which was cognized as the 'end' of the principal action. In this way came about the use of the supine and of *ad* with the accusative of the gerund or gerundive. With certain verbs the latter retained their merely terminal character, and with nouns and adjectives continued to express adaptation to an action which was not conceived as an 'end.' As the sphere of the use of the dative widened, the dative of the gerund and gerundive came to be used, especially by Tacitus, in final clauses exactly as *ad* with the accusative. These had previously been used chiefly to indicate the adaptation of nouns, and the change to the expression of finality was but an extension of this use.

In acting conformably to an end, an agent or physical means may be employed, and regarded as sufficient for the accomplishment of the final action. It is the recognized sufficiency of the employed means, whether personal or impersonal, which accounts for the use of the relatives in final clauses. *Legati venerant qui dicerent* = (*legati qui dicerent*) *venerant*, the sufficiency of the *legati* for the task being implied in the preceding action. When the relative is in an oblique case, a dative, an ablative, or an accusative with *per*, there is a transfer from a relative clause modifying a noun to a verbal expression which is considered as the sufficient means for the attainment of the end. Sallust, Ep. Mith. 4 *praebeo exemplum quo rectius tua componas*, *quo* is an ablative of means, with *exemplum* as antecedent. On the other hand, Sall. Jug. 52, 6 *aciem, quam . . . arte statuerat, quo hostium itineri officeret*, the action itself expressed by the clause *quam . . . statuerat* must be considered as the antecedent of *quo*. In clauses with both *qui* and *quo*, as has already been shown, the interpretation depends upon the point from which they are viewed, since they may be future and contingent to the principal actor, but past and realized to the reader. They may also be taken, as in the examples just given, as relative clauses showing the adaptation of an antecedent expressed by a noun or verbal expression, or as

final clauses in which the relative expresses the sufficient means for the accomplishment of the final action.

With the growth of reflection the limiting character of a future supplementary action was more clearly recognized, and with this recognition it came to be regarded as the 'end' of the preceding action. This, however, was not original with the Romans, but indicates the clearer recognition of the fitness for the Latin of a construction already used by the Greeks. While the recognition of the adaptability of the future participle to express finality is considered as a mark of Greek influence, it is to be noted that Roman writers for a long time kept aloof from it, and it is freely used only after the classical period. When the future participle is used with verbs of motion the participle is naturally taken as expressing the 'end' rather than as the mere continuation of the principal action. In *venit pugnaturus* the action expressed by the participle seems to have been distinctly cognized as the 'end' in the act of coming. The same would appear to be the case with *abscessit occisurus*, though here, as shown by the context, the killing was accidental and was not cognized as an 'end' in the departure. However, after verbs of motion the final idea generally prevails, and it may be used as coordinate with other forms expressing finality when dependent on the same verbs.

When *causa* is used with the genitive of the gerund or gerundive, the cause is the motive for the principal action, and therefore the 'end' in view.

The origin of all these is the same—the recognition of some future action as the end or limitation of the principal action. This 'end' gave rise to the motive which influenced the principal actor. Looked at in this way, the final clause expresses the end, the sufficient means, or the cause furnishing the sufficient reason for the motive influencing the actor.

In its genesis the final clause started from an original paratactic expression, out of which was developed a form of expression connected with the principal statement by a particle of uncertain origin, and used to express not only finality, but other relations as well. Looked at from the negative side, the negative particle is *ne*. Nothing, however, can be learned from this, since the negative in consecutive clauses is *non*, a compound differing from *ne* only by combination with another word. This exclusive use of *ne* with the subjunctive as the negative form seems to point to the original exclusive use of the subjunctive to express finality.

Still, in the forms not expressed by *ne* the use of the negative is precluded, for the denial of the existence of the end, the means or the cause destroys it as a motive for the principal action, for it would be the denial of the existence of that for which the preceding action took place. (For instances of *ut ne* and *quo ne*, see Draeger, II 688, 542.)

I.—PRIMARY FORM.

Ut.

The clauses with *ut* are divided into two classes: those which express a purely contingent action, and complementary clauses—those in which an original imperative is subordinated to certain classes of verbs, especially of willing and desiring. The latter class differs from the former, since the imperative expresses not a contingent action, but one which is conceived as actually carried into effect. When these become subordinate they retain their imperative force, indicating necessary (*should*) rather than contingent action (*may* or *might*). In this expression of the obligation resting upon the subject of the subordinate clause they resemble the consecutive clauses, and at the same time are connected with the final clauses in that they express the motive (enforced) of the principal clause. The number of verbs after which *ut* is used is very large, and some of the verbs which usually have a final clause dependent on them may sometimes take a complementary clause of the second class. *Mitto* and *scribo* will illustrate this. Caes. B. G. 5, 11, 4 Labieno scribit ut . . . naves instituat. Livy 32, 38, 2 scribit ut tyrannum ipse conveniret. *Mitto* and its compounds with *nuntius* and *litterae* often have the force of a command; e. g. Caes. B. C. 1, 9, 3 litteras ad senatum miserit, ut . . . discederent; 3, 80, 3 nuntios mittit, ut . . . veniant. Livy 29, 36, 6; 30, 25, 5; 39, 11, 6.

In a few instances there is an ellipsis of the verb, e. g. Livy 2, 12, 13 'en tibi' inquit, 'ut sentias, quam vile corpus sit'; Florus 1, 10, 6 en, ut scias quem virum effugeris.

Instances in which there is a final clause dependent on a final clause are not uncommon, and need no special comment. Two final clauses dependent on the same verb are fairly common, in many instances one being affirmative while the other is negative. Livy 24, 8, 14 trium rerum causa paravimus ut . . . popularetur, ut . . . essent, ante omnia ne . . . transportaretur; 25, 15, 20; 30, 4, 11 mittit, simul ut . . . converteret, simul ne qua . . . eruptio . . .

fieret. Tac. Agr. 26, 11; Ann. 3, 65, 3; 4, 6, 19; 13, 39, 6. Just. 2, 15, 13; 14, 1, 2 indicavit, ne . . . extolleret, aut . . . terreret, simul ut . . . cognosceret. Examples are by no means uncommon in which a negatived affirmative final clause is contrasted with a following clause: Livy 3, 48, 2 descendisse, non ut quemquam quietum violaret, sed ut turbantes . . . coerceret; 10, 8, 4; 25, 31, 5; 26, 41, 6 agamus, non ut ipsi maneamus in Hispania, sed ne Poeni maneant, nec ut . . . arceamus, sed ut ultro transeamus. Vell. 2, 53, 4 non ut arguerem, sed ne arguerer. Curt. 8, 8, 10 veni enim in Asiam, non ut funditus everterem gentes, nec ut solitudinem facerem, sed ut illos . . . non paeniteret. Just. 31, 5, 1; 39, 3, 5. Tac. Germ. 28, 21 ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur; Ann. (1, 12, 10;) 1, 13, 20; 13, 19, 9 non ut Africanum sibi seponeret, sed ne opibus . . . potiretur. (Amm. Marc. 26, 7, 16?) Val. Max. 9, 1 P. non quidem ut ullum honorem recipiat, sed ut . . . possit; 3, 7, Ext. 1 ut eum doceret, non ut ab eo disceret.

Different forms of expressing finality are sometimes used in the two parts: Sall. Cat. 33, 1 arma cepisse neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab iniuria tuta forent. Tac. H. 4, 5, 6 non, ut plerique, ut . . . velaret, sed quo . . . capesseret. Livy 45, 22, 14 haec non gloriandi causa rettuli, . . . sed ut admonerem. Just. P. 5 quod ad te * * non tam cognoscendi quam emendendi causa transmissi, simul ut et otii mei . . . apud te ratio constaret. Amm. Marc. 21, 13, 3 properare coegit, non ut lacerarent Persas in proelia, sed praetenturis iuncturos . . . ripas. Tac. H. 1, 83, 9 neque ut adfectus vestros in amorem mei accenderem, neque ut animum ad virtutem cohortarer . . . sed veni postulaturus. In other passages in which there is a change of construction, the negative is not used: Sall. Or. Lep. 23. Livy 30, 16, 15 alios ad Scipionem, ut indutias facerent, alios Romam ad pacem petendam mittunt. (Just. 1, 9, 12.) Livy 1, 11, 7; 23, 26, 7 ad populandum dimisit *et* ut palantis exciperent; 44, 18, 2. Sall. Cat. 58, 3. Just. 8, 3, 8 mittit qui opinionem sererent . . . , et ut . . . sollicitarent. Tac. Ann. 13, 24, 2 quo maior species libertatis esset, utque miles . . . incorruptior ageret. Just. 25, 3, 7 speculaturus eventus . . . se recepit, ut bellum reparetur. Amm. Marc. 28, 6, 7 creavere legatos . . . primitias oblaturus, utque . . . ruinas docerent intrepide.

The formula *non modo . . . sed etiam* is sometimes used to intensify the statement of the design: Livy 34, 7, 3 nec ut vivi solum habeant, sed etiam ut cum eo crementur mortui. Tac.

Ann. 11, 24, 9 *ut non modo singuli viritim, sed terrae, gentes in nomen nostrum coalescerent*. Just. 16, 5, 11 *filium quoque suum Ceraunon vocat, ut deos non mendacio tantum, verum etiam nominibus inludat*.

In some instances the final clause is preceded by a negative, though the clause itself is still affirmative: Livy 42, 24, 9 *concessisse, non ut eriperent*. This, however, is not so common as the statements in which the negative follows *ut*, and negatives, not the clause, but a particular word in the clause: Caes. B. C. 2, 5, 5 *ut ne ad conandum quidem . . . viderent*. Livy 42, 45, 7 *ut non expectatam adhortationem esse appareret, ostenderunt*. Cf. 37, 13, 7. Curt. 7, 5, 40. Amm. Marc. 14, 11, 26 *subdidit rotam, ut universitatem regere . . . non ignoretur*. In some other passages *ut* is followed by two negatives referring to individual words: Livy 35, 25, 8 *adnisurum ut . . . nec pacis eos paeniteret, nec belli*. Curt. 4, 13, 34. Val. Max. 5, 2, 10. Just. 43, 1, 2; Amm. Marc. 24, 4, 22; 25, 3, 1. Nepos Dat. 6, 2 *ut neque circumire posset, neque impediri*. Livy 22, 12, 8 *ut neque omitteret eum, neque congredederetur*; Just. 9, 4, 3 *temperavit ut neque apud suos exultasse, neque apud victos insultasse videretur*. Clauses containing *ut* followed by *neque . . . et* are not numerous: Sall. Jug. 85, 6. Livy 1, 28, 5 *ut nec . . . averteretur . . . animus, et . . . iniceretur*; 1, 43, 10 *ut neque—et*; 1, 44, 4 *consecrabant, ut neque . . . continuarentur, . . . et extrinsecus . . . pateret*; 10, 20, 7 *consedit ut nec adventus suus . . . nosci posset, et egredientem castris hostem opprimeret*.

Successive final clauses are not infrequent, some correlative in many instances being used with *ut*: Livy 1, 43, 2 *seniores . . . ut praesto essent, iuvenes ut foris bella gererent*; 26, 39, 10; 34, 46, 11; 37, 13, 7; 38, 26, 2; 35, 26, 2 *ut experiretur, simul ut omnia . . . essent*. Bell. Af. 85, 2 *sive ut . . . sive ut*. Bell. Al. 36, 5 *observari: ut, sive amicus Domitius eas angustias transiret . . . sive inimicus ut . . . veniret*. Livy 36, 16, 10 *subsistendum . . . ut, sive victus ab consule rex esset, in expedito haberent . . . sive vinceret, ut . . . Romanos persequerentur*; 44, 8, 1 *ducit, simul ut praesidium eius firmaret, simul ut militi frumentum . . . divideret*; 44, 46, 2 *misit . . . simul ut Sinticen evastaret et ad omnes conatus regis impedimento esset*; 37, 41, 7 *eminebant falces . . . illa ut . . . abscideret, haec ut . . . contingeret*. Just. 13, 4, 9 *dividit, simul ut aemulos removeret, et munus . . . faceret*. Florus 1, 1, 12 *illi, ut et fidem solverent et ulciscerentur, clipeis obruere*. Tac. Ann. 16, 23, 9 *delectum . . . ut . . . obscuraretur, an ut . . . ostentaret*.

The following are the occurrences noticed for each of the writers examined :

Sallust,	26	Curtius,	106	Amm. Marc.,	197
Caesar,	109	Justinus,	78	Dares,	28
Nepos,	34	Tacitus,	188	Dict. Cret.,	8
Livy,	830	Suetonius,	67	Aur. Victor,	23
Velleius,	7	Florus,	32	Eutropius,	21
Val. Max.,	139	Hist. Aug.,	151		

II.—SECONDARY FORMS.

A. *Accusatives*.—a. *Supines*.

The supine in *-um* is a verbal noun of the fourth declension, chiefly used as a limiting accusative after verbs of motion. The most important apparent exceptions are *pessum*, *venum*, *nuptum* with *dare*, the latter also with *collocare*. There is, however, in these verbs a distinct idea of transference, and for that reason the accusative is used. Sall. Or. Macri 17 neque ego vos ultum iniurias hortor, seems to be an exception to the rule, but it is possible that *ire* has fallen from the text. If we have the statement as it was written by Sallust it must be considered as an older, freer use of the supine, or else as an indication of an effort on the part of Sallust to use the supine not as a terminal accusative, but as the object of verbs not expressing motion. The latter is probably the reason, for he seems to have adopted or extended the use of two other forms expressing finality.

The use of the supine has been discussed by Richter, *De Supinis Latinae Linguae* (5 programs), Königsberg, 1856–60; and by Draeger, H. S., II 858–66. Frequently found in early Latin, it gradually fell into disuse and was not freely used by any except archaistic writers. Of the ones examined, Sallust, Nepos, and Dictys Cretensis use it relatively most frequently. Livy has by far the largest number of occurrences, but the number per page, Teubner text, is not so large as in some of the others. Florus has but one example, *petitum*, I, 44 (3, 10), which is also used Origo Gentis Rom. (Aurelius Victor?) 20, 1, both writers evidently taking it from Livy I, 11, 6. In the case of other writers, some of the supines are due to the sources from which were derived the facts stated. Owing to this, the number of supines used by any writer is not a safe criterion of the frequency of the use of the supine in the vocabulary of the day. This is true of

all writers whose statements are derived from earlier sources. In Valerius Maximus, *questum* 4, 1, 7 occurs in the same story Livy 26, 29, 4; *petitum* 9, 6, 1: Livy 1, 11, 6; *deprecatum* 4, 7, 1: Cic. Lael. 11, 37; *sessum* 4, 5 Ext. 2: Cic. Cato Maior 18, 63. *Supplicatum* 3, 7, 1e is given in what purports to be the exact words of Scipio, 'Quirites . . . aecum est vos mecum ire in Capitolium supplicatum.' Livy 38, 51, 10 has a slightly different statement, 'Quirites, ite mecum, et orate deos.' In the De Viris Illustribus (Aurelius Victor?) 49, 16 is still another form, 'quasi bonum factum, in Capitolium eamus, et diis supplicemus.' The difference between these statements indicates either that the remarks had been handed down in different forms, or that each writer fixed them up to suit himself. Owing to the loss of the early historical sources, it is impossible to tell to what extent the supines were copied by later writers. In Sallust and Livy about one-third of the supines are in speeches or in indirect discourse. In Livy they are about equally divided between these two; in Sallust, nearly all are in the orations.

Of the writers examined, only three—Caesar, Sallust and Tacitus—have assigned to them works written at different periods. But the writing of Livy extended over such a long period of time that, in his case as well as in that of Caesar, Sallust and Tacitus, comparisons of the style at different periods can be made. In the Catiline there are three, one (c. 52, 12) in the speech assigned to Caesar. In the Jugurtha there are twenty-one, three (24, 2; 31, 27; 85, 42) in speeches, and one (109, 2) in indirect discourse. Four of the six in the fragments of the Hist. are in orations, a fact of no special significance, as the orations make up the larger part of the fragments. There is also one, *oppugnatum*, in the Invective against Cicero (2, 3) assigned by the MSS to Sallust. This increased use of the supine by Sallust is due to the archaistic tendency shown in his later works; there is also an increased number in the later works of Tacitus, due very likely to the increasing influence of Sallust. Caesar has sixteen occurrences, three of them (*pabulatum*) being in the Bell. Civ. The eighth book Bell. Gall. has three (?), while in the other works once assigned to Caesar there are ten: *Oratum* (Bell. Al. 34, 1; 67, 1) occurs three times in Caesar; *frumentatum* Bell. Af. 9, 1; 11, 3; 67, 2: B. G. 4, 32, 1; 6, 36, 2; 8, 10, 1; *aquatum* Bell. Af. 7, 5: B. G. 8, 41, 1 (?). The remainder—*deprecatum* (Bell. Hisp. 35, 1), *dormitum* (Bell. Af. 88, 3), *efflagitatum* (Bell. Af. 22, 5), and *praedatum* (Bell. Al. 10, 2)—do not occur in Caesar at all.

There are one hundred and fifty-six passages in Livy containing supines. The number for the different decades (62, 46, 34, 14) indicates a decrease in its use, due probably to the fact that in the earlier decades he followed early Roman sources more closely than he did afterwards. This is also indicated by the fact that the first decade contains fifteen out of the twenty-four supines found in indirect discourse. There are twenty used in speeches, *comisatum* occurring five times in book 40 (7, 5; 9, 11; 10, 4; 13, 2; 14, 5) in the account of the trouble between Perseus and Demetrius. Book 28, 39-41 has four supines; 7, 30-31, three. The distribution of the supines of different verbs depends on certain historical considerations at different periods. Nine out of eleven examples of the use of *exulatum* occur in the first decade. *Comisatum* occurs only in book 40. *Gratulatum* occurs ten times, six in book 45, which contains an account of the embassy of the Rhodians to the Romans.

Richter, Part II, p. 5 seqq., discusses at length the occurrences of the verbs of which other forms than the supines are used to express finality. In this respect authors differ widely. Livy has *frumentatum* nine times, *pabulatum* twelve, *lignatum* six, but does not use the gerund forms; Caesar has both. Livy has *praedatum* thirty times, the gerund forms six; Caesar only the gerund forms. Owing to the small number of supines used by most of the writers examined, comparisons with other forms employed by them are needless. As the supine was an early form, it is not used except with verbs current in the early language, and for that reason, when finality was to be expressed by verbs developed later, it was necessary to take some other form.

The following table gives the number for the different authors of passages containing supines:

Sallust,	29	Curtius,	3?	Amm. Marc.,	14
Caesar,	16	Justinus,	8	Dares Phryg.,	3
Nepos,	20	Tacitus,	12	Dict. Cret.,	33
Livy,	156	Suetonius,	4	Aur. Victor,	5
Velleius,	0	Florus,	1	Eutropius,	0
Val. Max.,	10	Hist. Aug.,	4	(Hyg. Fab.,	23)

Owing to variations in textual readings it is not possible to give the exact number for each author. A few of these variations will be given, the accepted reading being placed first. Sall. Jug. 102, 12 ob regnum tutandum: tutatum; Bell. Gall. 8, 41, 1 aequorum:

aquatum; Livy 22, 38, 3 ubi ad decuriatum aut centuriatum convenissent: ad decuriandum aut centuriandum: decuriatum aut centuriatum. 42, 25, 8 legati venirent speculaturi: speculari: speculatum. 8, 26, 1 depopulaturum: depopulatum. 2, 48, 4 depopulandum: depopulatum. 2, 34, 3 ad frumentum coemendum, non in Etruria modo, . . . sed [quaesitum] in Sicilia quoque. *Quaesitum* is bracketed by Weissenborn because of the change of construction with the formula *non modo . . . sed etiam*. The position of *quaesitum* may be compared with that of *postremo* 32, 40, 11 non aurum modo iis, sed postremo vestem quoque. Cf. 38, 37, 4 non gratulatum modo venerant, sed coronas etiam . . . attulerant. A few instances of the coordination of the supine and gerund are found elsewhere: 29, 28, 10 speculatum ad mare turbandos egredientis ex navibus missi. 34, 62, 5 ad purganda crimina et questum de se Romam eos ituros comperit. Tac. Agr. 28, 8 mox ad aquandum atque utilia raptum. This is the reading of Halm and Draeger, though the latter does not give this instance of *raptum* in the H. S., II, p. 863, nor in the Syntax u. Stil, §217. A similar coordination also takes place with other grammatical forms. Livy 1, 54, 2 praedatum atque in expeditiones. 22, 14, 4 spectatum . . . ut ad rem fruendam. The supine is also sometimes used with another form expressing design in the same sentence: Sall. Or. Lep. 23 nisi forte tribuniciam potestatem evorsum profecti sunt . . . utique iura et iudicia sibimet extorquerent. Nepos Milt. 1, 2 ex his delecti Delphos deliberatum missi sunt, qui consulerent Apollinem. Curt. 4, 10, 11 equites praemisit speculatum, simul ut ignem . . . extinguerent. For an interchange of construction with another form in successive clauses, see Livy 31, 42, 4 aquatum ire iubet . . . aquandi causa missis. Dictys Cretensis 5, 6 non civitatem vestram consideratum Argis venimus, verum adversum vos dimicaturi. Frequently two supines (e. g. Livy 2, 37, 4; 3, 25, 6; 25, 34, 4), rarely three are dependent on the same verb, e. g. Livy 25, 39, 8 pabulatum, ligatumque et praedatum quidam dilapsi fuerant.

It will not be without interest to compare the usage of writers whose stylistic features are similar in other respects. Sallust was followed by Tacitus, and he in turn by Ammianus Marcellinus. Sallust has the supines of twenty-four verbs, occurring in all twenty-nine times, including Or. Macri 16 auctum atque adiutum properatis. Tacitus has twelve occurrences of six different supines, *raptum* (3), *illusum* and *oppugnatum* once each, not

occurring in Sallust. Tacitus has *ultum* five times; Sallust, twice. *Perditum* in Tac. once; in Sall. three times; *oratum* once in each. As the frequency of the supine in Tacitus is much less than in Sallust there is not room for extended comparisons. Amm. Marc. has *ereptum* (19, 3, 3; 22, 2, 2; 23, 6, 40; 29, 1, 18), *opitulum* (16, 12, 45; 28, 5, 2) and eight others occurring singly, including 17, 8, 5 *mittere precatum consultumque*. Five of these are found also in Sallust, but none of them in Tacitus. Curtius has but three, including 9, 1, 2 (*repletum: repleturum*), and in this respect differs widely from Livy, who uses the supine freely. This indicates that in the use of the supine at least, Curtius did not break away from the usual vocabulary of his day, in which the supine was not freely used.

b. *Ad with Accusative of Gerund and Gerundive.*

Ad with the accusative of the ger. is one of the most common forms, owing to the large number of verbs of motion which are used. In some instances in the case of successive clauses there is a change in form of expression and two forms are used in the same sentence: Livy 6, 28, 8 *potius ad delendam memoriam dedecoris, quam ut timorem faciat*; 23, 24, 1 *ad consules subrogandos veniret . . . ut noscere possent*; 23, 26, 7; 44, 33, 8 *non . . . ire ut armis utatur, sed ad vigilandum, ut . . . recipiat se excitetque ad arma alios*; 45, 10, 2 *ad susceptam legationem peragendam navigare Aegyptum pergit, ut . . . posset*. Suet. Jul. 4 *secedere statuit, et ad declinandam invidiam et ut . . . operam daret*. Amm. Marc. 14, 1, 6 *ad colligendos rumores . . . relaturi*; 20, 8, 19 *ad id munus implendum electi viri . . . relaturi . . . acturi*.

The formula *non modo . . . sed etiam* is sometimes used to strengthen successive clauses in which the ger. is used: Livy 21, 32, 4 *non ad tuendos tantummodo . . . sed etiam ad pellendum*; 25, 15, 18 *non ad frumenta modo . . . corrumpenda, sed ad Capuam oppugnandam*; 28, 40, 1. *Ad* with the ger. is also quite commonly used in adversative clauses introduced by *non . . . sed*. Livy 26, 8, 5 *non ad Romam obsidendam, sed ad Capuae liberandam obsidionem ire*; 35, 38, 9 *non ad oppugnandos, sed ad liberandos*. Cf. 33, 31, 9 *ad liberandam Graeciam, non ad transferendum . . . imperium*. A noun is also used as correlative with the gerund: Livy 5, 17, 1 *ad prodigii Albani procuracionem ac deos rite placandos*; 45, 3, 8 *non ad ullam aliam rem quam ad*

Perseum eripiendum. Curt. 4, 9, 13 non ad quietem sed ad praeeparandos animos diebus datis. The number of occurrences noticed is as follows:

Caesar, 63	Val. Max., 117	Hist. Aug., 68
Sallust, 16	Justinus, 96	Aur. Vict., 35
Nepos, 27	Tacitus, 83	Eutropius, 13
Livy, 937	Suetonius, 91	Dares, 7
Velleius, 17	Florus, 9	Dict. Cret., 28
Curtius, 89	Amm. Marc., 141	

1. *Dative of Ger.*—In early Latin the dative of the gerund and gerundive was not freely used. See Draeger, H. S., II 598. Schwenke, Ueber das Gerundium u. Gerundivum bei Caesar und Cornelius Nepos, p. 22, gives but three examples: Caes. B. G. 3, 4, 1; 5, 27, 5; 5, 34, 2, and the latter should be a genitive. The use of the dative was extended by Livy, who uses it after a large number of adjectives and nouns, and also in place of a final clause. See Draeger, H. S., II, p. 843, where eight examples are cited. Most of them, however, are dependent on nouns showing their adaptability, or in the case of an assembly or of an officer the service to be rendered or duty to be performed, e. g. 25, 5, 2 comitia inde pontifici maximo creando sunt habita. 10, 8, 3 duoviris sacris faciundis. 10, 28, 13 luendis periculis piacula simus. Such groups made up of nouns with gerunds or gerundives were used as the objects of verbs, and in course of time the nouns came to be regarded as forming a group, not with the gerund forms, but with the verbs, and then the gerund forms were considered as expressing the end of the action, rather than the adaptation of the nouns. But as the earliest use was as modifier of the noun, it is not always possible to tell which idea was predominant in the mind of the writer, and whether the gerund form is to be considered as dependent on the noun or on the verb. Curt. 4, 2, 18 materies ratibus faciendis advehebatur; 7, 6, 13 condendae urbi sedem . . . elegerat. In both of these examples the gerundive may be taken as showing the adaptation of the noun, or the end of the action expressed by the verb together with its object, or its subject in the case of a verb in the passive voice. The same is true of many others, e. g. Suet. Titus 8 medendae valitudini leniendisque morbis . . . opem adhibuit; Nero 49 ligna conferri curando mox cadaveri. It is possible that in the course of development the same statement may have been

viewed in different ways. A gerundive which to Livy expressed the adaptation of the noun, to Tacitus might seem to express the end of the combined verbal and nominal elements. However, for the sake of uniformity, the different examples will be considered from the latter standpoint. Livy 2, 56, 2 eum vexandis . . . consulibus permissurum tribunatum; 24, 34, 7 machinamenta quaetiendis muris portabant; 24, 40, 15 quae oppugnandae urbi comparata erant; 26, 16, 8; 27, 15, 5; 29, 20, 2 recuperandae Hispaniae delegerit ducem; 30, 12, 18; 36, 35, 4; 39, 22, 6 locum oppido condendo ceperunt. In Curtius the dat. of the gerundive is used in a few passages in which it may be taken as expressing either adaptation or finality. *Sedes* is used 7, 3, 23; 7, 6, 13; 7, 10, 15, as is *locus* in the passages last quoted from Livy. *Materies* is used the same way 4, 2, 19; 5, 3, 7; 8, 10, 30. Justinus has but one example, 2, 3, 16, XV annis pacandae Asiae inmorati.

Tacitus uses the construction more frequently than any other writer. Joerling, Ueber den Gebrauch des Gerundiums und Gerundivums bei Tacitus, pp. 11-12, gives fifty-three examples of the use of the dative in final clauses; nine similar instances are given p. 13. Helm, Quaestiones Syntacticae de Particip. Usu Tac., Vell., Sall., in discussing the dative, pp. 58-67, gives sixty-seven in which the ger. depends upon a verb. Joerling, p. 12, gives Hist. 3, 20, 14 num secures dolabrasque et cetera expugnandis urbibus attulissent as a final dative. Draeger, Syntax u. Stil, 206B. a, classifies in the same way. Heraeus, *ad loc.*, and Helm, p. 66, consider *expugnandis* as explanatory of *cetera*. Ann. 15, 4, 1 ea dum a Corbulone tuendae Syriae parantur, and 6, 37, 5 ille equum placando amni adornasset, are put by Joerling in different classes, in 6, 37 connecting the ger. with the verb. Helm also puts them in different classes, but makes the ger. in 6, 37 depend on the noun *equum*. Draeger, *ad loc.*, says, "Adornare mit dem Dativ nach Analogie von parare 15, 4." Ann. 4, 73, 6 proxima aestuaria aggeribus et pontibus traducendo graviori agmini firmat, is given by Helm and Draeger as a pure final clause. Joerling puts it into a sub-class.

The difference in classification is due to different criteria for determining finality. If direct dependence on a verb decides finality, then the list (31) given by Helm (p. 61 C.) gives the number of final datives of the ger. in Tacitus. Ann. 3, 19, 9 Drusus urbe egressus repetendis auspiciis, is certainly final. 6, 50, 20 recreandae defectioni cibum adferrent is equally so if

we consider *cibum* as forming a unit, not with the gerundive, but with the verb, and with the latter forming the conditions necessary for the fulfilment of the action expressed by the gerundive, which is considered as an end in the previous action. Looked at from this point of view the statement is but a particularized form of *recreandae defectioni agere*. Cf. 6, 43, 10 reddendae dominationi venisse. Interpreting the different datives of the gerund and gerundive in this way there are 75 in Tacitus which express finality. In Ammianus Marcellinus they are not of frequent occurrence. 19, 6, 1 tempore ad quietem reficiendis corporibus dato; 27, 10, 12; 21, 8, 1 militibus regendis adposuit. Aur. Victor, de Caes. 1, 6 legatos mitterent orando foederi. See Draeger, H. S., II, p. 845.

2. *Genitive of Gerund*.—The earliest instance of the use of the genitive of the gerund or gerundive to express finality is Terence, Adelph., 269 vereor coram in os te laudare amplius, ne id adsentandi magis quam quo habeam gratum facere existumes. Some change the genitive to the dative *adsentando*, but the genitive can be explained by assuming the omission of *causa*, a direct imitation of the Greek. Sallust has four similar examples: Fr. 1, 49, 8 (Kr.) ut, omnia retinendae dominationis honesta aestumet; Or. Phil. 3 exercitum opprimundae libertatis habet; 6 arma opprimundae libertatis cepisset; 10 quae . . . cepit . . . legum ac libertatis subvortundae. Constans, De Sermone Sallustiano, p. 130, admits the final force of the last example, and rejects the explanation based on the omission of *causa*. Appendix, p. 271, he calls them all genitives of quality or descriptive, and denies that there can be a final genitive of the gerund or gerundive, following Jordan (Krit. Beitr., p. 285), who thinks that these constructions arose from the old use of the gerund in which the genitive occurs joined to an attributive. That the construction was considered as an unusual one by Sallust is shown by the fact that instances of it do not occur excepting in his latest works. That they were considered as final is shown by a comparison with some other clauses similar in meaning occurring in the earlier works. Or. Phil. 10 = Cat. 33, 1 arma . . . cepisse neque quo periculum aliis facerem, sed uti corpora nostra ab iniuria tuta forent.

The development of the construction so far as it went was similar to that of the dative of the ger. in final clauses. At first it

was chiefly used as a modifier of a noun, and then was transferred to the expression of finality after the noun combined with a verb. The gen. of the ger. modifying a noun is not uncommon (Draeger, H. S., II. 824), though there are but few examples of its use as a final clause. In a few instances the gen. may be explained as dependent on the noun, but it is better to take it as a final genitive: Caes. B. G. 4, 17, 10 si naves deiciendi operis essent a barbaris missae. Livy, 8, 6, 11 placuit averruncandae deum irae victimas caedi. 9, 45, 18 ut mitterent Romam oratores pacis petendae amicitiaeque; 36, 27, 2. 9, 9, 19 capita luendae sponsionis feramus. Draeger, H. S., II, p. 842, 'luendae sponsioni (volgo: sponsionis, was keinen Sinn giebt).'

Tacitus has nine examples in his larger works: H. (2, 100, 13 *proditionis* or *proditioni*); 4, 25, 12; 42, 5. Ann. 2, 59, 2; (3, 7, 2); 3, 9, 5; 27, 2; 41, 9; 6, 30, 3; 12, 24, 5; 13, 11, 8 orationibus, quas Seneca testificando, quam honesta praeciperet, vel iactandi ingenii voce principis vulgabat. Later writers seem to have avoided using the construction. Amm. Marc. 25, 5, 7 clavos regendae navis commiserunt. Aur. Victor, de Caes. 15, 4 neque ipsum ostentandi sui bellum fecisse; de Vir. Illustr. 2, 6 Tarpeiam virginem nacti, quae aquae, causa sacrorum, hauriendae descenderat. Here the omission of *causa* with the ger. is due to its use with *sacrorum*. See Draeger, H. S., II, p. 834.

B. Relative.—a. *Qui*.

The use of the relative pronoun = *ut* with a demonstrative is common to all writers, but of most frequent occurrence in those who give accounts of the transaction of business through others chiefly by sending representatives, or using a sufficient agent or means for the performance of a given act. In the classification of relative clauses there is a difference of opinion as to the place to be assigned to some of them. This can be seen by comparing the classification in the Lex. Caes. of Menge and Preus, p. 1109, and that in Heynacher's Sprachgebrauch Caesars in Bell. Gall., p. 69. Excluding *mitto* and *praemitto*, the Lex. gives eighteen instances; Heynacher twenty-six. Two of the latter (6, 21, 1; 6, 39, 2) are classified as consecutive by the Lex., while six others are given under other divisions. As in the classification of the genitive and the dative of the gerund and gerundive, different criteria seem to be used in determining the finality of the clauses. Many relative clauses may be considered as final if we take the

principal verb and the antecedent of the relative as together forming the conditions for the final action, e. g. *Nepos, Dion 4, 1 navem ei trirerem dedit, qua Corinthum deveheretur.*

The gender of the relative, though it is usually masculine, in no way affects the finality of the clause, for the means used for the attainment of the 'end' may be of any gender. *Livy 30, 25, 4 naves mitterent, quae se prosequerentur; Caes. B. C. 2, 18, 1 frumenti magnum numerum coegit, quod Massiliensibus . . . mitteret; Tac. Ann. 2, 25, 7 missa extemplo manus, quae hostem a fronte eliceret,* in no way differ from the statements in which the relative is masculine excepting that the principal actor has used impersonal means for the accomplishment of the end in view. The relative is usually in the nominative case, though there are numerous exceptions, the principal actor using the antecedent of the relative through which he might accomplish the end. This form of statement may make the subject of the principal and subordinate verbs the same, and, by denying efficient agency to the antecedent, more clearly indicate his subordination to the principal actor. *Per* with the accusative is sometimes used: *Livy 44, 31, 9 oratores . . . mitteret . . . per quos indutias peteret. Just. 24, 1, 2. Tacitus uses it most freely of all: Agr. 14, 9 castellis promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur; H. 4, 40, 7 tum sorte ducti, per quos redderentur bello rapta; Ann. 3, 8, 2; 3, 74, 18; 16, 2, 2; 16, 24, 6 scripsisse per quae claritudinem principis extolleret. Suet. Vesp. 10 sorte elegit per quos rapta bello restituerentur. Cf. Tac. H. 4, 40, 7 supra. The dative and the ablative are used in a few instances, chiefly in Tacitus, where these cases are required by the general form of the statement, e. g. Tac. Ann. 4, 44, 7 ipse delectus, cui minor Antonia, . . . in matrimonium daretur; 6, 3, 7 discordiam . . . quaesitam, qua rudes animos . . . propelleret. 12, 22, 14 mittitur tribunus, a quo ad mortem adigeretur. Bell. Gall. 8, 7, 1 dimittit . . . ad aliquos excipiendos, ex quibus hostium consilia cognosceret. Tac. Ann. 12, 56, 10. Curt. 8, 10, 2 navigia facere, quis in ulteriora transportari posset exercitus.*

A few passages will be given in which there is a double construction dependent on the same verb: *Livy 28, 5, 16 ut posset occurrere . . . mittit qui loca alta eligerent, unde editi ignes apparent; Curt. 7, 6, 17 ad pertinaciam mitigandam . . . equites praemisit qui clementiam . . . ostenderent. Two final *qui* clauses dependent on the same verb are found. Curt. 4, 15, 6 mittit, qui*

et periculum ostenderet et, . . . consuleret. Curt. 6, 11, 7 *qui* is used in contrasted clauses, missuros ad oraculum, non qui Iovem interrogent, . . . sed qui gratias agant, qui vota . . . persolvant.

The following is the number of instances noticed in each writer:

Sallust,	10	Curtius,	49	Amm. Marc.,	9
Caesar,	57	Justinus,	35	Dares,	6
Nepos,	21	Tacitus,	98	Dict. Cret.,	3
Livy,	251	Suetonius,	25	Aur. Victor,	11
Velleius,	2	Florus,	2	Eutropius,	3
Val. Max.,	7	Hist. Aug.,	14		

b. *Quo*.

Quo is used referring either to a noun or an antecedent made up of verbal and nominal elements. In this the two parts coalesce as one, and to it the *quo* refers. It generally occurs with a comparative, the usage of Sallust and Tacitus being the most noticeable departure from the general rule. However, clauses in which there is a comparative do not always take *quo*, there being numerous instances in which other forms are used. Nor are all clauses final in which the comparative with *quo* is used. *Quominus* has become established as the introductory particle of a negative statement, which, from the character of the verbs with which it is used, may be considered as a negative consecutive clause, the action being regarded, not as contingent, but as actually prevented. However, the comparative *minus* is sometimes used with *quo* in final clauses, e. g. Curt. 5, 1, 40 ceterum quo minus damnum sentiret . . . renovabatur. Tac. H. 2, 89, 2 senatum et populum ante se agens, quo minus ut captam urbem ingrederetur. 4, 66, 4 quo minus ultra pergeret . . . restitit. In Sallust the comparative is not used in Cat. 11, 5; 14, 3; 38, 3; Jug. 52, 6; Hist. 1, 45, 1. Cat. 48, 4 properaret ad urbem adcedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur. In this statement there is a comparative in one clause but not in the other, both dependent on the same verb. In one passage the verb has a comparative meaning. Jug. 37, 4 simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet. Caesar has one example, B. G. 2, 27, 2 pugnarunt, quo se legionariis militibus praeferrent. Bell. Af. 54, 3 constituunt, quo ceteri dissimiliter se gerant.

In Tacitus the comparative is omitted in nearly half the instances (38 : 43). Most of the examples, however, are in the Annals, there being two in the Agricola (18, 14; 38, 16), four in

the latter part of the Histories (3, 61, 10; 4, 14, 17; 4, 86, 11; 5, 4, 1), eight in the first part of the Annals and twenty-four in the second. This large increase for the second part of the Annals does not indicate a supplanting of *quo* without a comparative, for it occurs two-thirds as frequently in the second part as in the first (10 : 15). There was a steady growth in the construction, the number of occurrences in the Histories being one to eleven Teubner pages, in the first part of the Annals one to eight and one-half pages, in the second part one to six, the increase going chiefly to *quo* without the comparative. Suetonius has a few examples (Tib. 22). Ammianus does not use the form at all freely and generally without the comparative (19, 3, 1; 21, 3, 4; 21, 8, 3; 21, 10, 5).

That the construction both with and without the comparative was considered as equivalent to other forms can be shown by several passages in which different forms are used in successive clauses: Sall. Cat. 33, 1 nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti . . . forent; 58, 3 sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem, advocavi, simul uti causam mei consilii aperirem. Nepos, Pelop. 2, 1 Athenas se contulerunt, non quo sequerentur otium, sed ut . . . recuperare niterentur. Florus 1, 34 [2, 19, 5] quo melius appareant, simul et ne scelera virtutibus obstrepant. Just. 9, 2, 10 praemissis legatis, quo securiores faceret, qui nuntient Atheae. Tac. H. 4, 5, 7 ingenium . . . altioribus studiis . . . dedit, non, ut plerique, ut . . . otium velaret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita rem p. capesseret. Ann. 13, 9, 4 quo bellum ex commodo pararet, an ut aemulationis suspectos . . . amoveret. 13, 24, 1 statio . . . demovetur, quo maior species libertatis esset, utque miles . . . incorruptior ageret. 12, 40, 4 aucta . . . fama quo venientem ducem exterrere, atque illo augente audita, ut maior laus . . . tribueretur. A good illustration of the repetition of *quo* clauses is Val. Max. 5, 1, Ext. 3 quo tutius venirent, Lyconem Molosson obviam misit, quo honoratius exciperentur, ipse ornatu regio salutatum extra portam occurrit.

A feature of some interest is the use of *quoque* at the beginning of a clause where *et quo* would be expected. This is not common. Draeger, H. S., II, p. 36, 2d quotes seven instances in various kinds of clauses, but only one of them final, Suet. Aug. 18 quoque celebratior esset. To this may be added the following: Nepos, Pelop. 4, 3; Livy 22, 3, 5; 22, 42, 2; Val. Max. 4, 7, 4; 5, 1, 11; 7, 6, Ext. 3; 9, 2, Ext. 5; 11. Curt. 8, 2, 12; Suet. Aug. 37; Cal. 16.

The number of occurrences noticed is as follows :

Sallust,	24	Curtius,	23	Amm. Marc.,	5
Caesar,	32	Justinus,	6	Dares,	0
Nepos,	18	Tacitus,	81	Dict. Cret.,	7
Livy,	78	Suetonius,	49	Aur. Victor,	2
Velleius,	4	Florus,	3	Eutropius,	2
Val. Max.,	55	Hist. Aug.,	10		

C. *Future Forms*.—a. *Gerundive*.

The gerundive is used to express finality after certain verbs of transferring. See Draeger, H. S., II, p. 822. It is used most frequently after *curo*, but the examples of this have not been included in the summary, as it expresses an action considered by the principal actor as definitely completed, and not as contingent. It stands in the same relation to the gerundive after other verbs as the subjunctive with *quominus* stands to final clauses.

Not counting occurrences with *curo* (21), it is used by Caesar with *do* (5) and *trado* (2). Bk. VIII B. G. has *do* (1) and *suscipio* (2). In Nepos these verbs occur as follows: *do* Lys. 4, 3; *trado* Milt. 3, 2; Them. 2, 8; Dat. 4, 5; 5, 6; Eum. 2, 1; 13, 4; *suscipio* Ep. 4, 1, (*curo* 6). See Lupus, Sprachgebrauch des Cornelius Nepos, p. 187. Sallust has *do* Jug. 6, 1; *attribuo* Jug. 90, 2; *praebeo* H. 3, 61, 6. The use of the gerundive was extended by Livy, it occurring with *do* (20), *loco* (16), *trado* (9), *relinquo* (6), *divido* and *obicio* 4 each, *suscipio* (3), *attribuo* (2), and ten other verbs once each. (See partial list of Draeger, II, p. 822.) Velleius has but three occurrences, *loco* 1, 13; *relinquo* 1, 16; *suscipio* 2, 124. Curtius has five with *do* and *praebeo* (1), and *trado* (3).

Valerius Maximus and Justinus are especially free in the use of the construction. Of forty-eight instances noticed in the former, *trado* occurs 21 times, *praebeo* 7, *relinquo* 4, *do* and *obicio* 3, *loco* 2, and eight others once each. In Justinus the proportion of the verbs used is about the same. Out of eighteen instances *trado* occurs 9, *do* and *praebeo* 2, and five others once each. Tacitus has the gerundive with eight verbs, seventeen times in all. This, however, includes seven instances with *habere* which are not final. This use of the gerundive is relatively far more frequent in the Dialogus than in the works of Tacitus. See Theilmann, *Habere* mit dem Infinitive, Archiv, II 69. Later writers seem to have used the gerundive expressing finality with increasing freedom. Suetonius has seventeen verbs with twenty-

seven occurrences of the gerundive. Amm. Marc. has eighteen with the gerundive, fourteen once each; *trado* 3, *committo*, *do*, and *mitto* 5 each. The Script. Hist. Aug. have thirty-one occurrences with sixteen verbs, *do* occurring 11 times, *accipio* 4. Florus has nine instances, Dict. Cret. eight, Aur. Vict. (?) twelve with six verbs, Eutropius three. (In the Institutes of Gaius and Justinian either *accipio* or *do* is used in twenty-four out of thirty occurrences.)

b. *Future Participle.*

The use of the future participle is the result of considering a continuative action as the end or limitation of the principal action. This is especially true after verbs of motion, as has been shown, but even then the participle is not always final. Quintilian 9, 3, 12 criticises Sallust for his use of the future participle, unde eousque processum est ut . . . visuros (pro) ad videndum missos idem auctor dixerit. Donatus ad Terence Hec. 5, 1, 33 also quotes from Sallust, graviore bello qui prohibitori venerant socii, fringere. Macrobius 1, 16, 33 quotes from an earlier writer, Cassius, Servium Tullium fecisse nundinas dicit, ut in urbem ex agris convenirent urbanas rusticasque res ordinaturi. If the entire statement is an exact quotation it indicates an early use of the future participle to express finality, but the participle is very likely due to Macrobius himself. In the Bell. Af. there is one instance of this use of the participle, 25, 4 dum alios adiuturus proficisceretur. The use of the participle was extended by Livy, and continued by later writers who employed the future more and more as the use of the supine declined. The development for a time seems to have been tentative, as is indicated by the occurrence with the participle of several particles indicating that the participles gave merely the ostensible motive for the principal action. The particles so used are *quasi*, *tamquam*, *ut* and *velut*. The following are the occurrences for each, in statements of apparent design:

Quasi. This particle is found most commonly in late writers, most frequently in Suetonius. Curt. 10, 5, 15. Just. 27, 3, 1; 22, 2, 10; 29, 2, 8 pacem fecit, non quasi alio bellum translaturus, sed ut Graeciae quieti consulturus. Tac. Ann. 2, 63, 15; 15, 10, 9 duxit legiones quasi proelio certaturus. 15, 72, 4. Suet. Jul. Caes. 82 (twice), Tib. 39; 70; 73; Cal. (34); 46; Nero (40); 47; Galba 9; 10; Otho 7; Vit. 15; 17. Amm. Marc. 26, 4, 1; 7, 5; 29, 2, 14; (31, 12, 9). Eutrop. 7, 2, 1.

Tamquam. Livy 21, 61, 1 tamquam occursurus . . . iter ad

mare convertit; 37, 23, 6; 40, 4, 10; 44, 9, 10; Val. Max. 9, 6, 2; 9, 12, Ext. 10 restitit tamquam . . . sustenturus. Dial. de Orat. 2, 15 contemnebat tamquam . . . habiturus. Tac. (H. 4, 19, 15); Ann. 6, 36, 4; 12, 49, 5; 14, 33, 17.

Ut. Livy 7, 23, 6 ut . . . initura, explicuisset aciem; 21, 32, 10 subiit tumulos ut . . . facturus. 28, 26, 12; 31, 42, 5; 35, 50, 11; (42, 63, 5). Val. Max. 5, 9, 2. Tac. Ann. 1, 47, 11; H. 2, 58, 10; 2, 80, 4; 3, 68, 17. Amm. Marc. 26, 8, 14; 29, 6, 5.

Velut. Livy 30, 4, 10; 44, 35, 14; 44, 35, 23 degressus . . . veluti . . . temptaturus. Val. Max. 4, 6, Ext. 3; 7, 3, 3; 8, 11, 7. Curt. 9, 7, 19. Just. 5, 10, 9; 22, 2, 10; 33, 2, 2. Tac. Ann. 4, 69, 8 velut recens cognita narraturus, . . . trahit.

The number of occurrences in final clauses is as follows:

Livy,	31	Tac.,	14	Dares,	1
Velleius,	4	Suet.,	10	Dict. Cret.,	2
Val. Max.,	10	Florus,	2	Aur. Victor,	1
Curt.,	52	Hist. Aug.,	31	Eutropius,	1
Just.,	30	Amm. Marc.,	150		

In Livy the number is least for the first decade (6, 10, 8, 7), which may perhaps be due to the fact that in the later decades he was influenced by the Greek authors consulted in writing of the war with Hannibal and the war in Greece. Val. Max. has but few examples, some of which may be due to the sources followed, although in a few instances, a comparison with Livy shows a stronger tendency to use the participle. Livy 1, 54, 5 ex suis unum sciscitatum Romam ad patrem mittit quidnam se facere vellet: Val. Max. 7, 4, 2 familiarem misit . . . quaesiturum quidnam fieri vellet. Livy 1, 45, 6 bovem Romam actam deducit ad fanum Dianae et ante aram statuit: Val. Max. 7, 3, 1 bovem . . . actam in Aventino ante aram Dianae constituit . . . daturus. Livy 27, 40, 9 M. Livium ad bellum proficiscentem monenti Q. Fabio: Val. Max. 9, 3, 1 cum adversus Hasdrubalem Livius Salinator bellum gesturus urbe egrederetur, monente Fabio Maximo. The construction is found frequently in Curtius, Justinus and Amm. Marc., in whose work it is one of the most common forms expressing finality.

The verbs with which the future participle is used are chiefly verbs of motion, so that it covers about the same field as the supine, though the use is a little more extended. Sall. Or. Macri 16 auctum atque adiutum properatis, is the only passage in which *propero* is used with the supine, though Amm. Marc. has it with

the participle 15, 5, 7; 25, 8, 9; 26, 8, 3. *Adiutum* is also used by Nepos, and in a quotation by Gellius 14, 6, 1; Amm. Marc. has *iuvaturus* 14, 6, 17; 20, 4, 8. As an indication of the shifting from the supine to the future participle will be given a list of early supines which occur as participles in Ammianus, the figures after the colon being the references to that writer. Of course there was no definite time at which the change from the supine to participle was consciously made, but the comparison will show something of the general drift. *cognitum* Sall.: 23, 2, 2; 27, 5, 1. *nunciatum* Sall., Livy: 16, 12, 19; 25, 8, 7. *oratum* Caes., Sall., Livy: 21, 15, 4; 28, 1, 24; 29, 5, 15; 31, 12, 12. *hiematum*: 16, 3, 3; 20, 10, 3; 20, 11, 32. *petitum*, common in early writers: 14, 10, 9; 19, 8, 9; 22, 16, 11; 24, 4, 8; 27, 8, 2. *precatum* Livy: 17, 8, 5; 18, 2, 15. *spectatum* Livy, Val. Max.: 20, 2, 2; 31, 3, 5. *visum* Sall.: 28, 4, 18; 29, 3, 9. *venatum* Nepos, Livy, Suet.: 28, 4, 18. Some also appear as participles in Justinus. *speculatum* common earlier: 18, 2, 4; 25, 3, 7. *consultum* Nepos, Livy: 3, 3, 11; 11, 11, 2. *sciscitatum* common in accounts of religious embassies: 14, 6, 6. Some other participles also appear in Tacitus and Suet., and in some of the works both supine and participle forms of the same verb are found.

The participle did not take the place of the supine only, for in some instances it seems to have displaced *causa* or *gratia* with the genitive of the gerund or gerundive. *hiemandi* g. Sall. J. 61, 2; Caes. B. C. 1, 37, 1; Tac. Hist. 4, 3, 5; Amm. Marc. participle three times. *occidendi* gr. Val. Max. 9, 4, 2; Curt. 9, 7, 6. *indicandorum* c. Val. Max. 3, 3, Ext. 3; Curt. 6, 11, 19 *indicaturus*. Sall. J. 61, 4 *conloquendi* gr.: Val. Max. 4, 6, Ext. 3 *allocuturus*.

In a few instances there is a double construction dependent on the same verb, which shows that the construction was considered as the equivalent of the other forms. Livy 35, 29, 10 *progredi*, ut intercluderent iter . . . simul etiam temptaturos. Tac. Ann. 14, 8, 18 si ad visendum venisset, . . . sin facinus patraturus. 14, 41, 4 reos, ne apud praefectum urbis arguerentur, ad praetorem detulisset, . . . ultionem elusurus. Amm. Marc. 16, 11, 13 Iulianus non levaturus incommoda Galliarum electus est, sed ut possit per bella deleri; 17, 13, 5 *venere fluminis ripam*, ut exitus docuit, non iussa facturi, sed ne viderentur militis praesentiam formidasse; Dict. Cret. 1, 11 *contestandi magis gratia quam aliquid ex oratione profecturus cuncta . . . retexit*. With these may also be placed Just. 1, 10, 14 *recepit*, . . . *regnum firmaturus*, ut . . .

videretur. 9, 1, 9 praedandi causa profectus est, . . . impensas belli refecturus. The full equivalence may also be shown by some separate passages from Livy: 41, 22, 5 oraculum aditurus Delphos descendit; 41, 23, 14 ut . . . conspiceretur, Delphos descendit; 42, 15, 4 satis constabat Eumenem, ut sacrificaret Apollini, Delphos escensurum; 42, 42, 2 sacrificandi causa . . . Delphos escendi.

In a few instances there are two participles dependent on the same verb, e. g. Just. 7, 3, 5 evocat, cultius exornaturus gratioresque reducturus. Amm. Marc. 20, 8, 19 electi . . . relaturi . . . acturi; 28, 4, 18 visuri processerunt aut . . . venaturi.

D. *Causal*.—*Causa* or *Gratia* with Genitive of Ger.

Causa is much more frequently used with the genitive of the ger. than is *gratia*, though the latter is the predominant form used by a few writers.

The following is the number noticed for the different authors examined:

	Causa.	Gratia.		Causa.	Gratia.
Sallust,	4	9	Suetonius,	15	7
Caesar,	85	2	Hist. Aug.,	8	5
Nepos,	1	5	Amm. Marc.,	14	8
Livy,	112	3	Florus,	0	0
Velleius,	2	3	Aur. Victor,	0	9
Val. Max.,	8	26	Eutropius,	1	0
Curtius,	0	0	Dict. Cret.,	3	3
Justinus,	3	2	Gaius (Inst.)	18	10
Tacitus,	5	2	Just. "	18	13

In Sallust, two of the occurrences of *causa* are in the Catiline, while all the examples of *gratia* are in the Jugurtha. This indicates an increasing fondness for the word on the part of Sallust. Of the other writers, Nepos, Valerius Maximus, Aurelius Victor, and the legal writers are the only ones in which the use of *gratia* is noticeable. In Caesar, *gratia* is used B. C. 2, 7, 3 nuntii perferendi gratia; B. G. 7, 43, 2 legatos ad Caesarem, sui purgandi gratia mittunt. Haec faciunt recipiendorum suorum causa. Here the use of *gratia* is evidently due to *causa* in the following clause. Livy has three examples, 6, 31, 2; 7, 3, 9; 22, 59, 7, the last being in a speech. A slight indication of individual preference may be seen by comparing the accounts given by Livy and by Val. Max. of the unfortunate professor of the Falisci. Livy 5, 27, 2

has lusum exercendique causa producere . . . ad Camillum perduxit. Val. Max. 6, 5, 1 pueros velut ambulandi gratia eductos in castra Romanorum perduxit.

Both words may be used with either verbal or nominal elements, so that we may have, after each, an expression calling attention either to the attainment of an object, or to the object obtained, e. g. *frumentandi causa* B. C. 1, 48, 7; B. G. 4, 9, 3; 4, 12, 1; 4, 16, 2: *rei frumentariae causa* in six passages; *frumenti c.* in two. Livy 9, 34, 12 quem clavi fingendi aut ludorum causa dictatorem audacter crees. As a still better example of change in form of expression may be given Suet. Jul. Caes. 30 (Cic. de Off. 3, 21, 82):

Nam si violandum ius, regnandi gratia,
Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.

This is a translation of Euripides, Phoen. 534-535:

εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρὴ, τυραννίδος πέρι
κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν, τᾶλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεών,

regnandi gratia taking the place of a noun dependent on a preposition.

Instead of the ablative, *per causam* may be used without any apparent difference of meaning. Caes. B. C. 3, 24, 1 *per causam* exercendorum remigum ad fauces portus prodire iussit. 3, 76, 1 equitatum *per causam* pabulandi emissum. B. G. 7, 9, 1 *per causam* supplementi equitatusque cogendi ab exercitu discedit. Bell. Af. 73, 3 *per causam* frumentandi. Livy 22, 61, 8. Suet. Caes. 2.

A few examples will be quoted in which *causa* or *gratia* is used in successive contrasted clauses. Livy 36, 9, 4 non belli faciendi sed tuendae et stabiliendae libertatis Thessalorum causa. Amm. Marc. 28, 1, 4 non consolandi gratia, sed probrose monendi. Slightly different from these are the passages in which the formula *non modo* is used. Livy 4, 21, 6 non modo praedandi causa, . . . sed . . . populabundi descenderent. 28, 38, 8 non suffragandi modo, sed etiam spectandi causa P. Scipionis.

In some passages the construction with *causa* is coordinate with another form, e. g. Livy 1, 11, 7 necavere, seu ut vi capta potius arx videretur, seu prodendi exempli causa. 45, 22, 14 haec non gloriandi causa rettuli . . . sed ut admonerem. Amm. Marc. 22, 8, 47 constat . . . pariendi gratia, petere pisces, ut salubrius fetus educant.

The construction is active throughout, excepting Just. 17, 3, 11 Athenas quoque erudiendi gratia missus. Here the gerund with *gratia*, as in the quotation from Euripides already given, may be a translation of a Greek noun and preposition not indicating voice at all. Cf. Archiv, I 169 seqq. for a discussion of the use of *causa* and *gratia*.

III.—DIFFERENT WORKS COMPARED.

The indications of personality in the use of the different forms used to express design make the investigation of some importance as a test of the question of authorship. While they are not absolutely conclusive as to authorship, still they are of value in a complete statement of stylistic similarities and divergences obtained by a comparison of different works. The most noticeable features in the works of Sallust occur in his latest productions, as is also the case with Tacitus. In the Oratio and Epistula ad Caes. Senem, and the Inv. in Tullium, *ut* is by far the most common form used, though the supine occurs Inv. 2, 3 domum tuam oppugnatum venerat. However, the pieces are so short and the subject-matter so different from that in the works of Sallust that there is not a sufficient basis for extended comparisons. It is different in the case of the works which have been assigned to Caesar. Each of these has a considerable number of examples, and at a few points there are indications of decided preferences in the choice of forms. The following table gives the number of occurrences for the different works:

A. Caesar.

	Caes.	Bk. VIII. B. G.	Bell. Al.	Bell. Af.	Bell. Hisp.
ad,	63	22	29	14	21
ut,	109	7	16	25	9
qui,	57	10	3	3	2
quo,	32	6	4	9	1
causa,	85	4	8	1	0
gratia,	2	1		12	
supine,	16	2	3	6	1
gerundive,	7	2	3	3	1
fut. part.,				1	

The Bell. Af. is characterized by a more extended use of *ut* than of *ad*, the use of *gratia* instead of *causa*, of the fut. part. and of the supine more commonly than the other works. The absence of both *causa* and *gratia* from the Bell. Hisp. is noticeable. The Bell. Al. and Book VIII B. G. do not materially differ,

and are very much like the genuine works of Caesar except in the proportion of *ad* and *ut*.

B. *Script. Hist. Aug.*

In the works of the six *Scriptores Hist. Aug.*, 298 occurrences were noticed. The subject-matter is about the same in all, though the number per page, Teubner text, varies from .71 in Spartian to .44 in Treb. Poll. and Vopiscus. The following table gives the number of occurrences for each of the writers :

	Capitol.	Spartian.	Lamprid.	Vopiscus.	Treb. Poll.	Vulc. Gall.	
ut,	46	20	39	23	16	7	151
ad,	15	25	14	8	6		68
qui,	1	8	2	2	1		14
quo,	5	2	1	2			10
causa,	2	1	2	1			8
gratia,	2	2			1		5
supine,	1		2	1			4
fut. part.,	1		1	2	3		7
gerundive,	14	8	1	4	4		31
	<hr/> 87	<hr/> 66	<hr/> 62	<hr/> 43	<hr/> 33	<hr/> 7	<hr/> 298

Ut clauses form about half of the occurrences except in Spartian, where they are less than one-third, while he uses *ad* more freely than do the other writers. Slight differences are also noticeable in the use of *causa* and *gratia*. Excluding Vulc. Gall., whose work is very limited, all but one have the fut. part., while two do not use the supine. The gerundive is freely used by all excepting Lampridius, it being most noticeable in the works of Capitolinus.

C. *Aurelius Victor.*

The following table gives the number of occurrences for the different works passing under the name of Aurelius Victor :

	Origo Gent.	De Vir. Ill.	De Caess.	Epit.	
ad,	5	11	12	7	35
ut,	4	15	2	2	23
qui,	3	6	1	1	11
quo,	2	0	0	0	2
supine,	3	0	2		5
gratia,	5	2	2	0	9
fut. part.,	0	0	1	0	1
gerundive,	4	6	0	2	12
	<hr/> 26	<hr/> 40	<hr/> 20	<hr/> 12	<hr/> 98

The use of *gratia* is common to all. The supine is found in but two, and is very likely due to the sources followed. The future part. expressing finality occurs but once, de Caess. 6, 3. The *gerundive* is not used in the de Caess. The last two of the works seem to be more nearly related to each other than to the first two, though this may be due to the utilization of common sources. The de Vir. Ill. and the Origo Gent. are akin in subject-matter and have about the same relative number of each form as might be expected, though there is a noticeable difference in the use of *quo* and the supine, and considerable difference in the use of *gratia* and of *ut*.

IV.—SUMMARY.

The final table gives the number of occurrences for each of the writers, and also the per cent. of occurrences for each of the forms used to express finality. Owing to the mass of examples in Livy the average per cent. does not vary far from his, the widest divergence being in the case of *ad*. In some of the writers a low per cent. for one form is balanced by a high per cent. for another. This is the case with *ad* and *causa* in Caesar, *ad* and the *supine* in Sallust, *ad* and *ut* in Velleius, *ad* and the gen. and dat. of the ger. in Tacitus, and *ut* and *quo* in Tacitus. However, in the last seven on the list, a high per cent. of one form is balanced by a low per cent. for a number of the others. Some of the most marked deviations from the general average are to be found in the writers in which there are comparatively few occurrences. Rejecting half a dozen in which there are the fewest occurrences, in the remainder, the difference between the highest and the lowest per cent. is about .300 for *ut*, .250 for *ad*, .155 for *qui*, and .180 for *quo*. *Causa* with the ger. is not used by Curtius and Florus to express design, though the former has the nom. with the ger. 6, 11, 32; 7, 1, 39. After the time of Livy, the per cent. for the supine in the most important writers does not rise above .03, though Dict. Cret., one of the minor writers, has the largest per cent. of them all. The per cent. for *quo*, *causa*, supine, fut. part. and gerundive is nearly the same, yet more than four-fifths of the participles are to be found in four writers, and nearly one-half of them in one, Ammianus Marcellinus, though they occur in all but Caesar and Nepos. Attention has already been called to the usage of the different writers with reference to *causa* and *gratia* and of *quo* without a comparative. The examples given under each section

indicate the practical equivalence of the different forms, and variations from the general average can be well explained by differ-

	ut.	ad.	qui.	quo.	causa.	Supine.	Fut. Part.	Gerundive.	Dat. Ger.	Gen. Ger.	
Caesar,	109	63	57	32	87	16	—	7		1	372
Sallust,	26	16	10	24	13	29	3	3		4	128
Nepos,	34	27	21	18	6	20	—	8			134
Livy,	830	937	251	78	115	156	31	73	9	4	2484
Velleius,	7	17	2	4	5	—	4	3			42
Curtius,	106	89	49	23	—	3	52	5	6		333
Val. Max.,	139	117	7	55	34	10	10	42			414
Justinus,	78	96	35	6	5	8	30	18	1		277
Tacitus,	188	83	98	81	7	12	14	10	75	9	577
Suetonius,	67	91	25	49	22	4	10	27	5		300
Florus,	32	9	2	3	—	1	2	9			58
Amm. Marc.,	197	141	9	5	22	14	150	32	3		573
Hist. Aug.	151	68	14	10	13	4	7	31			298
Aur. Vict.,	23	35	11	2	9	5	1	12	1	2	101
Eutropius,	21	13	3	2	1	—	1	3			44
Dares,	28	7	6	—	—	3	1	1			46
Dict. Cret.,	8	28	3	7	6	33	2	8			95
Totals,	2044	1837	603	399	345	318	318	292	100	20	6276

	ut.	ad.	qui.	quo.	causa.	Supine.	Fut. Part.	Gerundive.	Dat. Ger.	Gen. Ger.	
Caesar,	.293	.169	.153	.086	.234	.043		.019			.003
Sallust,	.203	.125	.079	.188	.101	.227	.023	.023			.031
Nepos,	.254	.201	.157	.134	.044	.149		.060			
Livy,	.334	.377	.101	.031	.046	.063	.013	.029	.004	.002	
Velleius,	.167	.405	.047	.096	.119	—	.096	.070			
Curtius,	.319	.268	.148	.069	—	.009	.154	.014	.018	—	
Val. Max.,	.336	.273	.015	.133	.080	.024	.024	.102			
Justinus,	.281	.347	.125	.022	.018	.029	.107	.066	.004		
Tacitus,	.326	.144	.170	.140	.012	.021	.022	.018	.130	.016	
Suetonius,	.223	.304	.083	.163	.073	.014	.033	.090	.017		
Florus,	.551	.155	.034	.051		.018	.035	.155			
Amm. Marc.,	.344	.246	.016	.008	.039	.024	.262	.056	.005		
Hist. Aug.,	.507	.228	.047	.033	.043	.014	.023	.104			
Aur. Vict.,	.228	.347	.109	.019	.089	.049	.010	.118	.010	.020	
Eutropius,	.477	.295	.068	.045	.023		.023	.068			
Dares,	.609	.152	.130			.065	.022	.022			
Dict. Cret.,	.084	.294	.031	.074	.063	.347	.021	.084			
Average,	.3258	.2928	.0961	.0636	.0555	.0507	.0507	.0465	.0160	.0031	

ences in subject-matter calling for the use of different verbs by the individual writers.

Of the writers examined, Sallust certainly shows the greatest freedom, especially in his later works. Instances of *quo* without a comparative, of the genitive of the ger. without *causa*, and of the future participle expressing design, are also rather common in Tacitus, but they appear in his works as the result of the influence of Sallust, and his only noticeable variation from other writers is his use of the dative of the gerund and gerundive, of which only a comparatively few examples occur in other writers. Some of the writers examined are so dependent on earlier sources that the usage of each is really the reflection of the usage of many writers, and the results are not really assignable to a single writer. The later writers show but few points of interest, the most interesting one being Dictys Cretensis, noticeable for his archaistic use of the supine, and of *gratia* instead of *causa*.

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III.—A PRE-VARRONIAN CHAPTER OF ROMAN LITERARY HISTORY.

The pre-eminence of Varro among the scholarly figures of Roman antiquity has undoubtedly led to an exaggerated estimate of the value of his methods and the significance of his results. But while the ever-advancing investigation of Roman literature reveals the hand of Varro in methods which are foolish and in results which are impossible, on the other hand it discloses equally his enormous superiority to the school of philological and antiquarian studies which he supplanted and out of which he came. This very pre-eminence has made the task of separating Varronian from pre-Varronian views one of the greatest difficulty; but obviously such a separation is of supreme importance, not only for a just estimate of Varro, but also for a real comprehension of the development of philological studies at Rome, and in the present paper it is my purpose to attempt to distinguish two strata in the history of these studies, which have hitherto been obscurely merged in each other or quite identified.

The beginnings of literary and grammatical studies at Rome are described by Suetonius in the interesting historical introduction to his treatise *De grammaticis*. After explaining that the earliest scholars were poets of foreign birth who only translated Greek writers or gave readings of their own compositions, he goes on to narrate how the first decisive impulse to these studies was derived from the lectures of Crates of Mallus, who came as an ambassador from King Attalus of Pergamon, very soon after the death of Ennius (169 B. C.),¹ *ac nostris fuit exemplo ad imilandum: hactenus tamen imitati, ut carmina parum adhuc divulgata vel defunctorum amicorum vel si quorum aliorum probassent, diligentius retractarent ac legendo commentandoque et ceteris nota facerent*. Thereupon follow several examples of the early editorial activity that was thus inaugurated,

¹ On the inaccurate statement of Suetonius, since the reign of Attalus II (Philadelphus) did not begin until 159 B. C., see Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*, p. 29, note 1.

the first of which will suffice for illustration, setting forth how *C. Octavius Lampadio Naevii Punicum bellum, quod uno volumine et continenti scriptura expositum divisit in septem libros*. That this division bears some relation to Crates' division of the Homeric poems is a not improbable conjecture,¹ and it will serve to illustrate the method of the literary study inaugurated by the example of Crates and the character of the 'imitation' of his Roman disciples. Although the words of Suetonius only make specific reference to editorial and interpretative studies (*retractarent, legendo, commentando*), we may confidently assume that the example of Crates afforded stimulus to the beginnings of literary history, aside from the elements of it which are implied in the preparation of the critical edition of antiquity, viz. the literary and historical introduction.² For that Crates was the author of a treatise *περὶ κωμῳδίας* at least (whether a separate work or an introduction to his commentary on Aristophanes) is quite certain, and his lectures would naturally have included such subjects as well as technical interpretation and criticism.

But the Romans were as yet still in leading strings in literature, and how far therefore removed from any naturally developed critical spirit, not to say sound method in its application, some of the products of these earlier Roman studies are eloquent witnesses. Perhaps a more childish example is not afforded than the arguments by which Accius demonstrated that Hesiod was older than Homer: *quod Homerus, inquit, cum in principio carminis Achillem esse filium Pelei diceret, quis esset Peleus non addidit; quam rem procul dubio dixisset, nisi ab Hesiodo iam dictum videret*, and a similar argument drawn from the monstrosity of the single-eyed Cyclops follows. Inasmuch as the chapter of Gellius (III 11) which affords us this specimen of the philology of Accius begins and ends with Varro's treatment of the questions concerning the age and the birthplace of Homer, from the first book *De imaginibus*, it is quite certain that here, as elsewhere (III 3, 9: *M. Varro in libro de comoediis Plautinis primo Accii verba haec ponit*), Gellius owes his knowledge of the earlier critic to Varro himself, and that the passage of Accius was cited in the descriptive text of the *Imagines* to be refuted by the documentary

¹ Hillscher, *Hominum litteratorum etc. hist. crit.*, in *Jhbb. für Phil.*, Supplementband XVIII (1892), p. 358, and cf. Susemihl, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 10 (note 50).

² Cf. Wilamowitz, *Herakles* (ed. I), vol. I, p. 144 ff.

evidence which Varro brought to bear upon the point (*ex epigrammate in tripode . . . qui in monte Helicone ab Hesiodo positus traditur*) to show *uter prior sit natus parum constare . . . , sed non esse dubium quin aliquo tempore eodem vixerint*. Another example in which we find Varro citing and correcting the view of Accius we shall have occasion to examine in more detail presently. Equally illustrative of the immaturity of this early criticism is the well-known fact of its extraordinarily imitative character. This was conspicuous not only in external features, such as the adoption of technical terms and the entire acceptance of classifications of all kinds, but also in the reproduction of much which in the nature of things must have been inapplicable as depending upon totally different historical and social conditions. I do not mean to imply that Roman scholars ever entirely abandoned this procedure, and ample illustration of trivial and imitative criticism is afforded by examples that are Varronian and post-Varronian.¹ But Varro in this field as elsewhere corrected what he could, and by appeal to the evidence of the literature itself, and especially by his chronological investigations in the public documents, succeeded in demolishing many received opinions of his day.

One of the most remarkable and extensive examples of the imitative literary history to which I have alluded, I pointed out in an earlier number of this Journal (vol. XV, pp. 1-30), showing that the dramatic *satura* described by Livy (VII 2) was but an

¹ An illustration from late antiquity, to which I believe attention has never been called, may not be out of place here. In the Pseudo-Acronian preface to the scholia on the Sermones of Horace, the author says (Hauthal, II, p. 3): *Satira istius (sc. Horatii) inter Lucilii satiram est et Iuvenalis media, nam et asperitatem habet quam Lucilius, et suavitatem quam Iuvenalis mixtam in suo carmine*. Here the *suavitas Iuvenalis* will cause amusement and perhaps perplexity, if we were not in the habit of dismissing lightly the absurdities of the scholiast without much consideration. But the extraordinary characterization of Juvenal is not without its explanation, for it is only the consistent product—surprising, to be sure—of an unfaltering effort to force Latin writers into a rubric fixed by Greek literary criticism. The second treatise *περὶ κωμῳδίας* attributed to one Platonius (in Dübner's Scholia in Aristoph., no. II, p. xiv) betrays the source, in its concluding words concerning the three great masters of the old comedy: *ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης τὸν μέσον ἐλήλακε τῶν ἀνδρῶν χαρακτήρα. οὔτε γὰρ πικρὸς λίαν ἐστὶν ὥσπερ ὁ Κρατῖνος, οὔτε χαρίεις ὥσπερ ὁ Εὐπόλις, ἀλλ' ἔχει καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας τὸ σφοδρὸν τοῦ Κρατίνου καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπιτρεχούσης χάριτος Εὐπόλου.*

assumed Roman analogue to the old Greek comedy, and that the whole narrative of Livy (and of the related description in Horace, *Epp.* II 1, 145-160) reproduces essentially and even in detail the Aristotelian sketch of Attic comedy. The difficult but important question of the source of this piece of artificial history I left unanswered, merely calling attention to some of the problems involved in its solution (*l. c.*, p. 30 and note). What I there expressed tentatively and only by way of conjecture, I shall here undertake to prove, viz. that the whole description goes back of Varro to some "one of his less critical predecessors" (*ibid.*). I shall not urge as ground for my contention "that the assumption is so monstrously unhistorical that one is inclined to doubt whether Varro can have been the author of it" (*ibid.*)—though this consideration is not without significance—but I shall confine myself rather to concrete arguments, in part of a chronological character. Here, as elsewhere, we shall find an earlier view, the product of literary history in its infancy, set aside by the chronological and documentary investigations of Varro.

That Varro is the common source of Livy and Horace has been and is, so far as I know, the undisputed opinion of a number of very eminent scholars who have considered the question. But none of them has gone further than to affirm that he is the only natural source to assume, and that we cannot well attribute it to another. Jahn, in *Hermes*, vol. II (1867), p. 225, after characterizing the chapter as the "Résumé der Combination eines Grammatikers," says very briefly: "am nächsten liegt es wohl an Varro *De originibus scaenicis* zu denken." Leo in the same journal, vol. XXIV (1889), p. 76, referring to Jahn's identification of the source, says with more confidence: "Man darf wohl behaupten das für Livius eine andere Quelle so wenig wahrscheinlich ist, wie für diese Darstellung ein anderer Ursprung."¹ Few, I imagine, any longer doubt that the chapter is the constructive work of imitative literary history and not the authentic record of facts.² But that Varro must be assumed as

¹ So also Kiessling ad *Hor. Epp.* II 1, 139. But less confidently, *Hor. Satiren*, p. vii: "Varro oder wer sonst der Gewährsmann von Livius (VII 2) ... ist." Cf. in addition Leo, *Plautinische Forsch.*, p. 64.

² But cf. Dietrich, *Pulcinella* (Leipzig, 1897), p. 80, note, and Pease, in *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature*, etc. (New York, 1897), article *Satire*.

its source is not required by any evidence of the chapter itself and is a conclusion no more necessary than would be the assumption that there were no earlier philologists to whom it could be referred. If, therefore, it can be shown that this narrative contains elements which are irreconcilable with the known results of Varro's investigations, and even presents views which he distinctly refuted, we shall be compelled to assign the chapter to a pre-Varronian source, and, as will be seen, we shall not be without a clue to a closer identification.

We have seen above how by appeal to documentary evidence Varro refuted the trivial arguments of Accius concerning the time of Hesiod. Another conspicuous example of the same kind, which goes to the very heart of the question in hand, is preserved for us by Cicero in the *Brutus* (72). There, on the authority of Atticus in his *Liber annalis*, then but recently published, Cicero states: *atqui hic (Livius) primus fabulam C. Claudio et M. Tuditano consulibus docuit anno ipso ante, quam natus est Ennius (= 240 B. C.) . . . ut hic ait quem nos sequimur,—est enim inter scriptores de numero annorum controversia—Accius autem a Q. Maximo quintum consule (209 B. C.) captum Tarento scripsit Livium annis XXX post, quam eum fabulam docuisse et Atticus scribit et nos in antiquis commentariis invenimus; docuisse autem fabulam annis post XI C. Cornelio Q. Minucio consulibus (197 B. C.) ludis Iuventatis, quos Salinator Senensi proelio voverat: in quo tantus error Accii fuit, ut his consulibus XL annos natus Ennius fuerit; cui si aequalis fuerit Livius, minor fuit aliquanto is qui primus fabulam dedit, quam ei qui multas docuerant ante hos consules (197 B. C.), et Plautus et Naevius.* The correction of Accius' mistake is not of course due to Atticus, who in this work certainly only aimed to summarize the results of others, but to Varro, as Clinton (*Fasti Hell.*, vol. III, Int. XIX) saw and as Leo has recently pointed out (*Plaut. Forsch.*, p. 58), comparing Gellius, XV,II 21, 42, who gives the corrected date for the first production of plays at Rome and states that Ennius was born in the subsequent year on the authority of *M. Varro in primo de poetis libro*. But the error of Accius is not an isolated one, as Leo has very admirably shown (l. c.) by evidence of another example of the same mistake contained in the chapter of Gellius cited: *eodem anno (235 B. C.) C. Naevius poeta fabulas apud populum dedit, quem M. Varro in libro de poetis primo stipendia fecisse ait bello Poenico primo, idque ipsum Naevium*

dicere in eo carmine quod de eodem bello scripsit. That Naevius was older than was usually believed, Varro was thus able to prove out of the *Bellum Poenicum* itself, and he adduces this fact in criticism of the view which follows, viz. *Porcius autem Licinus serius poeticam Romae coepisse dicit in his versibus :*

*Poenico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu
Intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram.*

Leo has made it very clear that these verses do not refer to a new period in Roman poetry inaugurated by Ennius, as is commonly interpreted, but reveal rather that their author was of the opinion that the beginnings of Roman poetry belonged to the period of the second Punic war. But doubters there will be, who will question on the one hand this interpretation of the verses of Porcius, or admitting that they refer to the actual beginnings, will deny that the words *Poenico bello secundo* need bring us so far down as the chronology of Accius requires. To show, therefore, that the blunder of Accius does not stand alone (as seems to be the current opinion), but represents a widely diffused pre-Varronian conception of the early literary chronology, let us see what other evidence can be brought to bear upon the question.

In the first place, while it may be conceivable that the egregious blunder of Accius was an individual one and so conspicuously erroneous as to be without important effect upon his own or subsequent times, and while it may also be conceivable that Varro would have taken pains to refute such an isolated aberration, it is not conceivable that Atticus in a brief historical summary would have devoted his attention to the detailed refutation of such an error. But his mention of it (not dogmatically, but with detailed evidence) is the clearest indication of the radical importance of Varro's correction in demolishing a generally accepted theory of Roman literary chronology. If further proof of this kind is desired we have it in the fact that Cicero takes up the point irrelevantly (*haec si minus apta videntur huic sermoni*, *ibid.* 74), but lured on by the novelty and interest of the disclosures which Atticus' book contained (v. q. sq. *ibid.*). But turning to more concrete evidence, let us examine *De senectute* 50, where Cato, in illustration of the statement *si vero habet aliquod tamquam pabulum studii atque doctrinae, nihil est otiosa senectute iucundius*, enumerates examples from Roman history : (*in studio*

dimetiendi caeli) Gallus, (*in levioribus studiis*) quam gaudebat bello suo Punico Naevius, quam Truculento Plautus, quam Pseudolo: vidi etiam senem Livium, qui cum sex annis ante quam ego natus sum fabulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adulescentiam meam processit aetate. In this passage the reference to the age of Livius and to the time of the production of his first play is, so far as I know, looked upon merely as one of the didactic digressions in which the Cato Major is rich. And yet, when attention is called to it in connection with the refutation of Accius' error in the Brutus, it will be seen very clearly that the reason for the information given is to justify the designation of Livius as *senex* in the mouth of Cato, and thus to refute a popular error. For if Livius had produced his first play in 197, he would presumably have been a man no older (or even younger) than Cato himself, and still a young man at the end of his career. In order, therefore, to furnish an illustration of Cato's point (*eos omnes quos commemoravi, his studiis flagrantis senes vidimus*, *ibid.*) it was necessary to indicate the true chronological relation of Livius to Cato, and to the other poets mentioned. Thus this digression, which otherwise would seem to furnish purely gratuitous information such as is not attached to any of the other illustrations, finds a complete explanation. Once again Cicero touches on the matter in the Tusc. Disp. I 3, giving the corrected date of Livius and his relation to Ennius, Plautus and Naevius, but elsewhere he does not make mention of him (with the exception of the Liviani modi in De leg. II 39, and the Livianae fabulae in Brutus 71, out of which the discussion in 72 arises). So we see that his interest in Livius was distinctly subordinated to the chronological novelties which Varro's investigation had attached to his name.

Another witness to a false chronology, similar to, if not identical with, that of Accius, was cited by Madvig, in his *Commentatio de L. Attii didascaliciis*, in 1831 (*Opusc. ed. alt.*, p. 82). We have seen above that Accius believed that the first play of Livius was produced in the year 197 at the *ludi Iuventatis*, given in accordance with the vow of Livius Salinator on his victory at Sena (207). The same event is referred to the year 191 by Livy (XXXVI 36, 5 ff.): *item Iuventatis aedem in circo maximo C. Licinius Lucullus duumvir dedicavit. voverat eam sexdecim annis ante M. Livius consul. . . . huius quoque dedicandae causa ludi facti et omnia cum maiore religione facta, quod novum cum Antiocho instabat bellum.* This description is pre-

ceded by the narrative of the dedication in the same year (191) of the temple of the *magna mater Idaea* (ibid. 4): *Dedicavit eam M. Iunius Brutus, ludique ob dedicationem eius facti, quos primos scaenicos fuisse Antias Valerius est auctor, Megalesia appellatos*. The words obviously "aliam sententiam non habent, nisi hos ludos primos omnino scaenicos fuisse, appellatos autem Megalesia" (Madvig, l. c., and cf. Weissenborn ad loc.). What Livy's attitude toward the statement is we should gladly know, but we do not learn. That the phrase *Antias Valerius auctor est* implies dissent on Livy's part is by no means the case,¹ as Weissenborn here suggests, but on the other hand we need not urge that it implies unqualified acceptance of the statement. In regard to the origin of the error of Valerius Antias there are many possibilities, and Madvig (l. c., note) has presented, with much ingenuity and learning, a plausible (*veri similem, si non veram*) explanation. I should prefer a less intricate hypothesis, and starting with the presumption of Accius' acknowledged authority in matters of dramatic history, it would seem to me most natural to suspect that a divergence of authorities concerning the date of the *ludi Iuventatis* of Salinator was the source of the error. Valerius, let us assume, had it from Accius that the first play of Livius was produced at the *ludi Iuventatis*, but he found these *ludi* in some source transferred to the year 191. Now the Megalesia of this year on the dedication of the temple of the Magna Mater so far eclipsed all previous spectacles of the kind at Rome, that it seemed more reasonable to associate the first *ludi scaenici* with this celebration rather than with the more modest *ludi Iuventatis*. Still "confusio quaedam in tota hac re talis effecta est, ut errorum seriem vix persequi possimus" (Madvig, l. c.). But the essential thing for our present purpose is clear enough, viz. that Valerius Antias presents a chronology of similar incorrectness to that of Accius, and that Livy was not at pains to refute so remarkable an error.

To gather up at this point all the evidence for the diffusion of the chronology of Accius, I add here the entry of St. Jerome against the year 187 B. C.: *Livius tragoediarum scriptor clarus habetur*. The relationship between this statement and the chronology of Accius was pointed out by C. F. Hermann in a Göttingen program of 1848 (p. 3), and, as will be seen, it fits

¹As examination of Livy's use of the formula *auctor est* (v. Fügner, *Lex. Liv.*, s. v.) will reveal.

admirably. The date 187 is gained not unnaturally by adding ten years to the time of his first play, as in a similar manner the 'floruit' of Caecilius is fixed by going back ten years from the time of his death.

This somewhat protracted review of the literary chronology of Accius has not, I hope, been without independent value as an illustration of one phase of pre-Varronian literary history. Through it, moreover, we have gained a vantage point that was necessary for the proper understanding of a passage that will lead us near our goal in ascertaining the *provenance* of Livy's chapter. That Horace's similar description in the letter to Augustus, vss. 145-160, is derived from the same source as Livy's is, I believe, universally conceded. There, it will be recalled,¹ the progressive development of a native comedy, through the three stages of the (1) *fescennina licentia* (φαλλικά), (2) the *aperia rabies* (προφανὴς σκόπτειν), and (3) the artistic drama designed to please (*delectare*, τέρπειν) and not to abuse (*benedicere* = *non maledicere*, μὴ λυπεῖν) is described, corresponding closely to the Aristotelian outlines of the development of Attic comedy. The description concludes:

- 156 *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis
intulit agresti Latio. Sic horridus ille
defluxit numerus Saturnius et grave virus
munditiae pepulere; sed in longum tamen aevum*
160 *manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris.
Serus enim Graecis admovit acumina chartis
et post Punica bella quietus quaerere coepit,
quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus utile ferrent:
temptavit quoque rem, si digne vertere posset,*
165 *et placuit sibi, natura sublimis et acer.*

I have said before, in considering these lines (l. c., p. 25), that it would seem most natural to refer *Graecia capta* to the conquest of Magna Graecia; but in the light of what I have since learned concerning the opinion which prevailed before Varro of the period to which Livius Andronicus belonged, with the consequent advancement of the whole literary chronology of the time by a generation, I now doubt if that interpretation be the natural or correct one. Kiessling says of the pointedly paradoxical words: *Graecia capta . . . victorem cepit*—"a commonplace first uttered

¹See above, p. 288, and my article on 'The Dramatic Satura and the Old Comedy at Rome,' in this Journal, vol. XV (1894), p. 20 ff.

apparently by Cato, and afterward oft repeated, in which Horace is thinking of the introduction of elements of Greek civilization that followed on the subjugation of Magna Graecia." While the words are general, their special application of course is to the introduction of letters, and accordingly the time referred to will depend upon the conception that Horace had of the period to which Livius Andronicus belonged. Thus Kiessling, not doubting that Horace would place his first play in 240 B. C., interprets the words as just quoted, adding: "war doch Livius Andronicus ein kriegsgefangener Grieche" (*captus Graecus*). His conception of the passage and its relation to Livius Andronicus is certainly correct, but he has erred in naming the period referred to in the words *Graecia capta*; for is Horace following the corrected chronology of Varro?

The utterance of Cato, which Horace here adapts to the person of Livius Andronicus as the inaugurator of literary studies at Rome, is preserved for us in the report of the famous speech which he delivered against the abrogation of the *lex Oppia* in 195 B. C.: *eo plus horreo, ne illae magis res nos ceperint quam nos illas. infesta, mihi credite, signa ab Syracusis illata sunt huic urbi* (Livy, XXXIV 4, 4). I have quoted this passage for the sake of comparing with it the comment of Livy on the bringing to Rome of the spoils of Syracuse after its capture in 212 B. C.: *ceterum inde primum initium mirandi Graecarum artium opera* (XXV 40, 2). From these two passages we have clear evidence of the time to which the words of Horace would naturally carry the mind of the Roman reader. That Horace was at liberty to give them another application in point of time is of course true, but we shall see that he saw no occasion for doing so. The origin of the catch-word *Graecia capta . . . cepit* carries us to the period of the end of the second Punic war, and—while recognizing that the words do not allude so much to any specific stage in the subjugation of Greece, as to a period in the growing culture of Rome—the text of Horace refers us to the same time, *post Punica bella*. *Serius* takes up *ferum victorem* again, after the intervening summary (*sic horridus ille* ff.) of the preceding description, and so binds *intulit artes* closely together with *Graecis admovit acumina chartis*. The two expressions are but different aspects of the same thought, and cannot be separated in point of time. *Intulit artes* is a figurative expression (and especially as here used of literature, which is not a commodity that can be imported and stored and drawn upon when

desired), which is interpreted by the words *admovit acumina chartis*. Horace's point of view and form of expression are similar to the verses of Porcius Licinus already cited (*Poenico bello secundo musa pinnato gradu || intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram*).

Turning now to the words which follow :

*et post Punica bella quietus quaerere coepit
quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus utile ferrent.
templavit quoque rem, si digne vertere posset, etc.*

there is nothing longer to prevent us from interpreting them literally and without putting into them anything more than their face value. What Horace says is that the very beginnings of Roman literature, and specifically of Roman tragedy, fell in the lull that followed the Punic wars, i. e. the second Punic war. He is not therefore thinking of Ennius "als den Begründer der römischen hellenisierenden Dichtung und den ältesten in der Reihe der klassischen Tragiker Roms" (Kiessling), but of the whole group of earliest writers—Livius Andronicus (whom he believed, following Accius and the current chronology in which he had been brought up, to have begun his activity at the end of the second Punic war), Naevius and Ennius, following each other in close succession and nearly contemporary.¹ We may fairly insist that the words denote actual beginnings, for *quaerere coepit* certainly admits of no other natural explanation. That is even a step further back than the beginning, it is the reflection that precedes the undertaking; *templavit rem*, the earliest essays, before the possibility of accomplishment had been established (*si digne vertere posset*); *placuit sibi* etc., the success with which the first efforts met. That there is any ground for believing that Horace is here referring to Ennius and his time, passing over as unworthy of notice his predecessors in literature, may be emphatically denied. Horace's criticism in this letter and elsewhere is directed against all that the patriotic critics cherished. Accordingly, in verses 50–62 he reviews impartially and shows that the critics cherished (*ut critici dicunt*) impartially all the great poets

¹ It is to refute this view, which was evidently a current one, and to make clear the chronological relations that Cicero in Tusc. I 3 says: *Livius . . . qui fuit maior natu quam Plautus et Naevius*. These words have seemed to Cicero's critics so otiose and needless that modern editors almost without exception have eliminated them as the stupid gloss of a copyist. They are essential to the whole argument.

from Livius to Afranius. If Horace were the friend and advocate of Ennius we might grant that he could fairly assume on the part of his readers acquaintance with the fact that he placed Ennius in a different category and dated the beginnings of Roman poetry from him, ignoring all that went before. But of course that is not the case either here or in the *Ars Poetica* (259 ff.). Ennius is everywhere comprehended in the same criticism with the rest.¹ We must conclude, therefore, that Horace's words can only be referred to the actual beginnings of Roman tragedy. The placing of these after the second Punic war reveals that Horace follows the older Accian chronology, dating the first play of Livius in 197 B. C. Against this conclusion it may be urged that as Horace has elsewhere in this letter (50-62) made obvious reference to Varronian studies, so here we should expect him to follow the corrected chronology of Varro. But Horace is a poet and but little concerned with Varro's chronological inquiries, and it will not seem strange that writing as late as 14 B. C. (Vahlen) he should reproduce a view which had been universally held in his boyhood and which doubtless continued to be the prevailing popular opinion long after it had been refuted by Varro; just as Livy, writing at about the same time,² reports without comment or wonder the statement of Valerius Antias, that the first *ludi*

¹ It is probable that there was a school of critics at Rome who looked upon Ennius as the father and source of artistic poetry at Rome, following the arrogant pretensions of Ennius himself, echoed again in Lucretius and in Varro (in citation), *Sat. Menip.* 356, Büch. But the verses of Porcius Licinus are not to be cited in evidence of it, as Leo has very convincingly shown (v. supra, p. 290), and to force Cicero into line with this point of view, as Büttner does (*Porc. Lic.* [Leipz. 1893], p. 50 ff. and p. 62), is only an illustration of the lengths to which special pleading will go. Not to mention Brutus 75 and 76, in which Cicero expressly defends Naevius against the depreciation of Ennius (where Büttner can only express amazement at the inconsistency of Cicero (l. c., p. 68)), Cicero speaks in the warmest praise of his language in *De orat.* III 45 (an interesting and instructive passage), and *Orator* 155 only indicates that hiatus was more frequent in Naevius than in Ennius. From what other passages a judgment of Cicero on Naevius can be derived I do not know. *Sit Ennius sane, ut est certe, perfectior (quam Naevius)*, is Cicero's sober verdict (*Brutus* 76), as far removed from ignoring the one as from exalting the other. The patriotic critics of Varro's type in the middle of the first century had lost all such distinctions as the arrogant claims of Ennius may have given rise to, in universal admiration of all the early writers.

² If, as is assumed, Livy's history was produced at the rate of from three to four books a year, the thirty-sixth book would fall in the neighborhood of 16-13 B. C.

scaenici fell as late as 191. Furthermore, Horace's allusions to Varro's studies in this letter are for the sake of criticising and ridiculing them, and therefore afford no ground for assuming that in the parts of his letter which have nothing to do with the literary judgments of Varro and his school, any attention should be paid to the results of Varronian investigation.

But having found in these verses of Horace clear evidence of pre-Varronian chronology, it is in itself almost conclusive evidence that the preceding account of the development of a native comedy at Rome is also pre-Varronian. For not only is the continuity of narrative unbroken, but it will be possible to show that the false chronology and the whole theory of a native drama before Livius Andronicus are intimately related to each other. In considering this question before, I suggested that in addition to the motive of mere parallelism, there may have been present a certain aetiological element in constructing an *ἀρχαία κωμῳδία* for the sake of explaining the *ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν* of Naevius. That both of these elements had some influence in determining the character of the literary history thus constructed I still hold, but the decisive impulse I now see came from another source.

Turning again to Accius, the author of the false chronology which Horace reveals, it was possible for him to have known men whose memory went back to the literary figures active in Rome at the end of the third century. How confused and vague was the information concerning these men and their relationship to each other in point of time we have already seen. Still, we must believe that some traditions which reflected the true relations survived, even though exact information was wanting, and thus, although Accius could date Livius Andronicus' first play in 197, it is still probable that he considered him the earliest historical figure in the history of the Roman drama and of Roman literature.¹ But that he should have believed that there was no drama

¹ I say 'probable' advisedly and aware that it is by no means certain; but the point is not essential to my theory of the situation, which in some respects would gain in simplicity if we could show that Accius believed Naevius to be the earlier. It seems to me, however, *a priori* probable that the chronology would have suffered change more easily than the relationship in point of time of the two men to each other, and so the fact of Livius' absolute priority to all others was less likely to be lost than the date of his first play. Furthermore, the passage of Valerius Antias above cited is evidence that the first play of Livius was believed by some to have inaugurated the first *ludi scaenici*, and hence he must have been held to be antecedent to Naevius as a dramatic poet. Evidence of the opposite view might be derived from Cic.

at Rome earlier than this date is quite inconceivable, when we reflect that men still living in Accius' youth would have been able to recall such performances from childhood memories. But Accius was true to his method, though his results must have caused him perplexity. So having fixed on the most distinguished of the Livii as the master of Livius Andronicus, and the capture of Tarentum (209) as the occasion of his falling into the hands of the Romans, Accius carried through his system consistently and fixed the first play of Livius in 197. Accordingly Naevius was also placed much too late, an error which was likewise left for Varro to correct on the authority of Naevius himself (v. *supra*, p. 290). Accius had thus apparently a definite but erroneous conception of the place of Livius in the history of Roman literature. He could give no name in the history of drama earlier than Livius, for tradition had correctly preserved the fact of his priority to all others, and yet there was a period antecedent to 197 during which there must have been oral and perhaps written tradition of the production of plays. (Documentary evidence of them there was also in the aedile's archives, but this source was closed to the ignorance and carelessness of Accius, as to subsequent scholars, until Varro's investigations brought it to light.) The problem, therefore, which confronted Accius was to account satisfactorily for this period, in the absence of documentary evidence and on the basis of report alone. His chronological inquiries had fixed the first play of Livius in 197. He was thus probably prevented from placing Naevius earlier. In consequence a certain period antecedent to 197, concerning which a more or less distinct tradition must have existed, belonged to dramatic history and yet was apparently without record. With Livius Andronicus, further, he knew that the history of the *vía* at Rome began; therefore, if there was a period of dramatic history antecedent to Livius, what was the nature of the comedy of this period? To a Roman philologist moving emulously along the lines laid down by his Greek masters there could be, *κατὰ τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὸ ἀναικαίον*, but one answer—an *ἀρχαία κωμῳδία*, such as the Greek literary historians described,

Tusc. I 3: *Livius . . . qui fuit maior natu quam Plautus et Naevius* (where see context). But these words may be referred to a refutation of the notion that Livius was a contemporary of these men, as well as of the opinion that he was younger. That Accius must have thought of all these poets as being nearly contemporary is obvious. Cf. Brutus 72: (*Ennius*), *cui si aequalis fuerit Livius*, etc., and p. 295, note, above.

and before that, the elements out of which it grew. Even if he felt that the law of the Twelve Tables forbidding anything like the personal attack of the old comedy would stand in the way of such an assumption, he had the tradition of Naevius' licence of speech on which to build, and he might also remember that many laws were passed at Athens restricting the freedom of speech in comedy, before the stage of Aristophanes was deserted. I have put the whole situation hypothetically, because from the proximity of Accius to the period in question it cannot well have been otherwise. But here we are not restricted to conjecture on probability of an *a priori* kind. We have the clearest evidence from about the time of Accius that the problem must have presented itself to him in somewhat such a manner as described, and that he must have been confronted with a period of dramatic history for which to account, in the mere fact that the annalistic source of Livy and Verrius Flaccus (Festus, p. 326) placed the first *ludi scaenici* in 365 B. C. (Verrius Flaccus 359 B. C.). Now, a history that assigned the *ludi* to that date was inevitably challenged to outline the history of the drama that was performed at them, down to the point of junction with Livius and recorded history. Working back in this manner the Roman literary historian would naturally assume the same steps leading up to the more highly organized drama as he found in his Greek sources. I say naturally, for the whole history of Roman philological studies reveals exactly such methods of work, and they do not require illustration at this point. There was little need of adaptation of the Greek description to Roman conditions, for there was clearly a most convenient absence of facts to be fitted by any such adapted history.

Thus an account of a drama before Livius was constructed, which is preserved for us in two important versions, that of Livy and that of Horace. It narrated with the same brevity of characterization which belongs to the earliest Greek treatises *περὶ κωμῳδίας* the history of comedy through the successive stages of the *φαιλικά* (*fescennina*), from which comedy took its rise, and of the old comedy, with its open invective (*satura, aperta rabies*), down to the point of junction with recorded history as this had been fixed by Accius. This point was made coincident with the transition from the old to the new comedy, and here the description of Livy (VII 2, 8) affords us the name of Livius Andronicus, under whose influence comedy *paulatim in artem verterat*, without further indication of date, while Horace's narrative (Epp. II

1, 156) marks the same stage by the words *Graecia capta . . . intulit artes*, which we have seen are to be referred to the same time as the beginnings of tragedy, viz. *post Punica bella*.

But while in Livy's account the mention of Livius Andronicus is without chronological clue, it affords us a form of expression which is important as confirming the theory of the situation which I have said must have confronted Accius in placing Livius so late. I have said above that the chronology of Accius must of necessity have created a period of dramatic history antecedent to 197, apparently without record, but concerning which a more or less definite tradition must have existed. Now, such a period is distinctly implied in the words *Livius qui ab saturis primus ausus est argumento fabulam serere* (VII 2, 8), for they do not say that Livius was the first to produce plays, but only that he was the first to inaugurate that change in structure of the comic plot which marks the beginning of the more artistic drama, the so-called *vía*.¹ Now, then, will any one believe that the words just quoted are from the same source as the sharp refutation of Accius' chronological error contained in the vigorous words of Varro: *consulibus Claudio Cenchone et M. Sempronio Tuditano* (240 B. C.), *primus omnium L. Livius poeta fabulas docere Romae coepit* (Gellius, XVII 21, 42)? No, surely not. The two statements stand over against each other in marked and distinct antithesis, and are wholly irreconcilable. For while in the one, Livius Andronicus is given an organic place in the development of a native Roman comedy (a view which we have seen was the almost inevitable outcome of a false chronology), in the other he is designated with marked and unmistakable emphasis as the absolute beginner of dramatic performances at Rome. Whether the polemical note contained in the words *primus omnium* is merely directed against the view of Accius in general, or against some special assertion of it, it would be rash to affirm, in view of the meagreness of our sources; but it will at least make my position more clear to show that in fact it reads like a polemic against an utterance such as Livy has here preserved. For while Livy's account says that Livius Andronicus was the first to abandon satires and to compose plays with a general plot, it replies with sharp reproof of the error, that Livius Andronicus was the first of all to produce plays at Rome.

¹ Cf. Euanthius (Reif., p. 5): *coacti omittere satyram aliud genus carminis νέαν κωμῳδίαν . . . reperere poetae*.

We have now gained a point of view from which it is possible to explain without difficulty practically every problem that the accounts of Livy and Horace present. First of all the remarkable circumstance that Livius should be given a place in the organic development of Roman drama.¹ For placing the beginning of his career so late as Accius did, at a time before which for some forty years plays had been produced, it was the only possible relation that could be assigned to Livius; since it is not only inconceivable that Accius could have said of him that in the year 197 he was the first to produce a play, but the polemic of Varro reveals that he did not say it. Accordingly the tradition of Livius' absolute priority to all other poets Accius probably modified, as is done in Livy's account, so as to make Livius the inaugurator of the new form of comedy, the *nea*, to which all the known comedies of Roman writers belonged. Again, that the description is confined to the origins of comedy may be due to the fact that the dramatic tradition of the period before 197 was dominated by the memory of Naevius' boldness and freedom of speech, and this too, as before suggested, gave a point of analogy for the assumption of a Roman 'old comedy' of unrestrained jest (*solutio ioco*) and open attack (*aperta rabies*).

Our investigation has led us to results of considerable novelty, and they have assumed a definiteness, too, which it would seem impossible to attain on the basis of so meagre a record. But I think I make no arrogant claim in affirming that no step in the argument is without distinct support in our scant sources. That the results are surprising and almost incredible to us who have never considered anything else than the corrected Varronian chronology, will not seem strange; but if we put ourselves back into the extraordinary situation assumed by Accius all is very natural. To resume, therefore: the chronology of Accius, placing the beginning of the dramatic career of Livius Andronicus in 197 B. C., we have found was that probably familiar to Porcius Licinus at the beginning of the first century B. C., it was reproduced by Valerius Antias at about the same time, it was still the current view (though already corrected by Varro, but probably not long before this time) when Cicero wrote the *Brutus* (46 B. C.), the *Tusculan Disputations* (45 or 44) and the *De senectute* (44). It

¹ Cf. Leo, *Hermes*, XXIV (1889), p. 78: "Was hat Andronicus . . . mit volksmässigen Rudimenten römischen Bühnenspiels zu thun?"

appears in Livy, writing at about 15 B. C., in such a manner as to indicate that it was still no conspicuous error, and again in Horace's letter to Augustus of about the same date.

Now the first argument for our main contention is found here. The Accian chronology in this passage of Horace is inseparably connected with the preceding description of a native Roman comedy, while this description, as is universally conceded, is derived from the same source as Livy VII 2. That is, Horace's description is a piece of pre-Varronian literary history, and hence the chapter of Livy in question is also pre-Varronian. But this is not all, for in the second place Livy VII 2 bears independent evidence of pre-Varronian origin in the fact that it places Livius Andronicus in organic relation to the history of a comedy developed on Roman soil. Varro, on the contrary, by discovering the true chronological position of Livius and the recorded facts of Roman dramatic history, was able to affirm with great distinctness and emphasis that he had nothing to do with any earlier dramatic performances, that, indeed, there had never been a drama at Rome (*primus omnium*) before Livius Andronicus.

Thus with the downfall of the chronology of Accius, the whole structure of artificial literary history to which it had given rise fell. In consequence, in all subsequent allusions to the beginnings of Roman literature we find the scantiest trace of this pre-Varronian fiction, in spite of the fact that it carried the prestige of two such names as Livy and Horace. Livy himself had learned better (though he perhaps forgot it again in book thirty-six) when the progress of his narrative had brought him to the year 239, if it be true that Cassiodorus derived from Livy XX the following statement in his *Chronica* against that year: *his consulibus* (C. Manlius and Q. Valerius) *ludis Romanis primum tragoedia et comoedia a L. Livio ad scaenam data*. One other mention of the same fact will be instructive as showing the gulf that lay between the assumed knowledge which the descriptions of Livy and Horace reveal, and Varro's well-founded ignorance of any dramatic history prior to Livius Andronicus: *comoediam apud Graecos dubium est quis primus invenerit, apud Romanos certum: et comoediam et tragoediam [et togatam] primus Livius Andronicus repperit* (Donatus de comoedia, Reif., p. 8). But it is not necessary to review the frequent references subsequent to Livy's time to the corrected chronology of Varro. It will suffice to say that, with the exception of Valerius Maximus (II 4, 4),

who epitomized Livy's chapter without intelligence, of Euanthius (De com., p. 5, Reif.), who had from some good source a confused knowledge of the pre-Livian dramatic history, and a scholium of Porphyrio on the passage of Horace in question,¹ all record of it was swept away by Varro's investigations.²

We have thus seen that the two accounts which present us with the fiction of a Roman drama before Livius either reveal the chronology of Accius or else show distinct incompatibility with Varro's correction of it and with his statement of the position of Livius Andronicus in Roman dramatic history. It is therefore most natural and indeed almost necessary, as has been implied already, to refer the construction of this fictitious history to the same source as the false chronology which made it necessary. That is, to Accius; and I see nothing which stands in the way of such an assumption; nor is there, on the other hand, any figure in the pre-Varronian period to whom it can be referred with equal probability, nor any source from which it would more naturally have come than the Libri didascalicon; a brief consideration of which will afford an appropriate transition to the question of the Greek source which mediated between Aristotle and the one who first carried over the Aristotelian outline of the history of Greek comedy, as revealed in the descriptions of Livy and Horace.

To our knowledge of the Didascalica the investigations of the past few years have added a number of important items, so that the general character of the work (and of the related Pragmatica)

¹ For Euanthius, see my article above referred to, A. J. P. XV (1894), p. 13, and for Porphyrio, *ibid.*, p. 21. That Porphyrio has not stupidly attached a Greek explanation to the words of Horace, but understood them of a Roman *archaea comoedia*, is clear from his note on vs. 161, immediately afterward: *serius enim] ratio cur Romanus non expoliverit pristina rudimenta*.

² Our primary evidence for the history of satire (Diomedes, p. 485, with which Quintilian, X 1, 93 is in singular harmony) has not a word concerning a dramatic *satura* before Ennius, nor is the silence on this point due to the caprice of the epitomator, but to the deliberate rejection of a pre-Livian dramatic history such as Livy and Horace present. For in the same treatise De poematibus we have at p. 489 the emphatic statement of Varro's results: *constat apud illos (sc. Romanos) primum Latino sermone comoediam Livium Andronicum scripsisse*. How therefore, in the definition and sketch of satire, could we expect to find allusion made to a drama before Livius? The acceptance of Varro's results concerning the time and the position of Livius Andronicus was ipso facto rejection of any account which placed him in organic relation to a native Roman comedy.

is now discerned not obscurely.¹ The title was not interpreted narrowly by Accius, nor was the work confined within the limits which the analogy of Aristotle's *Διδασκαλίας* would suggest. The argument of the work was somewhat as follows. It began, I venture to believe, with a consideration of the different branches of poetry and their distinguishing characteristics, in regard to which a fragment assigned (as I suspect falsely) to the ninth book is preserved, containing also the dedication to Baebius: *nam quam varia sint genera poematorum, Baebi, quamque longe distincta alia ab aliis, sis, nosce*² (fr. 15, Baehrens). From this, transition was made to the epos and to Homer and Hesiod as the fountain-head of all poetry, so that the determination of their relative age may be thought of as having some historical (and not merely antiquarian) significance for the author's purpose, as fixing the ultimate source from which all forms of poetry were derived (fr. 7). But as the title indicates, the work was not a general survey of poetry and its forms (as Norden affirms), but a history of the drama and the stage, and the matter thus far reviewed was introductory to the special subject, of which there is unmistakable evidence of treatment in the first book (fr. 8).³ From the third book to the eighth there are no citations with designation of their place, but it is quite certain that after a

¹ Cf. especially Marx in Pauly's Realencyc., ed. II, article Accius; Norden, Varroniana, Rh. Mus., vol. 48 (1893), p. 529 ff., where the significance of the title *Pragmatica* is explained (p. 531); Leo, Plaut. Forsch., p. 32 (note).

² Charisius, p. 141, 34. The fragment is cited by Charisius with the formula *Accius quoque didascaliorum* VIII. I should guess that the error arose from a dittography of the three final characters of original *didascaliorum* I, in which *vm* I was read a second time as VIII.

All analogies as well as ordinary expectation would assign this fragment to the beginning of the treatise. Cf., for example, Tzetzes' *περὶ διαφορᾶς ποιητῶν* (Dübner, X b, p. xxiii), vs. 1 ff.: *ποιητικῶν μέλλουσιν ἀρχεσθαι λόγων | χρῶν διδάσκειν πρῶτα τὰς διαίρεσεις*—words which indicate the practice as well as the principle of the arrangement of such treatises. That Tzetzes follows a tradition that dates from a period as early as the second century B. C. is shown by the exact agreement of the words which follow with our fragment of Accius: *ποιητικὸν (poematorum) γίνωσκε (nosce) σὺ (Baebi) γένος (genera) νέε | πόλλας τόμας φέρον (quam varia sint) τε καὶ διαίρεσεις (quamque longe distincta alia ab aliis)*. For the prefacing of a special treatise on dramatic poetry with an enumeration of the *genera poematorum*, cf. the Coislinian treatise *περὶ κωμῳδίας* (Dübner, X d; Vahlen, Arist. Poetics, p. 79), which begins with a complete classification of poetry (vid. infra, p. 308).

³ I call attention to this because both Marx and Norden look upon the first book as devoted to epic poetry.

consideration of Greek dramatic poetry, to which the fragments of the second book refer, transition was made to Roman dramatic poetry, and to this part we must assign the chronological error in regard to the time of the first play of Livius (fr. 19), the discussion of the plays of Plautus *quae dicuntur ambiguae* (Gell. III 3, 1, fr. 20), and the allusion to the production of plays by Accius and Pacuvius in the same year, *cum ille octoginta, ipse triginta annos natus esset* (Brutus 229, fr. 21). The history of drama was followed by one or more books *de apparatu scaenico*, the single fragment from the eighth referring to the dress and equipment of actors. The ninth book may have continued the same subject, since, as I have said above, it is scarcely credible that at the end of the work the subject of the *genera poematorum* should have been taken up instead of at the beginning. Whether the orthographical principles of Accius were included in this work or not is uncertain; it is at least not impossible (cf. Norden, l. c., p. 536, note 3). In regard to the form of the work it is the opinion of Leo and Marx, following the observations of Bücheler (Rh. Mus., vol. 35, p. 401), that it was the Menippean combination of prose and verse, and the evidence, though slight, seems to warrant this conclusion. The date is uncertain. "Severioris doctrinae libros provectiore aetate composuisse Accium probabile est," says Müller (Lucil., p. 318), and Marx is able to fix the publication of the orthographical views of Accius at about 115 B. C., to which period he would also assign his other grammatical work (l. c., column 147 ad fin.).

The question of source is for our purpose more important. It is discussed briefly by Norden (l. c., p. 537), who says "pleraque fragmenta quasi digito ostendunt Aristophanem Byzantium," and he assumes that this is the general opinion of scholars. But he adduces no argument that goes beyond the assumption that there is no more probable source, *unde omnia perdisci ac percipi queuntur* (fr. 18),—a fragment in which Norden goes so far as to believe that Aristophanes is actually alluded to. But that is carrying speculation beyond legitimate limits in a manner that is by no means characteristic of the remainder of Norden's acute investigation. Marx is probably nearer the truth in stating that Accius was still chiefly under the influence of the Pergamene studies introduced by Crates, and he cites one positive bit of evidence of it that outweighs all of Norden's assumptions of probability. The miserable arguments by which Accius demon-

strated the seniority of Hesiod to Homer, I have quoted above (p. 286) in illustration of the trivial character of early Roman philological studies. That the opposite view was held by Aristarchus is pointed out by Marx, citing Aristonicus ad Il. XII 22, who gives reasons for the priority of Homer to Hesiod which are worthy to stand by the side of Accius' grounds for the opposite view, and which reveal that Accius probably derived not only his position in the question but also the arguments themselves from a Pergamene source. *À propos* of the mention of the rivers ὄσοι ἀπ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων ἄλαδε προρέουσι (Il. XII 19), the commentator writes: ὅτι ἀέγνω Ἡσίοδος τὰ Ὀμήρου ὡς ἂν νεώτερος τούτου· οὐ γὰρ ἐξενήνοχε τοὺς ποταμοὺς μὴ ὄντας ἀξιολόγους, εἰ μὴ δι' Ὀμηρον, καὶ τῷ Σιμοῦντι προσέθηκεν ἐπίθετον τὸ θεῖόν τε Σιμοῦντα (= Theogony 342; Lehrs, Aristarchus, p. 232 of the original edition). Leo, furthermore, recognizes in the fragment concerning the genuineness of certain Plautine plays the "sprachlich ästhetische Kritik, die nach pergamenischen Vorbild zu handhaben den römischen Dilettanten lockender erschien" (Plaut. Forsch., p. 33), and which was not combined with historical and chronological investigations of the Alexandrine type until Varro turned his attention to these studies.

To come at length to the question of the Greek source which afforded the Aristotelian outline of the history of comedy revealed in the descriptions of Livy and Horace, it may be assumed without further discussion that the Poetics of Aristotle was not used directly,¹ and we should naturally look for some more conventionalized Pergamene or Alexandrine source. In this matter I have said before that the twofold division of Attic comedy which both accounts display affords some clue, if Kaibel be right in identifying this division as Pergamene in distinction from the threefold Alexandrine classification. The circumstance that Accius is probably to be looked upon as a representative of the Pergamene school, as above pointed out, would cause us to look for a source in this direction, and there is no one to whom we should more naturally turn than to the master himself, Crates.

Our knowledge of the nature and the history of Greek comedy, aside from the material afforded by the monuments themselves, the brief testimony of Aristotle, and occasional allusions of other

¹ Cf. Heitz, *Verlorene Schriften des Arist.*, p. 90, though of course I do not share his view concerning the fate of the esoteric writings. Cf. Zeller, *Phil. d. Gr.* II 2, p. 139 ff.

ancient writers, depends upon a series of treatises (for the most part anonymous) *περὶ κωμῳδίας*, which are most fully collected in Dübner's Scholia in Aristophanem. Other treatises of a similar character are enumerated by Consbruch,¹ who has been almost the only one to essay seriously the task of distinguishing the different elements and periods of grammatical studies which they contain. Several of these documents give as the source of their most valuable information Dionysius, Crates, Eucleides (Düb., pp. xix, 96), usually named together, so that we have but little assistance in separating the property of each. The identification of these names and the allotment of the different parts of the material adduced on their authority is naturally a matter of extreme difficulty and complexity. Consbruch has attempted it in a most painstaking study to which I have just alluded. His argument is far too technical and extensive to be even summarized here; but following it step by step, his conclusions have seemed to me sound and to merit the recognition which they have received.² He reaches the conclusion that of the three names above cited, Eucleides is the compiler of Dionysius and Crates and not an independent source. On the identity of the Dionysius in question, v. Consbruch, p. 225. In regard to Crates there has been general agreement that the Pergamene master is meant. To him, Consbruch concludes, must be assigned the divisions of comedy into its parts (in Tzetzae prolegomena in Aristoph. (Ritschl, Op.), p. 204 = Proleg. of the cod. Venetus of Aristophanes, Dübner, p. xxviii, note), and this in turn not only in respect to the division of comedy, but also in the division of τὸ γελοῖον (cf. Dübner, No. VI, p. xvi), is in complete agreement with the division in the valuable treatise e cod. Coisliniano, except that the latter is fuller on both subjects. He raises the question, therefore, whether this Coisliniano treatise, in which, as Bernays has so shown convincingly, are contained important remains of Aristotelian teachings concerning comedy,³ is not to be ascribed to Crates, though not, of course, immediately. In addition to the points of identity with the portions of other treatises *περὶ κωμῳδίας* which must be assigned to Crates, this

¹ Zu den Tractaten *περὶ κωμῳδίας* in Comm. in honorem Guil. Studemund, Strassburg, 1889, p. 213 ff.

² Cf. Susemihl, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 11 (note 54).

³ *Ergänzung zu Aristoteles Poetik*. Originally in *Rh. Mus.*, vol. VIII (1853), p. 561, now the second of *Zwei Abhandlungen über die Aristotelische Theorie des Drama*. Berlin, 1880.

treatise, as Consbruch observes, presents a number of features that either indicate Pergamene origin or at least marked divergence from the current Alexandrine sources of later antiquity. So, for instance, the division of poetry into *ποίησις ἀμίμητος* and *μιμητή* is radically at variance not only with Aristotle, but with Theophrastus and the general habit of later antiquity, fixed by the Alexandrine school, and yet it is on the whole so sensible and so obviously directed toward giving theoretical justification to didactic poetry like that of Empedocles, that we cannot imagine it an innovation of late date. This is, to be sure, but a negative indication of Pergamene origin, to which Consbruch adds one or two others, so that his suggestion that the Coislinian treatise represents a fuller form of the matter which in the others must be assigned to Crates gains in probability. But though differing from Aristotle in the general divisions of poetry, the treatise clearly represents throughout the Aristotelian theory of comedy with singular fidelity, and in marked contrast to other treatises of a like nature derived from stereotyped Alexandrine sources.

The closeness of adherence to Aristotle in the descriptions of Livy and Horace has already been alluded to, and I shall here repeat only two of the most striking points which illustrate a general principle of Aristotelian theory, viz. the condemnation of the old comedy of personal satire and the recognition of the superior art of the universal argument of the new comedy. In *Poetics* VI 3 but one name is mentioned in the history of old comedy, and that because it marked the transition to the new: *Κράτης πρῶτος ἤρξεν ἀφέντος τῆς λαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους*, of which *Livius primus ab saturis ausus est argumento fabulam serere* is practically a verbatim translation.¹ Similarly in Horace (*Epp.* II 1, 155), in the words *vertere modum—ad benedicendum delectandumque*, we have reproduced the Aristotelian deliberative definition of jest in comedy: *ὀριστέον τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν τὸν ἀκούοντα ἢ καὶ τέρπειν*; (*Eth.* IV 14, 7). It is contaminated here, however, with the conventional Alexandrine account of the cessation of the *ἀρχαία κωμ.* by reason of the laws forbidding the *ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν* (*formidine fustis . . . redacti*, *ibid.*). The Aristotelian point of view is for the most part alien to the treatises

¹ On *satura* = *λαμβικὴ ἰδέα*, *argumento fabulam serere* = *καθόλου ποιεῖν μύθους*, v. 'Dramatic Satura,' etc., pp. 10-12 and notes. For the following cf. *ibid.*, pp. 24 and 25.

περὶ κωμῳδίας; which being derived from a school that esteemed the ἀρχαία as greatly as the νέα and which recognized its lasting significance and vitality, do not imply that it is an inferior form of art. In this respect the Coislinian treatise is in marked contrast to the others and, as was to be expected from its Aristotelian character, it contains the same censure of the old comedy that we have found in Aristotle. Thus in §4 (Bernays = Vahlen, p. 79) the distinction between the old and the new comedy is drawn with a partisan sharpness that reveals the hand of Aristotle (v. infra, p. 310). To the same tendency belong the words descriptive of the old and the new comedy at the end of the whole treatise: τῆς κωμῳδίας· παλαιά, ἢ πλεονάζουσα τῷ γελοίῳ.¹ νέα, ἢ τοῦτο μὲν προειμένη, πρὸς δὲ τὸ σεμνὸν ῥέπουσα. The very close resemblance of this, not only in thought but also in expression, to the words of Livy's account in VII 2, 11 which characterize the *satura* and marked the transition to the more artistic drama of Livius [*ab risu ac soluto ioco* (πλεονάζουσα τῷ γελοίῳ) *res auocabatur* (τοῦτο μὲν προειμένη) *et ludus in artem* (πρὸς δὲ τὸ σεμνὸν) *paulatim vertebatur* (ῥέπουσα)], might not be urged too strongly as evidence of anything more than the same point of view, if it were not for the fact that in this same chapter we have a most unmistakable adaptation from the Poetics in the allusion to Livius Andronicus, and a similar reproduction of Aristotelian theory in Horace. We are therefore justified, I think, in suspecting that the *form* of Livy's description is derived from the same source as the schematic words of the Coislinian treatise. That the *thought* is Aristotelian does not require proof. Our identification of this portion of the Latin description as Aristotelian by comparison with a treatise of Pergamene origin suggests inevitably that the Aristotelian elements in Livy's and Horace's descriptions are derived from their ultimate source through a Pergamene medium—a conclusion which is in accord with what has been noted above concerning the probable source of the Didascalica of Accius.

There remains still one point to consider, and that is the designation of the assumed ἀρχαία κωμῳδία as *satura*. I have

¹ By these words is designated the abundance of the simple elements of physical laughter such as the λοιδορία and αἰσχρολογία of the old comedy would provoke. It is the *risu diducere rictum auditoris* of Horace, and for Aristotle as well as Horace this was not enough. Α συμμετρία . . . τοῦ γελοίου ἐν ταῖς κωμῳδίαις (π. κωμ. Coisl., §6) was necessary:—"Wie in der Tragödie ein Ebenmass von φόβος zu ἔλεος verlangt wurde, so muss die Komödie ein Ebenmass von γέλως zu τέρψις haben" (Bernays, p. 151).

shown before that the well-known parallelism assumed by Roman critics between Lucilius and the old comedy (Horace, Serm. I 4) illustrates the possibility and the applicability of this designation, and perhaps it is a sufficient explanation to say that in the interest of clearness it was desirable to choose a designation which should be descriptive, rather than such a term as *vetus* or *antiqua comoedia*, which would have been subject to misinterpretation as referring only to a time distinction. But the true reason probably lay deeper and is to be looked for in the Greek source from which the description is drawn. It is doubtless well known that in the Poetics Aristotle distinctly disavows for the drama of Cratinus, Eupolis and Aristophanes the designation of κωμῳδία in an ideal sense—I mean in such a manner as τραγῳδία is used by him for the drama of Aeschylus and Sophocles. So, for example, those writers are excluded from the domain of true comedy in the words τὰ τῆς κωμῳδίας σχήματα πρῶτος ("Ομηρος) ὑπέδειξεν, οὐ ψόγον ἀλλὰ τὸ γελοῖον δραματοποιήσας (IV 9). Again, in outlining the development of comedy he alludes to the ἀρχαία as the λαμβικὴ ἰδέα, the lampooning form of comedy—that is, the lampooning stage in the slow development of real comedy—which even in his own time he did not look upon as having attained its perfect form like tragedy, "which after passing through many changes stopped when it had arrived at its true nature" (IV 12). It is, perhaps, therefore not an accident of our meagre record that has withheld from us a definition of comedy from the hand of Aristotle; for while he was prepared to indicate the course that true comedy must take and was taking, he was not prepared to define it in its imperfect form. Most instructive, from this point of view, is the illustration of the universal in poetry in IX 5: "In comedy this is now apparent; for the poets put together their plots from the standpoint of probability and assume any names for their characters whatsoever, and not as the lampooners (λαμπονοιοί) who write concerning a particular person." Now, in the Coislinian treatise περὶ κωμῳδίας the same point of view is given utterance to with even greater emphasis than in the Poetics, and there we find true comedy set over against the abusiveness that had formerly passed for comedy in a striking manner (§4, Bernays): Διαφέρει ἡ κωμῳδία (i. e. true comedy) τῆς λοιδορίας (i. e. the ἀρχαία κωμ.), while the same point of view is revealed in the division of comedy into periods at the end of the whole treatise (v. supra, p. 309).

Looked at in this light, we shall be justified in suspecting that it is not a mere accident, that in the account of Livy the period

corresponding to the old comedy is marked by the descriptive designation *satura* and not by the word *comœdia*. The literary historian, following the Aristotelian model, avoided the latter word and chose an expression that should characterize it unmistakably as *λοιδορία*, *maledicentia*, and found for this no more fitting Latin word than *satura*, the native Roman type of the *carmen maledicum* (Diomedes, from an early source). And just as Aristotle designates the writers of the old comedy as *λαμποποιοί*, so we find Lucilius placed in the same category in Diomedes, p. 485 (Suetonius, Reif., p. 19): *iambus est carmen maledicum . . . appellatum . . . παρὰ τὸ λαμβίζειν, quod est maledicere* (cf. Proclus ap. Reif., l. c., τὸ λαμβίζειν κατὰ τινα γλῶσσαν λοιδορεῖν ἔλεγον): *cuius carminis prae-cipui scriptores . . . apud Romanos Lucilius et Catullus* etc.¹ We need not therefore assume that the theory of Lucilius as the Roman representative of the old comedy had already been developed: it was sufficient that his poems should have been recognized as a typical form of *λοιδορία*. And who had better reason to realize this than Accius, (*cuius*) *in poematis obtrectandis clarior Lucilius fuit* (Gell. XVII 21, 49)?

In conclusion, to bring together in brief summary the lines of the foregoing argument, I have aimed to prove first of all that the chapter of Roman literary history under discussion is pre-Varronian, and is to be attributed most naturally to Accius. In what has been presented concerning the Greek source which mediated between Aristotle and Accius, I have desired to indicate the most probable line of connection, in a case where certainty is unattainable. The remarks on the appropriateness of giving to an assumed 'old comedy' a descriptive designation such as the name *satura* affords will, I hope, carry conviction, and serve to confirm the correctness of the view which I have advanced by furnishing another element of close analogy to Aristotelian theory.

G. L. HENDRICKSON.

¹The fact that Lucilius is reckoned among the Roman iambic writers as well as among the satirists may perhaps indicate two sources or periods of literary criticism. The association of his name with the writers of the old comedy is certainly as old as Varro or, as I suspect, older. An earlier view may not have gone further than to make him an *λαμποποιός*, rather from tone and spirit than as an author of iambic verses, which, to be sure, he wrote. Might the transference of the name of his composition to an assumed Roman *ἀρχαία κωμ.* have given rise to the notion of his dependence on the old comedy?

NOTES.

CATO'S FINAL *m*: A NOTE TO QUINT. INST. OR. I 7, 23;
IX 4, 39.

I 7, 23 quid? non Cato Censorius dicam et faciam dicae et faciae scripsit eundemque in ceteris, quae similiter cadunt, modum tenuit? quod et ex veteribus eius libris manifestum est et a Messala in libro de *s littera* positum.

IX 4, 39 . . . et illa Censori Catonis dicae faciaeque *m littera* in *e mollita*.

Unfortunately, the text in both passages is corrupt at the important point. In the first the Codex Ambros. (A) gives *dice et face*, Codex Par. Nostrad. (N) *dice et facie*, which Halm adopted in his edition, while both Bonnell and Meister print *dicem et faciem*, evidently believing that Quintilian is here speaking of a weakening of final *-am* to *-em*. That this assumption is incorrect is shown by the words *et a Messala in libro de s littera positum*. In his book on the letter *s* Messala discussed the weakened final *s* (Quint. IX 4, 38)—so far as our knowledge goes he did not touch the question of weakened final syllables—and therefore, whatever he said on the subject of the letter *m* was probably confined to *m* final. This helps establish *dicae et faciae*, the reading of the two oldest manuscripts, Codex Bernensis (Bn.) and Codex Bambergensis (Bg.), both of the tenth century, as the correct manuscript tradition, and I have therefore, with Gertz, adopted it in the text above. In the second passage our best authorities are the Codex Ambrosianus and the second hand of the Bambergensis, both of which show *dicae hac eque*; Gertz, however (Emendat. Quintil. in Opusc. philol. ad Madvigium missa. Havniae, 1876), restored the correct reading from the first book.

The first passage has not been generally understood, but, so far as I know, the passage from the ninth book has been taken at its face value, and the statement that Cato used an *e* to represent the

sound of final *m* is generally accepted. (So Bennett, Appendix, p. 17; Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 61; Seelman, Aussprache des Lateins, p. 362.) Yet a little reflection will raise a question as to the correctness of Quintilian's statement. Certainly the letter *e* can never have properly represented an obscured or diminished *m* (Quint., l. c., §40 neque enim eximitur [sc. *m* littera] sed obscuratur), and Cato would have preferred the common device of dropping the final *m* to the use of so arbitrary a symbol as *e*. We are justified, in fact, on *à priori* grounds in believing that Cato used some sign nearer the letter *m* itself to express the obscured nasal. I venture then to conjecture that Cato wrote, not *e*, but *M* turned on its side, *≡*, placed either after or over the vowel. That this symbol in the free hand of the copyist should have been confused with *E* is not strange, and Quintilian's statement (l. c., §39), quae in veteribus libris reperta mutare imperiti solent, et dum librariorum insectari volunt inscientiam, suam confitentur, shows the natural consequence of this misunderstanding. If my conjecture be correct, the words *m littera in e mollita* must be regarded as an early gloss which under the circumstances easily made its way into the text, unless, indeed, we wish to believe that Quintilian himself did not understand Cato's device.

Yet this conjecture, based simply on *à priori* reasoning, would have little value; it is possible, however, to give it a high degree of probability from the analogy of other similar devices. It is well known that in Augustus' time Verrius Flaccus used half the letter to represent the faint sound of final *m* (Velius Longus, KGL. VII 80, 17-20 set Flaccus, ut . . . *m* non tota, sed pars illius prior tantum scriberetur, ut appareret exprimere non debere). Furthermore, the common abbreviation in manuscripts, a stroke over the vowel, *ā*, was in all probability originally an abbreviated *m*, as is shown by the parallel forms *ā̄*, *ā̂*, *ā̇*; and finally my conjecture receives strong support from the usage in certain Lango-bard manuscripts, e. g. *re rem*, *a am*, etc. (cf. Wattenbach, Anleitung zur lat. Palaeographie⁴, p. 70). The abbreviation *3*, which from the fourteenth century is used to represent final *m*, is probably a general abbreviation and cannot be regarded as a form of *m*. But the analogies I have mentioned give sufficient support to my conjecture, which, I believe, throws some light on two awkward passages.

CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE.

THE ATHENIAN SECRETARIES.

A Confirmation.

In §13 of a treatise on the Athenian Secretaries, published last April as No. VII of the Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, I endeavored to show that during the two hundred years following 304/3 B. C., as in the thirty years preceding 322/1 B. C., the Prytany Secretaries followed one another in the official order of their tribes. Wherever the sequence of the tribes of a group of secretaries was known, that sequence was found to be the official order, and four cases were instanced, in which the year fixed for the archon by the official order of the secretaries' tribes coincided with the year which had to be ascribed to the archon for other reasons. At that time, these four archons were the only ones after 299/8 B. C. whose colleagues in the secretaryship we knew, and whose exact year could be determined. Now two others can be added to the list.

1) Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹ fixes the archon Nikostratos in the year 295/4 B. C., and his testimony is almost universally² accepted by the many scholars who in recent times have investigated the chronology of this period. According to my canon the tribe Aiantis³ should have furnished the secretary for 295/4 B. C., and, through the kindness of Dr. A. Wilhelm, I am now able to state that an unpublished inscription of Nikostratos' year shows the secretary to have belonged to the deme Phaleron, of the tribe postulated. Hence it is seen that the troublous times of Lachares' tyranny did not disturb the official order.

2) A *senatus consultum*⁴ found recently at Delphi, and to be published in an early number of the Bull. de Corr. Hell., is dated precisely, in the year 112 B. C., by the names of the Roman consuls, L. Calpurnius (Piso) and M. Livius (Drusus).⁵ Fortunately, the translation of this document into Greek was made by

¹ De Dinarcho, 9.

² Schubert, R. (Hermes, X (1876), p. 447 ff.), thought that the archon for the year 301/0 B. C. was wanting in Dionysius' list, and, consequently, that Nikostratos belonged to 294/3 B. C., but Ladek, Fr. (Wiener Studien, XIII (1891), p. 117), has shown that this is impossible.

³ Cornell Studies in Class. Phil. VII (1898), p. 50.

⁴ Bull. de Corr. Hell. XXI (1897-98), p. 583 ff. and p. 600.

⁵ Mommsen, CIL. I, p. 535.

the Athenian treasurer at Delphi, who, in order to date the decree from the Attic standpoint, added to the names of the Roman consuls that of Dionysios, the Athenian archon for the same year. On the basis of the official order, Dionysios had already been assigned by me to 112/1 B. C.¹; for the secretary for Dionysios' year belonged to the tribe Aiantis,² and Aiantis was the tribe demanded for 112/1 B. C. by the official order, if it continued unbroken from 304/3 B. C. on. That it did so continue seems to me to be proved, now that we know that Dionysios was archon in 112/1 B. C.

CORNELL UNIV., ITHACA, N. Y.,
Nov. 16, 1898.

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PINDAR, NEMEAN III 62.

This is a passage that has raised abundant controversy. No one, however, so far as I am aware, has yet observed (1) that one of the scholiasts had before him a reading materially differing from any of the *textus recepti*, and (2) that the scholiast's reading, which removes all difficulty from the passage, can be restored by the alteration of a single letter.

Omitting stops (as to which editors differ), the current reading is:

“καὶ ἐγχεσφόροις ἐπιμίξαις
 Αἰθίοπεςσι χεῖρας ἐν φρασὶ πάξαιθ' ὅπως σφίσι μὴ κοίρανος ὀπίσω
 πάλιν οἴκαδ' ἀνεψιδὸς ζυμενῆς Ἑλένοιο Μέμνων μίλοι.”

Some take *χεῖρας ἐν φρασὶ πάξαιθ'* together, in a physical sense: others take *ἐν φρασὶ πάξαιθ'* in a mental sense, and associate *χεῖρας* with *ἐπιμίξαις*. Bergk emends *πάξαιθ' ὅπως* into *πάξαι θάπος*. But the concluding words of the scholium that is numbered 3 in Prof. Bury's edition run thus: “ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς πέρας ἄγου.” It is, I think, obvious that, instead of *χεῖρας*, this scholiast read *πείρας*, a Pindaric form occurring in the 2d Olympian, and equivalent to *πείραρ* or *πέρας*.

This rare form would, in the context, be most easily corrupted into *χεῖρας*.

I therefore have no hesitation in restoring *πείρας* and translating: “And that, having come hand to hand with the Ethiop spearmen,

¹ Cornell Studies, VII, p. 58.

² CIA. II 475.

he might fix his heart on the execution of this intent—namely, that their chief should never return," etc.

This reading and rendering is made certain by the earlier half of the above-mentioned scholium, viz. "παγίως (MS πλαγίως) λογίσαιτο καὶ κρίναι," i. e. "might firmly determine and also bring his determination to execution," which is an admirable paraphrase of the condensed expression "πεῖρας ἐν φρασὶ πάξαιθ'."

Does not the emendation I suggest also give to *ὅπως* a more idiomatic significance?

R. J. WALKER.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

P. Papinii Statii Silvarum Libri herausgegeben und erklärt von
FRIEDRICH VOLLMER. Leipzig, Druck und Verlag von
B. G. Teubner, 1898. xvi + 598 pp. Preis geh. M. 16.

A welcome addition to the resources of the student of Roman literature is Vollmer's edition of Statius' *Silvae*. A good commentary has long been needed for this work, crowded as it is with allusions to ancient localities, buildings and works of art, and to the customs of Roman public and private life. The progress of knowledge in archaeology has been so rapid since the days of Markland and Lemaire that it was worth while to apply the results of more than half a century of research to the elucidation of these interesting poems. This Vollmer has done and much besides. The book, dedicated to Professor Franz Buecheler on the completion of twenty-five years' academic work at Bonn, contains an introduction (pp. 1-52), text with critical apparatus, *auctores, imitatores* and *testimonia* (pp. 55-202), commentary (pp. 204-554), appendix treating prosody and metre (pp. 555-60), and indices (pp. 561-98), the latter comprising an index of proper names and an index to the introduction and commentary compiled by H. Saftien. Following the preface are seven closely printed pages of *addenda et corrigenda*.

In the first part of the introduction the time of composition of the individual poems, the dates of publication of the different books, and the life and character of the poet are discussed. Vollmer thinks (p. 11 f.) that while the poems of the first three books were written between 90 and 94, these books were published almost at the same time (93/94), after the completion of the *Thebais* (92/93), the publication of which cannot, in his opinion, be more definitely fixed than some time before 95. But H. Nohl¹ and R. Helm² seem to have good ground for their contention when they argue from *Theb. I 19 bis adactum legibus Histrum*, and *Martial, IX 101, 17* (dated 94) *cornua Sarmatici ter perfida contudit Histri*, that the *Thebais* was published before the Sarmatian war of 92. Support for this view is found in the difference of tone between *praef. I adhuc pro Thebaide mea, quamuis me reliquerit, timeo* and *Silv. IV 4, 87 f., ib. 7, 27 f.*, written in the summer of 95. All the time from 92 to 95 is required to account

¹ *Quaestiones Statianae*, p. 23 f.

² *De P. Papinii Statii Thebaide*, p. 157.

for so great a change. The similarity of the prefaces to bks. I, II and III proves nothing, while the separation of II 2 and III 1, both addressed to Pollius Felix, militates strongly against Vollmer's theory. Is it not possible, too, that Vollmer has wrongly interpreted the passage in praef. IV *reor equidem aliter quam inuocato numine maximi imperatoris nullum opusculum meum coepisse*? Understanding *opusculum* as a whole book, he argues that the statement is true of the Thebais, *Silvae* bks. I-III, bk. IV, and the *Achilleis*, not of bks. II and III alone. But Statius regularly uses *opusculum*, as he does *ecloga* and *libellus*, to refer to single poems, and there seems to be no good reason for thus forcing its meaning in this case. He has never begun any poem without invoking, mentally if not in verse, the divine assistance of the Emperor as his inspiring muse. Compare praef. II, l. 3 and praef. IV, l. 22; Pliny, Epist. VIII 21, 4; Archiv f. lat. Lex. u. Gram. VI 247, 252 f. The evidence seems to point to the publication of the Thebais in 92 or the end of 91, shortly before the appearance of *Silvae*, bk. I in 92. Bks. II and III were sent forth separately in 93/94.—With good reason Vollmer (p. 19) rejects the view, accepted for example by M. Schanz,¹ that Statius left Rome on account of the *repulsa Capitolina*. This failure and the Alban success are rightly placed in the year 90; the poet's ill-health sufficiently accounts for his change of residence. In his estimate of Statius as man and courtier (p. 21), the editor takes a more favorable view than, for instance, Macaulay or Teuffel, and apologizes for his flattery of the Emperor, which after all, when compared with Martial's, seems not so excessive.

Of the valuable chapter on the *Würdigung und Geschichte der Silvae* little need be said. Besides a discussion of the name *silva* and the type of literature to which these poems belong, their popularity and treatment at the hands of scholars up to our own time are traced in clear outlines. On p. 29 the editor has perhaps made too much of the phrases given by Kerckhoff as common-places in Statius. Many of them occur only twice and some are just as characteristic of other authors. A carefully written account of the manuscripts follows from the pen of Moritz Krohn, from whom we may expect soon to receive a critical edition of the *Silvae* in the Teubner series. The brief appendix on the wars of Domitian, though prepared without the assistance of Gsell's valuable book, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien*, Paris, 1893, will yet prove useful. To prevent a possible misunderstanding on p. 48, n. 6, I would suggest the addition of the cross-reference Vgl. S. 49, Anm. 9.

In his constitution of the text Vollmer has wisely revolted from the subjective methods which have played too large a part in the criticism of the *Silvae*, and is generally guided by the more conservative principles which he professes on p. v. Apart from

¹ *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, I 2, 311.

the fact that he has rejected a host of unnecessary emendations, he marks a distinct advance over his predecessors. In the readings noted by Angelo Poliziano on the margin of the *editio princeps* now in the Corsini library at Rome, Vollmer has carefully distinguished between those expressly attributed to the *codex Sangallensis* found by Poggio (A*) and those whose source is not directly stated (A). The former class only he considers as the record of the best tradition; the overestimation of the latter was a notable weakness in the edition of Baehrens. A comparison of A*—which, unfortunately, includes only eighty readings—with the extant fifteenth-century manuscripts reveals the fact that the *Matritensis*, agreeing in all but six, stands nearest the lost *codex Sangallensis*. In view of this it is not the least merit of the present editor to have been the first to bring the readings of this manuscript to bear upon the text of the *Silvae*.¹ From the complete collation placed at Vollmer's disposal by M. Krohn, only the most important readings are printed.

The commentary is an excellent piece of work and will win the commendation of all students of Statius. Especially valuable are the carefully prepared analyses, which often throw light on the rhetorical structure of the poems and show how far Statius was under the influence of the schools. The editor has endeavored to sustain the happy mean between diffuseness and excessive brevity, and has on the whole succeeded. In many passages where readings hitherto rejected must be defended, long discussions are necessary, but are seldom unduly prolonged. A close comparison with the commentaries of Markland and Lemaire shows the value and importance of the new edition. A few of the readings and interpretations may be briefly noticed. The comment to praef. I, l. 2 (p. 209), reads: "*hos libellos* die einzelnen Gedichte (wie Horaz S. I 10, 92)." While there is no doubt that this is the usage for Statius, our editor will find few scholars to agree with him for this passage of Horace.—On p. 218 we find a new interpretation of I 1, 17 f. Vollmer understands the words *par forma decorque, par honor* to refer to the horse: "seine Grösse und Schönheit entspricht der Ehre, dass es den Kaiser trägt." But this seems to miss the close connection between *maiora* and *par*. If *veris maiora* refers to the comparison with the wooden horse, as he assumes, the meaning should be: 'This horse is as shapely and graceful as the wooden horse.' I would refer *maiora* to the immediately preceding clause and interpret: 'And do not think this statue exceeds the truth: the Emperor himself is just as beautiful and glorious.'—In the oft-emended and much-explained passage I 1, 27 f. our editor, after referring to Hand's edition of 1817 for older attempts,

¹ A. Klotz gives readings of M for *Silv.* II 2, and A. Herzog for I 2; cf. *Curae Statianae*, 1896, p. 9, and *Stati Epithalamium*, 1881.

gives nine more recent emendations, and finally accepts the explanation of the manuscript reading long ago offered by Domizio Calderino. He certainly ought to have mentioned in this connection Macnaghten's¹ ingenious and probably correct defence of the transmitted text, which takes *castris* as the *Castra Cornelia* described by Caesar, *Bell. Civ. II 24*.—On p. 222 to l. 34 a cross-reference to *IV 2, 18 f.* would be helpful.—I cannot agree with Vollmer that emendation is necessary in *I 1, 65* (p. 226). While *linguit* is open to no objection on palaeographical grounds, *figit*, which makes equally good sense, should in my opinion be retained and interpreted with Burmann.—The emendation of *I 2, 122 queritur* to *queritor* is an improvement on the *querimur* of Peyraredus and is doubtless right. Not only is the intensive verb well suited to the character of *Venus*, as Vollmer explains in the *Rhein. Mus. LI* (1896), p. 35, but the first person singular brings it into agreement with the preceding *dederim* and the following *iussi*.—It is hard to believe that the definite reference to time in *Silvae, V 3, 29* is a mere fiction (pp. 526 and 9, n. 10), and it is most improbable that after a lapse of years Statius could have had any reason for thus antedating his poem, especially a poem of this character. The view of Klotz (*Curae Statianae*, 1896, p. 61) and Friedländer (*Sittengeschichte, III^a*, p. 479) seems to be more reasonable.

The influence of earlier authors on Statius and of Statius on later writers is discussed briefly in the introduction, and parallel passages are quoted in their proper place beneath the text. To be sure, this list of *auctores et imitatores* could have been much enlarged. Add, for example, to *I 1, 8* Martial, *III 95, 7* notumque per oppida nomen; to *II 6, 53* Plaut. *Amph. 960* voltum e voltu comparet; to *III 3, 201* Iuv. *II 6*, Mart. *I 109, 19*, and *IX 101, 1*; to *IV 6, 39* Mart. *II 75, 9*, *X 31, 5*, Iuv. *VIII 29*, Sen. *Quaest. Nat. III*, pr. §3, *Epist. VII 2* (64), §4, *Benef. II 11, 1*; to *V 2, 10 f.* Hor. *Sat. I 5, 43*. Many passages, too, which are mentioned in the commentary might have been included, e. g. to *I 3, 26* Hor. *Sat. II 3, 53 f.* For imitations in Apollinaris Sidonius the monograph of R. Bitschowsky² would have been serviceable, while that of H. de la Ville de Mirmont³ would have given a number of echoes in the *Mosella* of Ausonius not here noted. Interesting as it would be to see the influence of Statius on mediaeval and modern literature fully treated, that subject does not properly lie within the scope of an edition. As far as English authors are concerned, until the present century few ancient poets were more popular than he; but the reminiscences, quotations and translations are, if my memory serves me, almost entirely from his epic poems.

¹ *Journal of Philology, XIX* (1891), p. 129.

² De C. Sollis Apollinaris Sidonii studiis Statianis, Vindob. 1881.

³ De Ausonii Mosella, Paris, 1892.

The bibliographical lists (pp. 1, 204-6) form a valuable addition to the book, but it is to be regretted that they are not made complete for the more recent literature of the subject. Here and on p. 237 I miss the monographs on L. Arruntius Stella, Doelling, Einige Notizen über den Dichter Stella aus Patavium, Plauen, 1840, and P. Rasi, De L. Arruntio Stella, poeta Patavino, Padua, 1890. The following also might with advantage have been added: R. Bitschowsky, Neue Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed. 121 (1880), p. 499 f.; id., Wien. Stud. III (1881) 159; id., De C. Sollii Apollinaris Sidonii studiis Statianis, Vindob. 1881; H. Blass, Rhein. Mus. XXX (1875), pp. 458-63; O. A. Danielsson, Eranos, II (1897), p. 43 f.; R. Ellis, Jour. of Phil. XV (1886), p. 3 f.; id., ib. XX (1892), pp. 17-24; G. Lafaye, Revue de Phil. XX (1896), pp. 53-6; Th. Mommsen, Korr.-Bl. d. westd. Zeitschrift, V 216; O. Müller, Rhein. Mus. XVIII (1863), p. 200; H. Nissen, Rhein. Mus. XL (1885), p. 358 f.: cf. A. Mommsen, Burs. Jahresb. LXIX (1891), pp. 140 f., 143; K. Rossberg, Neue Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed. 123 (1881), pp. 143-4; Fr. Skutsch, Wien. Stud. XVII (1895), p. 160; J. Vahlen, Ind. lect. Berl. 1895-96; C. Wachsmuth, Rhein. Mus. XXIX (1874), p. 355 f.; A. Riese, Rhein. Mus. LI (1896), p. 637 f.; A. Klotz, Phil.-hist. Beiträge f. Wachsmuth (1897), p. 167 f.; F. Lohr, De infinitivi apud Statium et Iuvenalem usu, Marb. 1876; P. J. Oesterberg, De structura verborum c. praep. comp. ap. Val. Flaccum, Statium, Martialem, Holmiae, 1883; A. Zingerle, Zu späteren lateinischen Dichtern, I, II, Innsbruck, 1873, 1879. A few of these monographs are referred to in the introduction or commentary, as, e. g., A. Zingerle on p. 30, n. 10. Such scattered references might have been collected and others not mentioned anywhere in the book might have been added; for the usefulness of a bibliography increases in proportion to its completeness, especially for the more recent contributions to the subject.

That the printing of the introduction and text in 1895 and the commentary in 1897/8 would cause damage to the work as a whole, was doubtless foreseen by the editor, who in his later preface apologizes for the lack of harmony and asks that in some passages the text be corrected by the commentary. An example will illustrate the conditions to which I refer. The text of Praef. I, l. 13 is *quamvis timeo ne* with the critical note *quamvis mimeone; corr. s.* In the commentary (p. 211) we find: "Durch ein ärgerliches Versehen ist im Apparate *quamvis mimeo* als Ueberlieferung stehen geblieben, während M¹ hat *quami meone* und erst M², dem die jüngeren Handschriften folgen, an den Rand schrieb *quis*. St. kann also ebensogut *quamquam* geschrieben haben; eine der verzeichneten Ausonstellen empfiehlt sogar diese Annahme." Turning to the *addenda et corrigenda* (p. x) we read: "Meine Angabe im Apparate, die Ueberlieferung sei *quamvis mimeone* war doch gut begründet. . . . Wahrscheinlich ist *qua* in M¹ Schreibfehler für *quis*, also *quamvis* für überliefert zu

halten." The recurrence of such cases is unpleasant, to say the least, and must be as annoying to the editor himself as it is troublesome to his readers.

In conclusion one blemish must be pointed out, a serious blemish in any book, but especially in one where exactness is of such importance. I refer to the large number of errors and inaccuracies in reference, quotation and the like, some of them of little consequence, others quite misleading. An inaccurate reference or quotation may seem a matter of slight moment, providing it does not cause serious difficulty or misunderstanding, and any one who has seen even a few pages through the press knows how difficult it is to avoid some slips of this sort. But the presence of errors in such large numbers—if the whole book may be judged by the few pages which I have tested from this point of view—lessens confidence and distinctly detracts from the scientific value of the work. Let me give some of the examples which I have noticed, including a few which are merely typographical: p. ix, addend. to p. 30, read *Hor. A. P. 47 . . . iunctura nouum*, and in *A. P. 52* for *seu* read *si*; p. x, addend. to p. 30, read *III 5, 73*; p. 1, for *Ruedeger, 1888*, read *Ruediger, 1887*, so p. 422, l. 23, but correct on p. 213, l. 7; p. 6, n. 7, read *v. 6 post patrii lactum*; p. 7, n. 10, read *v. 142/3*; p. 8, n. 5 fin., for *Anm. 6* read *Anm. 3*; p. 9, with l. 10, *ediert Sommer 94*, compare l. 21, *ediert Mitte oder Ende 94*; p. 9, n. 7, read *quos Saturnalibus una risimus*; p. 11, n. 4, l. 3, for *idem* read *iam*; p. 14, n. 3, l. 1, read *IV 2, 66 f.*; p. 16, n. 6, read *S. III 5, 13*; p. 23, l. 4 from end, read *vita Vaccae Lucans*, and for *adversus* read *adversum*; p. 29, n. 1, l. 8, read *134 celsusque*; p. 31, l. 14, read *zu*; p. 36, n. 2, l. 7, for *Gevartii succidanea* read *Crucei succidanea*; p. 39, n. 1, read *Additional Manuscripts*; p. 48, n. 6, for *3. Sept. 84 imp. V* read *3. Sept. 84 imp. VII*¹; p. 51, n. 6 fin., read *Marcellinus IX 45*; p. 52, n. 2, l. 1, read *III 3, 171*, and *ib.*, l. 5, for *improbis* read *improbo*. The bibliographical list, too, is not free from errors, especially in dates: p. 204, middle, Henry's article appeared in *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Phil.* 93 (1866), 642 ff.; *ib.*, l. 9 from end, Madvig has two articles on the *Silvae* in *Adversaria Critica*, viz. I 149 to *Silv. II 6, 64* and II 157 ff. to more than a dozen other passages; Vollmer has combined the two in the following unhappy manner: *N Madvig adversaria critica II (1873) 152 ff. zu II 6, 64*; p. 205, l. 13, *M Haupt Hermes XIII 180* is a false entry for *Hermes, VIII (1874) 180 f.*, which is in its right place on the preceding page; *ib.*, l. 14, Köstlin's article in *Phil. XXXVIII (1879) 40 f.* is occupied chiefly with other poets, touching Statius only in the discussion of two passages of the *Thebais*, p. 61 f.; *ib.*, l. 25, R. Ellis wrote on some passages of the *Silvae* in the *Journal of Philology*, XIII (1885), pp. 88–97, not (1882) 91; *ib.*, l. 27, for 1883 read 1878; *ib.*, l. 10 from end, read *Journ. of Philol. XIX*

¹ Cf. *Ephem. Epig.* V 93.

(1891) 129 ff.; ib., l. 4 from end, read *Hermes, XXV* (1890); p. 206, l. 11, read *Hermes, XXVIII* (1893); ib., l. 14, read *F. Vollmer, Textkritisches zu Statius, Rhein. Mus. LI* (1896) 27 ff., not 25 ff. In the commentary I have noted the following: p. 210, l. 1, for *nach V 5, 78* read *nach V 5, 84*; p. 218 to v. 18, p. 224 to v. 48, and other places where reference is made to the sixth book of the Thebais, the numbering of Kohlmann would have been more acceptable; p. 223 fin., II 2, 113 reads *uoluit*, not *euoluit*, as you would suppose; p. 225, l. 6 from end, read *III 2, III* and insert *limina* after *Phoebea*; p. 226, l. 8, read *62 f., 233*, and ib., l. 21, read *III 1, 117*; p. 228 to v. 85, l. 2, for *principem* read *Caesarem*; p. 453 to v. 17, l. 5, for *sine ullo* read *sine ulla*. Perhaps the most serious error I have observed in the commentary is on p. 219 to v. 22, where we are told that the temple of Divus Iulius was "dediciert von Augustus am 10. Aug. 27." Of course, the correct date is Aug. 18, 725/29: cf. C. I. L. I^a, p. 325; Mommsen, *Res Gest. Div. Aug.*, p. 80; Hülsen, *Nom. Topog.*, p. 81.

In spite of its defects, however, this edition is a mine of information and a boon to the student not of Statius only, but of the poets of that period, and will go far toward re-awakening interest in an author who until our own century was one of the most popular of ancient writers.

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ANGLO-SAXON DICTIONARIES.

An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, based on the Manuscript Collections of the late JOSEPH BOSWORTH, D. D., F. R. S. Edited and enlarged by T. NORTHCOTE TOLLER, M. A., Smith Professor of English in the Owens College, Manchester. Part IV, Section II. *Swið-snel-Ŷtmet.* Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1898.

A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary for the Use of Students. By JOHN R. CLARK HALL, M. A., Ph. D. London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York, Macmillan & Co., 1894.

The Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon. By HENRY SWEET, M. A., Ph. D., LL. D. New York, The Macmillan Company; London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1897.

After the lapse of fifteen years since the publication of Parts I and II of the Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, we now have it completed with the issue of Part IV, Section 2. But, as

dictionaries are seldom completed, and progress has been made in Anglo-Saxon lexicography during the last fifteen years, we are promised a supplement, "which will be prepared as soon as possible." In such an undertaking it were ungracious to cavil at delay in publication, but we may express the hope that the supplement may appear in less than five years, the average time that has elapsed between the publication of the several parts. The preceding parts have been noticed from time to time in this Journal and the plan of the work is well known to Anglo-Saxon scholars. Prof. Toller informs us in the brief Preface prefixed to this part that "some alterations have been made in the plan adopted by Dr. Bosworth." Forms of Anglo-Saxon words vary in time and in locality; "In the earlier part of the Dictionary the different forms of a word are given separately; in the later part they are collected under a single form." The latter plan is the better, provided that cross-references are always made, which seems to have been done in this part. If Prof. Toller were starting afresh, he would, doubtless, not write now *ea*, *eð*, which "are employed in all cases where the short *ea*, *eo* are not meant," but consistency required that the older representation of the diphthongs should be continued. The modern representations, *ea*, *eo*, are seen in the dictionaries of both Clark Hall and Sweet.

Prof. Toller remarks upon the difficulties that are met with in an attempt to compile an Anglo-Saxon dictionary. Every one that has made the attempt will certainly sympathize with him, even when that attempt has been limited to the compilation of a glossary for some single work, so that "some leniency towards shortcomings may" certainly, not "perhaps, be looked for by any one who attempts the labour," for man is neither all-seeing nor all-knowing. Reasonable diligence is all that can be expected.

An 'Explanation of References' and the 'Contractions used in Grein's *Lexicon Poeticum*' follow the Preface.

As we have remarked before, Prof. Toller's chief service to Anglo-Saxon lexicography consists in the addition of the prose vocabulary to the poetical, and the inclusion of prose citations. In the few words that we have taken as tests, we do not find any important addition to Grein's citations, and often some of Grein's references are omitted. For example, under *Wyn*[*z*] Grein gives *twelve* references to the *Phænix*: of these Prof. Toller retains *seven*, and does not give any additional reference. Perhaps these omissions are due to a desire to save space, but if the system of double references, as "Exon. Th. 111, 31; Gú. 135," or "Beo. Th. 3465; B. 1730," had not been adopted, all needful space for more complete references might have been secured. Prof. Toller arranges his meanings under a more analytical system than Grein. Grein gives no subdivisions of meaning under *wyn*. Toller divides into "I. *delight, pleasure*; I a. with prep. *to*, marking object in which delight is taken; II. *a delight, that which causes pleasure*; II a. as an epithet of persons, (1) of human beings;

(2) of the Deity; III. *the best* of a class, *the pride* of its kind; IV. the name of the w-rune." This is a distinct gain, but, *per contra*, we miss Grein's arrangement of his examples by cases. It should be added that Prof. Toller has verified for himself Grein's citations when used, as may be seen by the fuller quotations, and in one example under *wyn* he has corrected a misreference in Grein, who has "*El.* 1297" for "*Cri.* 1297." Under "the name of the w-rune," he gives the references to the *Elene*, the *Crist*, and the *Runic Poem*, 8, and adds that to the *Fata Apostolorum*, *addendum*, from Napier's article in *Anglia*, XIII, but omits the references "*Jul.* 706, *Rä.* 87, 7," which Grein gives under *wên*. Toller differs from Grein in taking *wyn*, not *wên*, as the name of this rune, agreeing with Gollancz, but Hall and Sweet hold to the older view. Grein says, however, under *wên*: "Name der Rune V., deren Zeichen jedoch auch zum Teil im Text für *ven* = *wynn* steht." If Grein had lived longer, perhaps he would have taken *wyn*, not *wên*, as the name of the w-rune. (See Gollancz's edition of *Cynewulf's Christ*, Appendix on "The Cynewulf Runes," pp. 173-84.) It may be noted here that at the beginning of the article W Prof. Toller omits to refer to the word under which he cites the w-rune. In the case of the other letters the usual word is given as the name of the corresponding rune.

Under *wên* Grein subdivides: "(1) *Wahn, Meinung, opinio*; (2) *Wahrscheinlichkeit*; (3) *Hoffnung, Erwartung, Aussicht auf etwas*; (4) *Name der Rune V.*" Toller arranges: "I. *supposition, opinion, thought, idea*; II. *hope, expectation*; II a. with gen. of what is hoped for or expected; III. *likelihood, probability, chance*; III a. *in phrases such as wên is (ðæt) = perhaps, perchance, may be, probably*," with *twenty* examples to *four* in Grein under (2), one of which, "B. 1845," is included by Toller under III; Grein does not separate the phrase. One of Grein's references, "*Ps.* 138, 9," is omitted by Toller; this gives a net increase of *seventeen* examples in Toller of the phrase *wên is (ðæt)*. Under (1) Grein gives three examples: "*Boeth.* 40, 3, *Gû.* 988, *Cri.* 212." Of these Toller retains only "*Cri.* 212" under I, places "*Boeth.* 40, 3" under III a, and "*Gû.* 988 (989)" under III. Under I Toller adds *three* from the prose; under III, *none*, but places there "*Jul.* 632" (given by Grein under (3)) in addition to "*Gû.* 989, B. 1845," noted above. "*Rûn.* 8" is naturally omitted under II by Toller and included under *wyn*. Toller adds here but *one* example from the prose "Blickl. Homl. 179, 25," to those given by Grein, all of which are included under II and II a. We thus see, as previously, Toller's dependence upon Grein for references to the poetry, as was to be expected, but we do not find here such increase from the prose as under III a. Lack of space will not permit further minute examination, but we are grateful for what we have.

The plan of the Student's Dictionaries of Hall and Sweet excludes references, the meanings of words being given as concisely as possible. I must refer to the respective Prefaces for editorial remarks on the plan and arrangement of each. Hall prefixes certain tables which will be found useful by the student: I. Comparative table of vowel-sounds of the Old English dialects in stressed syllables; II. Preferred forms and normalizations; III. Root-vowels of strong verbs, following Sievers's arrangement, now generally adopted by scholars; IV. Index to the graded and mutated vowels found in the parts of strong verbs, with List of Abbreviations used in the dictionary. Sweet prefixes a statement of his arrangement and contractions, variations of spelling, and Early West-Saxon inflections, which might have been dispensed with, as every student of Anglo-Saxon is supposed to have his grammar as accessible as his dictionary. Sweet still sticks to his antiquated arrangement of the strong verbs, but the English are very conservative. Mr. Sweet is hypercritical in his Preface. He says: "Etymological translation should be avoided; thus *geþofla* does *not* mean 'one who sits on the same rowing-bench.' Less mischievous, but equally silly, is the practice of translating an Old-English word by some obsolete or dialectal word, which is assumed—sometimes falsely—to be connected with the Old-English one. Thus when we have once translated *bearn* by 'child,' there is no more reason for adding 'bairn' than there is for adding 'kid' or any other synonym." These are discourteous thrusts at Mr. Hall. We must confess that we see no "silliness" about it. To find *geþofla* in Sweet we must look under þ, all words with prefix *ge-* being given under the root-word, although there is no such word as *þofla*. *þoft* is there, and without gender too, as "rower's bench," and *geþofla*, m. as "companion." Hall gives *geþofla*, wm., under *G*. with meaning above quoted, and "comrade, companion" in addition, with references "AO: Æ." Hall gives "*ðoft*, sf., *ðofte*, wf., bench for rowers" (*ðofte* is omitted in Sweet). If we compare Bosworth-Toller we find "*þoft*? *e*; *þofte*, *an*; *f*. a rower's bench," with references to Wright's Vocabularies, and the additional statement that "Halliwell gives *thoft*, *fellow*, a fellow-oarsman," after the cognates "Du. *doft*, Icel. *þofta*." Under *-þofla*, we have "v. *ge-þofla* [Icel. *þofti*, a bench-fellow]." Evidently Prof. Toller does not agree with Mr. Sweet as to "etymological translation," and if *ge-þofla* got its meaning 'companion' from having been originally a comrade on a ship's bench, I see no objection to saying so.

Let us glance at *bearn*. Sweet gives merely "*bearn*, n. child," and "*bearn*, prt. of *beirnan*." Hall gives "*bearn* I. sn. child, son, descendant, offspring, issue, progeny. AO. CP.; Æ. *lioda bearn*, children of men. [*beran*; Scot. and Northern Eng. *bairn*.] II. = *barn*, pret. 3 sg. of *biernan*. III. pret. 3 sg. of *beirnan*. IV. = *berearn*." Hall is not quite so concise in his definitions as Sweet, and I can see no objection to his adding the etymological

cognate *bairn*. I trust that a regard for the purity of English would have prevented his adding 'kid.' We do not find *barn* in Sweet alphabetically, but under *biernan* we have "*pret. born, a*," with example *sēo burg barn*, so it does occur. Under *beiernan* we find in Sweet "*þa bearn him on mōde þæt hē cōme*"; Sweet has the advantage of Hall in giving examples of the use of words, but as no references are given, we cannot tell whether they are selected or made up. We do not find *bereærn* alphabetically in Sweet, but we find *beren* and *berern* = *bern*, *barn*, and "*bern, beren, 1N. berern, n. barn [bere-aern]*," so Mr. Sweet recognizes etymology in definitions, and if he had added the meaning 'barley-house,' I should not have found fault. Hall gives alphabetically "*bereærn, sn. barn [bere, aern]*"; *beren*, III. sn. = *bere-aern*; *bern* = *bereærn*; *baern* = *bereærn*"; and in addition "*barn, I. pret. 3 sg. of biernan; II. = bearn*," so Hall seems to me more helpful to the student in these forms than Sweet.

One other word may be briefly compared for illustration of arrangement. We find in Sweet "*þēoh, n., d. þeo, gpl. þeona, thigh*"; in Hall, "*ðēoh, I. (ē)sn (gs. ðeos, ds. ðeo; gp. ðeona) [S. 242 and n. 3] thigh, hip. AO., CP.; Æ. II. imperat. of ðeon [S. 84, n. 1]*." Hall gives frequent references to Sievers's Grammar for forms. Under this word Hall gives *four* compounds, Sweet, *seven*, all of which are found in Bosworth-Toller, but none in Grein. The references show that they come from the prose literature, Cockayne's 'Leechdoms' and Wright's 'Vocabularies' being the sources of the examples. We find also in Sweet *þeo* = *þeow* and *þeo*, see *þēoh*; and in Hall, "*ðeo I. = ðeow, sm.; II. = ðēoh; III. [S. 337, n. 2] = sēo II. IV. pres. 1 sg. of ðeon*," so Hall is fuller here. Sweet's printers seem to have lost their heads on this page (181), as *þeon* follows *þeo*, col. 1, and *þeonest* = *þenest* follows *þēoh-geweald*, col. 3; *þeon* and *geþeon* are out of place alphabetically.

Owing to effort at compression Sweet most frequently takes but one line for a word and gives but one meaning. Hall gives often more than one meaning and so takes more space. Each dictionary has three columns to the page; Hall's containing 369 pages and Sweet's 217. On a rough estimate Hall averages about 110 words to the page and Sweet 135, so that the former contains approximately in round numbers 40,000 words and the latter 30,000. The less cost of Sweet's dictionary will, perhaps, make it the more popular.

Both of these dictionaries are useful additions to the student's outfit for the study of Anglo-Saxon, as the smaller Bosworth is, doubtless, out of print and has been long since antiquated, and Harrison and Baskervil's translation of Groschopp's abridgment of Grein's Glossary applies only to the poetry. It is now customary, however, to append a separate glossary to each Anglo-Saxon work published, so that the need of a separate dictionary is not so great as formerly. The lack of references in

these two dictionaries is a drawback to their use, but references could not have been included without greatly increasing the size and cost of the volumes.

Now that the Bosworth-Toller Dictionary has been completed, with its 1302 pages, double column, it will be used by all who can afford it, but there is still room for a dictionary between it and the smaller ones, which shall contain some references for each word cited, and be more complete than either of the smaller dictionaries, even if at slightly increased cost. After the supplement is completed, we hope that Prof. Toller will give us such an abridgment.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

REPORTS.

THE JOURNAL OF GERMANIC PHILOLOGY. Edited by GUSTAF E. KARSTEN. Vol. I, 1897. Numbers 2, 3 and 4.

The first volume of the Journal of Germanic Philology has in these three numbers fully realized the expectations which its first number had aroused. The various articles show a broad range of interest and a spirit of thorough scholarship which are a credit to the general scholarship of this country and promise well for the future of the Journal.

The second number opens with an article by Elisabeth Woodbridge (Yale University) on Chaucer's Classicism (pp. 111-17). Miss Woodbridge discusses the essence of classicism and romanticism, and adopts as a description of the former the view of Brunetière (*Études Critiques*, vol. III, 202), and finds in Pater (*Appreciations*, p. 248) the 'most far-reaching and psychologically adequate suggestion (of the essence of romanticism) that we can find,' though allowing that both tendencies may be united in one individual. Chaucer, judged by his works merely, is possibly outside the pale of classicism as defined by Brunetière. For the English language of Chaucer's time had not yet reached the 'classic stage,' that is 'perfection,' and 'freed from foreign influences.' Besides, in Chaucer's works there is a lack of architectural proportion. Again, he was not a reactionary against the earlier conventions which might be called romantic. On the other hand, though Chaucer took as his themes 'romantic themes' narrowly so called, yet his attitude towards them shows 'shrewdness' and 'composed comfortable genius,' which are qualities never properly attributed to a romanticist pure and simple. The article sums up in these words: "If he had lived in the days of romanticism he might have been outwardly tinged by it . . . but a true romanticist he could hardly have been."

Pp. 118-35. Ewald Flügel (Stanford University), Some Notes on Chaucer's Prologue, contributes some "selections from a great number of 'Chaucerania' consisting of new parallels, textual emendations, and explanatory matter, collected in the course of my work at the CHAUCER LEXICON." The notes thus contributed deal with vv. 1-9; 9-10; 60; 91; Chaucer and 'Nembrot,' v. 177; vv. 212 and 248, all of the Prologue. The new parallels were 'yielded mainly by a verbal concordance to Gower's *Confessio Amantis* and a word-index to Wycliffe's *Minor Writings*.'

Pp. 136-219. George H. McKnight (Cornell University), *The Primitive Teutonic Order of Words*. The author defines the method by which he proposes to make a collation of all known facts and results known about Teutonic Order of Words and to establish his conclusions. There is a twofold meaning in the phrase 'order of words,' which refers either to a subjective or to an objective movement, to the order in which thought elements receive expression or to the relative position of the essential terms of a proposition. The subjective order is generally in the progression of ideas from the known to the unknown, from the 'psychological subject' which comes first to the 'psychological predicate' which comes last. Subjective word-order is influenced by the nature of the clause; imperative clauses differ from affirmative clauses in their nature and hence in order, as do principal and subordinate clauses. Emphasis is a potent influence in shaping subjective word-order and so is force, but clearness exercises the 'most potent influence.' Clearness is promoted by putting next to each other words connected in thought; hence the arrangement of words in a clause 'is determined primarily by the nearness of their relation to each other.' Analogy also influences word-order, and so does style, the order of prose being quite different from that of poetry, which employs mostly the 'pathetic order.' These factors determine word-order in all languages.

'Order of words' may denote an objective movement, referring to the relative positions of the three essentials of a sentence, viz. *subject, object, predicate*. Order of words in this sense is the subject of the discussion. In uninflected languages this order shows syntactical relations, while in inflected languages a traditional order will gradually establish itself and become fixed. The general principles of 'emphasis,' 'clearness' and 'force' above enumerated operate within the restraints of such a fixed order. The recent investigations of Wunderlich and Braune do not cover the ground which the author intends to investigate, for the problem proposed is: "Did not this freedom of position (established by Braune's investigation of the position of the verb in a clause) exist within the restraint of a fixed order of syntactical terms?" As I.E. in its earliest stages was probably uninflected, the order of syntactical relations was probably not free. The most natural order is that of the language of the deaf and dumb, *subject, object, verb*. The evidence of verbal forms in I.E. shows that the predicate precedes the subject, while in compounds the object precedes the predicate. Hence the primitive order is *object, predicate, subject*. In the earliest monuments, particularly Lat. and Lith., the predicate came last, a fact substantiated by O.Pers. and Sk., though in Gk., Russ., Armen. and Celt. traces of this order are few. In Sk. and Lat. the relative position of subject and object was variable, but the tendency was to place the *subject* before the *object* and then followed the *predicate*. In

principal propositions, in order to distinguish them from subordinate propositions, the primitive order was inverted, and 'to the type of order, then, *object, predicate, subject*, may be added a second type, probably used concurrent with the first, and probably soon becoming dominant, *subject, object, predicate*.' This theory of the final position of the verb is supported by Delbrück (*Syntaktische Forschungen*, IV), so that all evidence *à priori* and *à posteriori* points to the position of the verb at the end of a clause. This position would also be expected in Teutonic order, since Teutonic 'could hardly have been independent of the parent language in this matter.'

The writer then proceeds to investigate the internal evidence, taking up first Gothic, which presents material of but little value, since Gothic is such a faithful reproduction of the Greek, and even the Skeireins may be a translation from the Latin. The conclusions of a careful study of available materials are: "On the whole we must conclude that the Gothic order of words was by no means rigidly fixed . . . On the other hand, in both works (Skeireins and the Bible) there is a manifest fondness for the synthetic order. The governing word, noun or verb, usually comes after the governed word, thus binding the parts of the expression into a closely united whole."

In the study of Old High German order of words, McKnight takes the results established by others, but formulates them more conveniently for reference and comparison with results obtained independently in Gothic and Old English. The results of such comparison lead to the conclusion: "we must infer that at the time when the earliest works that have descended to us were composed, there already existed a feeling for the difference between principal and subordinate clauses, expressed by a difference in word-order. . . . O.H.G., then, does not afford us much direct evidence as to the order of words in primitive Teutonic."

The order of words in Old Norse the author is obliged to treat inadequately because of the limitations of the article, the lack of former investigations and the unsatisfactory character of the materials for study. In the younger Edda the order of words is much like that of the English, with some striking exceptions. The study of the Runic inscriptions, though slender, 'shows that the synthetic order was the earliest, and that the order of words characteristic of literary Icelandic does not belong to primitive Teutonic.'

Ries furnishes the statistics for the order of words in O.S. The tendency is to the employment of the normal order, though the inverted order is nearly as common. In subordinate sentences 70 per cent. of the instances separate subject and verb. In O.E. many statistics have been furnished by other investigators, while McKnight presents the results of his studies in Alfred's and Cnut's Code. In early O.E. the differentiation between principal and subordinate clauses was not strongly marked, and in the later

(prose) works is barely holding its own. The general conclusion of the detailed investigation by Dr. McKnight is that from the very beginning 'each dialect differed from the others, not only in phonology and inflections, but also in word-order.' In O.H.G. principal clauses are distinguished from subordinate, in O.E. this is not the case, while in O.N. a peculiar tendency to invert is discernible even in the primitive inscriptions. As to the relative position of subject and finite verb, the original word-order in affirmative clauses of primitive Teutonic is direct, the verb following directly after the subject. Inversion is difficult of explanation; 'all that can be asserted is that it is an order of words occurring side by side with the direct order in all the early Teutonic dialects.' An explanation for certain cases of inversion is to be found in the nature of a clause, in emphasis or connection. The development of inversion was different in different dialects. As to the position of the verb with relation to its dependencies, it is to be noticed that in all Teutonic dialects the verb, in both principal and subordinate clauses, may be separated from its subject; the older the monument, the more frequent the separation in principal clauses. McKnight agrees with Behagel that in primitive Teutonic the verb was at the end, a belief confirmed by the evidence from cognate I.E. languages. The analytic order was developed by the growth of sentences in complexity, which tended to make the verbal nouns and adjectives the bearers of the principal thought, and to make the verb more and more colorless, often reducing it to a mere copula. Hence the verb lost its claim to the position of emphasis at the end of a clause. The differentiation between principal and subordinate clauses noted by Ries in his study of *Beowulf* and *Heliand* substantiates this theory. Summing up, "from the evidence of cognate I.E. languages, from the general direction of the development within Teutonic, and from the tendencies common to all early Teutonic languages, viz. 1) the position of elements in compounds, especially the position of the inseparable prefix, 2) the frequent end-position of the verb even in principal clauses, more frequent the farther back we go, and 3) the fondness for synthetic order;— from all this evidence I conclude that in primitive Teutonic, in affirmative clauses, which were probably of the very simplest nature, the normal position of the verb was after its dependencies."

Pp. 220–38. Hermann Collitz (Bryn Mawr College), *Der Name der Goten bei Griechen und Römer*. This article 1) discusses the origin of the *o* in the Greek and Latin spelling of the name of the Goths, and 2) criticizes and refutes the theory advanced by Osthoff and Streitberg that the so-called *a-Umlaut* of *u* to *o* goes back to the '*gemeingermanische Zeit*.' In the period preceding 200 A. D. the Goths are mentioned by contemporary writers six times. Only three cases, as Collitz shows, are of value as testimony: 1) *Gutones* (Plin.), 2) *Gotones* or *Gothones* (Tac.), 3)

Γύθωνες, i. e. Gythones (Marinus cited by Ptol.). Of these Plin. is correct, while Tac. and Ptol. attempted to reproduce the short German *u* sound in Latin and Greek. Tac. either did not know that the spelling of Plin. was correct, or else in transcribing the name the change might have been made. A later scribe might have made the change, or, since there is only one original MS of the Germania and one of the first six books of the Annals, both of the XVth century when the name of Goths was spelled with an *o*, it is not at all certain that we have Tacitus's correct spelling. In the period during which the Goths were settled on the Lower Danube the name occurs more frequently in the Gk. form *Γότθοι*, Lat. *Gothi*, other spellings being rare and isolated. Collitz proves by a number of arguments that the Goths called themselves *Gutōs*, and that the Roman spelling *Gothi* was due to the pronunciation of the Greeks, who generally represent short *u* by *o*, as their alphabet lacked that sound. The *th* (Gk. *τθ*) in *Gothi* and the form *Gothones* are uncertain as to origin. Streitberg and Osthoff claim that the Latin spelling with *o* is the older form and that this proves that an *a-Umlaut* existed in earlier Gothic, the later Gothic changing back to *Gutones*. According to Collitz, even if Tacitus's spelling is the one he wrote, there is no evidence that he visited the Goths, nor is it probable that he heard the name from a Goth in Rome; but more probably he obtained his information from some West German in Rome, in whose dialect the *a-Umlaut* was effective. Collitz also shows that Streitberg's theory, when examined in the light of chronology, becomes absurd and absolutely untenable.

Pp. 239-46. H. Schmidt-Wartenberg (University of Chicago), The Berlin Fragment of the Madelghijs. A Middle-Low-Franconian fragment in the Royal Library at Berlin, containing two partly mutilated quarto sheets, belonging to the XIVth century and written by one hand, is identified as a Low Franconian translation of the *Maugis d'Aigremont*. This translation is known only in fragments already published by N. de Pauw. The Berlin fragment is an independent copy, which the author has supplemented from other fragments. The fragment of 342 vv. with minor lacunae follows.

Pp. 247-8. A. S. Cook (Yale University), Christ 77, an emendation of line 77 by substituting *mōt* (= mote, atom) for *mōd*.

Pp. 249-51. H. Schmidt-Wartenberg (University of Chicago), Conrad Vollstatter's Gedicht von des Teufel's Töchtern. A reprint of a short poem, 'Von des tufels töchtern, der sibem waren,' found in a codex in the Royal Library at Berlin. It was written by Conrat Vollstatter, probably a Bavarian, who, however, amounts to nothing as a poet. The poem is shown to be a fragment, and a number of similar versions in German, Italian and French are cited.

No. 3.

Pp. 273-80. Albert S. Cook (Yale University), *The College Teaching of English*. The object of this article is to suggest rather than to elaborate a theory of teaching English. After showing that such teaching has two ends in view, the elevation of the individual and the advancement of 'the great ends of communal, civic and national life,' and discussing how these ends are attained, the writer makes the following practical suggestions for teaching English effectively. 1. Organization with a clearly defined and comprehensive purpose, in which all members of the teaching body should co-operate in broad sympathy. 2. A unity in the teaching of the three main branches: literature, language and rhetoric. 3. A sufficiently large staff of equally well-trained instructors, but of different ages, temperaments and special inclinations. 4. The topics treated should 'denote an approximately homogeneous content,' and 5. should be arranged in a rational and self-consistent plan. 6. The method employed should secure the co-operation of every student at every stage of its progress; preferably the topical method of investigation to be employed with only occasional formal lectures; also occasional supplementary courses for 'mere entertainment or information.' 7. Every teacher should be an investigator who publishes the result of his labors from time to time, and ought therefor to have leisure for the acquisition and development of scholarship. 8. Every student should have an opportunity to study English throughout the whole of every year of his college course.

Pp. 280-309. Francis A. Wood (Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa), *Indo-European Root-Formation*. The author, following out the method of root-analysis suggested by Per Persson in his *Studien zur Lehre von der Wurzelerweiterung und Wurzelvariation*, tries to establish the principle that the large number of roots with the same meaning in various I.E. languages may be reduced to a comparatively small number of roots, for the most part monosyllables beginning with a vowel, and that all suffixes and prefixes may also be reduced to such roots. This principle, if established, would change entirely the explanation of the verbal augment, the reduplication and vowel gradation. He treats first of nominal and verbal suffixes. These are connected with demonstrative basal roots, which are likewise the bases of personal pronouns. A second set of suffixes are 'not of pronominal origin, or at least not connected with stems of pronouns as such.' E. g. *-(e)lo-*, *(e)ro-*, denoting agency or instrument, are connected with the roots **el* (Gk. *ἐλ-θεῖν*) 'to spring from' and **er* (Lat. *or-ior*, Gk. *ἐρ-χουμαι*) 'to spring up' respectively. These roots developed still further into *-telo*, *-tel*, *-llo* and *-tero*, *-ter*. A number of other suffixes are explained by a similar method, amongst others the suffixes *es*, *os*, 'occurring in nouns and in verbs in forming desideratives, the future and the aorist, as well

as the infinitive, Sk. *-sē*, Gk. *-σαι*, Lat. *-re*, are claimed to contain the root *es-* 'to be,' according to an abandoned theory of Bopp, which Wood now revives. In the prefixes, 'which are not easy to analyze and determine,' Wood believes that similar basal roots are to be found, though covered up. Hence all roots admit of being derived from monosyllabic roots beginning with a vowel. Eight such roots (viz. 1. \sqrt{es} 'to be'; 2. $\sqrt{*sē}$ or $\sqrt{*es}$ 'to be heavy'; 3. \sqrt{em} 'to bruise'; 4. \sqrt{es} 'throw'; 5. \sqrt{su} 'sound' connected with \sqrt{es} 'throw.' 6. \sqrt{su} 'to be hot,' probably related to 5; 7. \sqrt{en} 'to float, swim'; 8. $\sqrt{eu(e)}$ 'clothe') are followed through a large number of words. 'The comparisons might be extended, not only in these stems, but in others.'

The augment is taken by the author to be the vowel *e*, which was the initial vowel of most verbs; in present tenses it was dropped, because the accent was shifted to the defining element of the tense, that part which expresses present action [e. g. **(e)bhéro*], while in the past tense the accent remained on the initial vowel (**ēbhero-*), and finally this initial *e* was looked upon as the distinguishing mark of the past. The reduplication would then be simply a repetition of the root in its simple form, the vowel being generally *e*, the usual initial root vowel. The vowel-gradation series would have to be explained as originating from different suffixes, as Wood has shown to be the case with the O.N. forms *blōta* : *blēt* in a thesis published in the University of Chicago Germanic Studies, a method of explanation applicable to 'many verbs of the ablauting series.'

This article is continued in the fourth number of the Journal, pp. 441-70. In this second part the author discusses and traces through many forms the following roots: 9. $\sqrt{*ebh}$ 'rise,' which is found in a large number of roots beginning with I.E. *bh*; 10. \sqrt{er} 'to move, go'; 11. $\sqrt{el-}$, similar in meaning and development to *er-*; 12. $\sqrt{qel-}$ 'to set in motion,' from an original *qo* or *ego*; 13. $\sqrt{pel-}$, which is developed out of original *ēp*, used to express rapid motion of any kind; 14. \sqrt{per} 'to advance.' The principle upon which Wood proceeds in his etymologies and derivations is found in the following statement: "Wherever the root *qel-* occurs—and this applies to any other root—the presumption should be that it is in each case the same element. Those who deny this should prove it. Of course, exactly the same combination may originate from different elements, but such cases are comparatively rare. Therefore, when a certain root, or element, appears in words of widely different meaning, it is only necessary to show that one meaning may develop from another, in order to prove the possibility of connection." Wood sums up by saying that numberless examples might be quoted to substantiate his theory; that in analyzing forms and words the etymologist should proceed on the assumption that '*phonetically identical roots are one in origin.*' He holds that all the common elements which go to make up the I.E. languages have been

preserved, some forming the bases of what we call 'roots,' others forming suffixes. In the *Ursprache* there was a certain number of elements or roots, combined to a greater or less extent into words. "Each tribe took with it this common stock, and combined and recombined the roots as it had been accustomed to do or as it had need. Hence came overlappings of meaning, and occasionally one set of meanings in one dialect, and another in another."

Pp. 309-12. Francis A. Wood (Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa), I.E. *Nr* and *Nl* in Germanic. Through a large number of etymologies Wood deduces the principle that I.E. *nr* becomes (*n*)*dr* in Latin and Germanic as it does in Greek; while *nl* becomes medial *ndl* in Germanic and simple *l* when initial.

Pp. 312-34. Otto B. Schlutter (Hartford High School), On Old English Glosses, contributes a second article, which 'rescues' from the glosses forty-four additional words omitted by Sweet and discusses a number of others wrongly explained by the same author.

Pp. 334-8. Albert S. Cook (Yale University), Notes on the Old English Christ, proposes to retain the word *gefælsian*, v. 320, and translate it by 'pass through,' and in v. 952 to emend *fære* and read *fere* (Anglian for *fære*), meaning 'fear.'

Pp. 338-41. Elisabeth Woodbridge (Yale University), An Unnoted Source of Chapman's All Fools, shows by comparing parallel passages that two characters in the play, Gostanzo and Valerio, with respect to their activity in the plot correspond to Chremes and Clitipho in *Heautontimorumenos* of Terence, 'considered with respect to certain phases of their characterization, they are to be referred to the Adelphi.'

Pp. 341-7. George Hempl (University of Michigan), G. *Skalks*, N.H.G. *Schalk*, etc., G. *Kalkjo*, O.N. *Skækja*, O.H.G. *Karl*, N.H.G. *Kerl*, *Kegel*, etc., connects these various Germanic words etymologically, showing the different phonetic changes and the causes of these changes, citing other analogous forms.

P. 347. Edwin W. Fay (Lexington, Va.) explains German *Gipfel* as a 'blend' of *Zipfel* with either *Giebel* or M.H.G. *Gupf* or both; and English *squawk* as a 'blend' of *squall* and *squeak* with a 'dash' perhaps of *quack*.

Pp. 348-60. Otto Heller (Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.), Goethe and the Philosophy of Schopenhauer, seeks to show three things. First, 'that these two thinkers held each other in exceedingly high regard; secondly, that in some important respects their world-views were strikingly alike'; and, finally, that in their lives and works there is evidence to prove 'that Goethe was one of the determinative factors in the construction of Neo-Pessimism.' Heller shows how Goethe and young Scho-

penhauer used to meet quite frequently in Frau Schopenhauer's home in Weimar, and proves the interest shown by Goethe in the career of the philosopher, and the respect and reverence the latter always felt for the poet. In a number of important features, e. g. their style of writing, their conception of the mission of art and philosophy, their view of the connection between art and science, their cosmopolitanism, the author demonstrates similarity between these great minds. Then, in more detail, by quotations from his works, by a certain passage in *Faust* (vv. 1336, 37) he seeks to establish the fact of Goethe's influence upon Schopenhauer's pessimistic view of life, and concludes: Goethe 'threw a strong ferment into the philosopher's mind,' 'provoking him into systematic opposition' by the optimistic views embodied in *Faust*.

No. 4.

Pp. 411-30. William Allan Neilson (Harvard University), *The Original of The Complaynt of Scotlande*. This work, written during 'the childhood of Mary of Scots' after the humiliating defeat at Pinkie and while the Protector Somerset was still pressing the 'bitter wooing' of the infant Queen for Edward VI, was borrowed in its general idea and also with many details of its allegory from 'Le Quadrilogue Invectif' of Alain Chartier. This latter work was produced in France, early in the XVth century, shortly after the coronation of Henry VI as king and was intended to arouse the French to a sense of their shame. Neilson proves his assertions by a detailed comparison in parallel columns.

Pp. 430-41. William H. Hulme (Western Reserve University), *Malchus*, gives a reprint of this Old English text from the manuscript. It has been published before, but is not generally accessible; hence this reprint.

Pp. 441-70 contain F. A. Wood's second article noted above.

Pp. 470-75. George Hempl (University of Michigan), Germanic $\tilde{e}^{[m]}$ = Old English \bar{o} and \tilde{a} ; and Vowel-shortening in Primitive Old English. Hempl discusses and explains the O.E. form **span-* by the side of **spon-* and *spôn*, which is an exception to Holtzmann's law that Gc. \tilde{e} before a nasal becomes \bar{o} in Old English, and formulates two principles to determine the real length of seemingly long vowels in O.E. "I. If the long vowel in question regularly underwent a certain modification (for example, that of \tilde{a} to \bar{o} before nasals), but in a particular case did not do so before two consonants, we have a right to assume that it had become short, and, if we find that there is nothing in the form to make this assumption impossible, we must recognize the shortness. II. If the long vowel in question suffers before two consonants a change that we know to be characteristic of short vowels only (for example, breaking), or permits a change (for example, the excrescence of a stop between two sonorous conso-

nants) that a long vowel would not permit, we cannot but recognize that shortening has taken place."

Pp. 475-7. Albert S. Cook (Yale University), *The Sources of Two Similes in Chapman's The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*. One simile occurring in act II, sc. 1 is traced to Catullus 22, and another occurring a little earlier is suggested by the Aesopic Fable 184.

Pp. 477-81. H. D. Blackwell (Yale University), *Middle English -wȝ-, -wō-*, contributes a number of additional illustrations to an article by George Hempl (*Journal*, p. 14 ff.).

Pp. 481-93. Max Batt (University of Chicago), *Schiller's Attitude towards the French Revolution*. Schiller was not an adherent nor even a friend of the Revolution, though he grew more and more interested, until in 1793 he proposed to write a defence of Louis XVI; from that time on his interest waned, though it did not cease altogether. Batt traces in Schiller's correspondence allusions to contemporaneous events, to books and notices treating directly or indirectly of France and its history and to conversations with people who had been to Paris and were passing through Weimar. 'As a public man,' he urges Körner 'to descant on the Revolution of Cromwell,' speaks favorably of Wilhelm von Humboldt's 'Ideen zu einem Versuch die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit eines Staates zu bestimmen,' and Dec. 21, 1792, announces his intention to write a public defence of Louis XVI, a plan not carried out because Louis was executed within a month. Batt agrees with Goedeke in thinking that the fundamental thoughts of this defence were the origin of the first letters 'Ueber die Erziehung des Menschen.' After the publication of the 'Aesthetische Briefe,' Schiller's interest in contemporaneous political events decreases, though he does occasionally refer to them. Quotations are given by the writer from many sources showing Schiller's unfavorable views of the Revolution and the reasons for these views.

The *Book Reviews*, which fill 97 pages (part 2, pp. 251-72; part 3, pp. 360-410; and part 4, pp. 493-521) are very carefully and well done, and cover a wide selection of recent works in the fields of general Germanic literature and philology.

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GUSTAV GRUENER.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN, Vol. XXII.

L. Kellner. *Shelley's Queen Mab and Volney's Les Ruines*. Besides Holbach's *Système de la Nature* and passages in Godwin's *Enquirer* and *Political Justice*, which Shelley mentions in his notes, a more important source is Volney's *Les Ruines*. From the former *Queen Mab* derives its atheism, from the latter

a sort of deistic optimism. In some details also the influence is apparent. Thus Volney is carried from the ruins of Palmyra (cf. *Q. M.* II 109 ff.) far above the earth, that the Spirit may show him the Past, the Present, and the Future. In both poems we find the doctrine of Necessity, the horrid aspect of war, and the confusion of religions. The influence of Volney's Past and Present is especially marked, while traces of the second part of his work are visible in *The Revolt of Islam*, such as the description of the Future, and the last struggle of people with tyrants. Interesting parallels are cited from each poem.

Ph. Aronstein. *The Development of Local Government in England in the Last Decade (1885-95)*. Beginning with the establishment of counties (871-975), the paper mentions the Justice of the Peace and his constables, who, dating from 1360, had extensive powers of local management. In the 18th century the landed aristocracy gained ascendancy, while the middle classes withdrew from public life. The reforms which followed were reforms first of central government, then of local administration. The years 1832, 1867, and 1885 saw the suffrage made almost universal, though the new methods of administration, except for the schools, were strongly bureaucratic under the Local Government Board. Its service was salaried and devoid of personal interest in local affairs, and the middle classes still remained aloof from public life. The reform of administration came in the laws of 1888 and 1894. The number of counties was increased, and the new County Councils and County Aldermen manage the property as the Justices had done formerly. London was made a county and its administration was unified. The bill of 1894 went still farther in providing Parish Councils, Parish Meetings, and District Councils. The suffrage was extended to all holders of independent property, including women, servants, and farm hands. As a result of the contest with the lords, who were perverting the use of lands and driving the small tenants into cities, the parish has gained the right of renting single tracts of an acre under certain restrictions. The reforms show a new confidence in the masses, mark the abolition of the 'squirearchy,' and offer inducements to education for public life.

The reviews contain, among other notices, favorable comment on two American books, namely, Turk's edition of the legal code of Alfred and Emerson's *History of the English Language*. In commenting upon Ackermann's reprint of Chettle's *Tragedy of Hoffman* from the quarto of 1631, Sarrazin recommends reprints of only the classics which have linguistic or textual importance. Such editions as the present one are quite superfluous. Koch agrees with Westenholz, who, in his study, *Die Tragik in Shakespeare's Coriolanus*, opposes the theory that this tragedy was one of a proposed Roman trilogy. Lindner's study of Fielding's dramatic works shows that, in spite of careless workmanship, these may help to remove our misunderstanding of

'the age of enlightenment.' To a similar end the reviewer, Bobertag, cites Elwin's Commentary on Pope's Essay on Man. Fielding is influenced by Molière and the Spanish drama, but gives to all he borrows an English character. Kölbing, in his review of Hordern's edition of Byron's *Siege of Corinth*, supplements the editor's notes and adds new comments of his own.

The Miscellen contain a note on Byron's *Manfred*, in which drama the opening of II 4 and the Mont Blanc passage in I 1 are suggested possibly by Shelley's fourth letter to Peacock (Forman, VI 185 ff.). Shakespeare, *Timon*, IV 3. 438 ff. is referred to the *Anacreontea* 21 [19], Bergk's *Anth. Lyric*. The resemblance was noted by T. Moore in his translation of *Anacreon*.

R. Thurneysen. When did the Saxons come to England? The article is an extension of one in *Zeitsch. für Celt. Philol.* I 157 ff. According to the *Gallic Chronicle* for 409/410, Germanic tribes under the name of Saxons devastated the British coast at that time. As to the date of their landing Bede is usually followed, who names 449. Gildas, on whom he is thought to have relied, is indefinite, though he seems to put the date later than 446, and lived soon after the event. Two Continental writings point to an earlier date and their testimony is not necessarily contradicted. The *Gallic Chronicle* says that in 441/442 the Saxons conquered Britain after varying fortunes of war. The *Life of St. Germanus* (Act. Sanct. Jul. 31), in connection with Prosper Tiro, *Chron. min.* I 472, fixes the landing in 429. According to Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* 31 (ca. 679) and *Annales Cambriae* (954) it occurred in 428. These last sources, from internal evidence, seem quite independent of one another. The way in which the event is associated with Germanus' arrival in Britain, and his relation to Guorthigirn, implies different British traditions pointing to this one date (428). Having landed, then, at this date, by 441/442 the Saxons had overcome the British, who in 446, according to Gildas and Bede, appealed to Aetius, the consul, for aid.

F. Kluge shows traces of a French influence in proper names and other words of the *Ormulum*, which escaped the notice of Ten Brink and Morris.

The articles on Lord Byron as a Translator, by F. Maychrzak, are continued from vol. XXI, with abundant citations from the *Nisus*, the *Morgante Maggiore*, and the lesser translations, in parallel with similar passages from original works.

English Grammar receives a contribution from O. Schulze on the article before titled names and on the position of the genitive.

Kaluza reviews at some length Skeat's edition of Chaucer and commends it, adopting as a standard the previous editions of the poet, rather than the ideal edition. Of especial interest are

Kaluza's comments on Skeat's opinion of the authenticity of the Romaunt of the Rose.

Vol. XXII has given considerable space to reviews of helps and reports of the theories bearing upon the reform in the teaching of modern languages in Germany. Among the text-books reviewed are F. Schmidt's Text-book of Spoken English according to the Observation-Method, and J. Bierbaum's Text-book and Reader according to the Inductive Method (pp. 113, 115). The reviews on pp. 307 ff. illustrate the plan of providing reading-lessons drawn from English life and history. Mention should be made of Hartmann's pamphlet on the observation-method (p. 315). Among the Miscellen is a report of the forty-third meeting of philologists in Cologne, in which translation is not advised. Its substitute is dictation and written answers to French and English questions. Early reading-lessons are followed by oral and written reproduction of the subject-matter. Grammar is employed only as a reinforcement of knowledge already acquired, and it must be taught phonologically (p. 335).

A. Treichel. Sir Cleges, a Middle English Romance. Sir Cleges is an Arthurian story of the early 15th century, printed by Weber in his Metrical Romances, Edinburgh, 1810, but overlooked by Ten Brink and Körting, and briefly mentioned by Brandl (Paul's Grundriss, II 1. 697). Weber's only MS was in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Another, which is less accurate but more complete, has since been discovered in the Bodleian. Both are here printed in parallel. Sir Cleges having spent his all on Christmas entertainments, was mourning in his garden on Christmas eve, when he found cherries miraculously growing there. He started to bear a basket of the fruit to the king, but was intercepted by the porter, the usher, and the steward, each of whom detained him until he promised a third of his reward. From the king he then asked for twelve stripes, which were divided among the three officers, while Sir Cleges was restored to his old position. This episode has occurred frequently in story. Many instances are cited, of which the oldest is the Oriental story of Nasurreddin. It is found also in Grimm's tales (7), in Wright's Selection of Latin Stories (VIII 122), and in the Old English Jest-Books. It forms the plot of a novel of Sachetti (195) and of the German poem on the parson of Kalenberg (late 14th century), and is one of the Nouveaux Contes à Rire (1702). Instances of similar motives are cited. The meter of Sir Cleges is the twelve-lined, tail-rime strophe, *aab ccb ddb eeb*, with slight variations. Most of the few assonances and impure rimes are due to the scribe. The alliterations are treated according to Regel's scheme. The rhythm, based only on the verses exactly corresponding in each MS, reveals occasional anacrusis, generally silent final *e*, and a weak plural ending *es* and final *er* before a vowel. The dialect is probably North-Midland.

A. B. Grosart. Was Robert Greene Substantially the Author of Titus Andronicus? The first point rests upon Ravenscroft's statement of a reasonable stage-tradition that the play was not Shakespeare's originally, but written by a private author and touched up by Shakespeare. Langbaine, Henslowe, and the Stationers' Register point to an edition of 1594, which Grosart considers identical with the play in the quartos of 1600 and 1611, doing away with the idea of two plays on this subject. He thinks that Henslowe's mention of a Titus and Vespacia does not refer to Andronicus, while the so-called German translation of an earlier Andronicus is but an adaptation of the play we know. Meres' mention of it as Shakespeare's is a result of his peculiar arrangement of titles, and the play appeared in the folio of 1623, because, as Ravenscroft says, the MS was in Shakespeare's hands. Of the internal arguments three are specified: (1) A turn of expression in Andronicus, II 1. 82, 83 occurs in Greene's Planetomachia (1585) and in his Perimedes (1588). (2) The repulsive subject and treatment are foreign to Shakespeare, but characteristic of Greene, especially in his Selimus, which Grosart considers the extreme example of this sort. Certain metrical and descriptive similarities are to be found, besides others illustrated by citations. (3) Andronicus contains frequent classical allusions of rather wide range, which is not characteristic of Shakespeare, and many favorite words of Greene occur, of which Grosart gives lists. In conclusion he cites passages to show the tempering hand of Shakespeare in the play.

Ph. Aronstein's article on the Reform of the Higher School-System in England is a summary of the Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education.

In the Miscellen K. Horst prints part of the remains of MS G of the Old English Annals, with a description.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

CHARLES GROSVENOR OSGOOD, JR.

BRIEF MENTION.

In a recent number of the *Rheinisches Museum* Professor USENER has published an important supplement to his *Götternamen*, called *Göttliche Synonyme*,¹ in which he treats the phenomenon of double paternity. As a rule the gods were not jealous of human successors so long as they respected the shrine which held the *σπίγμα θεοῦ καθαρὸν* (P. P. 3, 15). If Ischys had waited, he might have had the credit of Asklepios. But sometimes, and that with impunity, the human rival follows so closely on the heels of his divine predecessor that one birth must needs suffice for heroes of diverse paternity: such as Herakles and Iphikles, Kastor and Polydeukes. And then again family considerations operate to veil the divine origin of a hero, and Theseus, the son of Poseidon, is called the son of Aigeus. The details of these paternal doublets form a large part of the *chronique scandaleuse* of the Olympian gods, and what the irreverence of later times could make of such situations is amply shown by the Amphitruo of Plautus. But when closely examined the human parent vanishes. Deukalion the father of Hellen is one with Zeus the father of Hellen. Tyndareos the Masher is the same as Zeus the Crusher. Amphitryon is the double-ender thunderbolt, and Aigeus, the God of the Billow, is a synonym of Poseidon, as has long been suspected. The name of the so-called human father, it is true, is sometimes no more transparent than is that of the god himself; but we are dealing with an old stratification which Professor USENER has shown to be full of strange fossils. Ixion, as we have all read, had reason to be jealous of Zeus, for the same reason that Iago was jealous of the Moor, and under the *lex talionis* his wooing of Hera was not without some justification nor her encouragement of his suit; but what if Zeus is Ixion as Hera is Dia, Ixion's wife? One's head turns as many ways as Ixion's sun-wheel in Pindar (P 2, 21), and one expects to find next that Koronis's second sweetheart, Ischys, was Apollo himself. As Professor USENER says, the field is wide and inviting, but who shall bring to bear the same power of combination and the same range of knowledge as the scholar who has explored for so many years the vast domain of Greek religion and Greek mythology?

¹ See A. J. P. XVII 366-76.

The first anniversary of LANE's death witnesses the publication of his long-expected *Latin Grammar*, under the editorship of his pupil, Professor MORGAN, of Harvard (Harper and Brothers). Bound as I am by ties of friendship and affinity to the lamented scholar, I dare not say what I would about the monument which this rare genius has reared and which loving hands have unveiled. No impersonal criticism is possible for me, and others must estimate the value of this contribution of a lifetime to English literature as well as to Latin scholarship. The careful workmanship of the philologist is matched by the *curiosa felicitas* of the literary artist, and LANE's *Latin Grammar* will always be a touchstone by which to judge the delicate appreciation of either tongue. But one thing must be said: that there could be no more noble testimony to LANE's influence as a teacher—and his great work in life was a teacher's work—than the sympathetic spirit in which Professor MORGAN has carried out his master's plans. To have inspired such devotion and to have transmitted such consecration is the fortune of few.

Professor SHOREY's edition of *Horace's Odes and Epodes* (B. H. Sanborn), with its wealth of literary illustration, is worth more than all the discourses on the indefeasibility of classical studies that I have ever heard or read or haply written or delivered. All modern literature is haunted by echoes of Horace, and not to catch these echoes is to lose the delight in the *iocosa imago*. And when there is no echo but only coincidence, the parallel gives us assurance of a kinship of thought and feeling that brings our *vaster Flaccus* very near to our hearts, if he were not playing about them already.

In LANE's *Latin Grammar* and SHOREY's *Horace* the current year has brought us two noteworthy contributions to classical study, both by mature scholars, of whom one is beyond the reach of our praise, the other is still in the heyday of fruitful activity. A third contribution, Dr. HAYLEY's *Alcestis* (Ginn), is by one of the new generation, and shows that the critical field in which comparatively little has been done by our countrymen is not to be without adequate representation of American scholarship. Here we have a work that is not 'based' on any of the editions of any previous commentator, 'German or other,' and inasmuch as the Journal has over and over urged on American scholars the duty of more independent work, the appearance of an edition of the *Alcestis* that undertakes to go to the bottom of things is to be heartily welcomed for the spirit alone, even if Dr. HAYLEY

were not so thoroughly equipped for his task as he has shown himself to be. The Introduction deals with The Myth of Alcestis, its History and Literary Treatment, and The Euripidean Play, The Critical Basis of the Text, and The Questions concerning the Scenic Representation of the Play, and is followed by an interesting essay by Dr. JAMES M. PATON on The Myth of Alcestis in Ancient Art. This work of a Harvard Doctor of Philosophy, fitly dedicated to the memory of two Harvard professors, Lane and Allen, is a Harvard document of prime significance.

The first edition of CHRIST'S *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, which forms a part of the great *Müller Handbuch* (Munich, Beck), appeared in 1889 and the third edition, much enlarged, bears date 1898. This rapid succession of editions is a marked tribute to the value of the work, which commended itself to me so much at the time of its first appearance that I made an abridgment of it by way of a preliminary study to a projected *Outline of Greek Literature*. Unfortunately, in boiling down the bulky work and transfusing Christ's German into my English, so much of my peculiar vein infiltrated the mass that the result seems to be unavailable for any serious purpose, and I mention my own experiment only to emphasize my conviction of the great serviceableness of Christ's book and my admiration of his diligence and grasp. A translation into English is doubtless one of the things to be expected, but a history of Greek literature that is meant for Germans, like a grammar of Greek that is meant for Germans, must be adapted, not translated merely. Otherwise it is only so much material, not the thing needed itself.

The new edition, the fourth, of the first volume of *Schoemann's Griechische Allertümer* (Weidmann) could not have been undertaken by a more competent scholar than Professor LIPSIUS. The work, one is happy to note, remains SCHOEMANN'S work, to which those who are old enough to remember the appearance of the first edition will always owe a special debt, and Professor LIPSIUS has made only those changes that are demanded by the advance of research in the domain of political antiquities. Six years, however, it seems, have passed since the printing began. In six years, as the editor himself recognizes, the remorseless progress of investigation is certain to bring about inconsistencies and repentances, but heavier draughts than this have been drawn on the indulgence of the learned public (A. J. P. XVI 262).

In the second part of LEAF and BAYFIELD's *School Edition of the Iliad*, Bks. XIII-XXIV (Macmillan), there has been no change in the General Introduction nor in the Grammatical Introduction, which are simply repeated from the former part; and the same thing is to be said of the Appendices, even to such false accentuations as *κορύς* and *κυών*. One change, however, it is sad to note. The fear expressed in A. J. P. XVI 397 was only too well founded, and the omnipotent schoolboy has prevailed. The delightful Macmillan Greeks of the text have been abandoned for a large, clear but not especially attractive character. As in the companion volume, the seams of the *Iliad* have been traced everywhere, and all that we lack is the fashionable paintpot for the illumination of the coat of many colors, which, to be sure, like Joseph's coat, is not a coat of many colors. In a work honestly intended as an introduction to Homer, all this analysis would, in my judgment, be out of place, and in taking students through Homer for the first time, I should be tempted to assume the unitarian point of view, set forth in such detail by M. VICTOR TERRET, Professeur du petit séminaire d'Autun, in his elaborate work, *Homère* (Paris, Fontemoing). The sympathy with the student's fresh delight in Homer makes special pleading easy. But though LEAF and BAYFIELD'S book belongs to a series for colleges and schools, it is really meant for the same public as Leaf's larger edition. There is a curious disparateness between the grammatical trivialities and the recondite studies of the commentary, but that disparateness seems to be national.

BLASS, who had done so much for Bacchylides in the prenatal stage of Kenyon's edition, has rendered the Cean nightingale the further service of an edition of his own, which bears date March, 1898, since which time Bacchylidean literature has been accumulating at so rapid a rate that *Brief Mention* is dealing with an old story in recording the appearance of this valuable addition to the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*. The introduction gives a description of the MS, a brief account of the poet's life, an estimate of his genius, and the main features of his dialect. The metres are treated at some length and the arguments of the several poems are given. Then follows the bibliography up to the date of publication, a *conspectus metrorum*, the text with critical notes, and an *Index vocabulorum*, which undertakes to be exhaustive. The variations from Kenyon's text and the attempts at restoration recorded by Blass furnish ample scope for comment, but it may be as well to wait until the Greek seminaries Cisatlantic and Transatlantic have wrought their will on the poet's remains. Still, I cannot help noting a welcome confirmation of my own judgment in one passage, VII 2, where Jebb reads *μηνός* and Kenyon refers *πενήκορτα* to the number of the chorus, whereas

Blass gives *μήνες* and refers *πεντήκοντα* to the interval in months between the two Olympiads, as had seemed to me self-evident from the first. For Day as the daughter of Time and Night it is only necessary to cite Aischyl. Ag. 291 and Soph. Tr. 95. See my *Essays and Studies*, p. 438.

BLASS'S *Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Macmillan & Co.) has been translated into English by HENRY ST. J. THACKERAY. In the original German the book has already had a high place assigned to it in the Greek scholar's apparatus. From what has been said in this Journal about the same author's edition of the Acts (XVI 127), it will readily be understood that Blass's way of handling the problems of N. T. grammar is very congenial to those who, while yielding to none in their admiration, not to say adoration, of Attic, are yet broad-minded enough to take in the whole world of Greek and patient enough to trace the working of the organic laws of the language in the decay as well as in the culmination of Hellenic speech. In his Lexicon Sophocles, the Greek, apologizes by quoting Aristophanes: *συνεκποτί' ἐστὶ σοὶ καὶ τὴν τρίγα*. Blass, the German, says, after Euripides: *τῶν καλῶν καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον καλόν*. It is a curious reversal of the usual points of view.

In noticing the appearance of Dr. RUTHERFORD'S *Scholia Aristophanica* (A. J. P. XVIII 244), I expressed my sympathy with him in a task which he found so uncongenial. But in looking more narrowly into the volumes I wonder more and more why he should have deemed it necessary to translate the scholia at all and thus increase his labors. Those who understand Greek enough to study Aristophanes critically will hardly need an interpreter for the simple scholia, and a man who had been so unfortunate in his encounter with *βαυβών* (Herondas, VI 19) and with *λαικάζειν*, which he translates, New Phrynichus 401, 'relieve oneself' (comp. Zacher, *Aristophanesstudien*, I 24), ought to have been content to dwell in decencies forever and leave Aristophanes' peculiar vocabulary alone. In any case, for an officially verecund headmaster of a great public school the problems must have been troublesome in the extreme. True, the proprieties are observed, but in a puzzling way. By apt transliteration's artful aid *τὸ αἰδοῖον* becomes *to aedoeon* and *πρωκτός* becomes *proctus*. But if *αἰδοῖον* becomes *aedoeon* and *πρωκτός* *proctus*, it seems to me that it would not have been amiss to render *αἰς* by *amis* instead of the coarse English equivalent employed, for which Dr. RUTHERFORD might have used the more literary *jorden*, consecrated by Shakespeare. At the same time translations are

suggestive, and surely it is very instructive to find an eminent Greek grammarian translating (N. 1206) *παρ' ἀναλογίαν* 'by false analogy.' *ἀναλογία* means what we call 'accidence' and *παρ' ἀναλογίαν* signifies 'contrary to the regular inflexion,' which is not exactly the same as 'by false analogy,' and the second scholiast simply repeats in other words what the first had said: *περὶ τὴν κλητικὴν ἐσφάλη*, which Dr. RUTHERFORD renders 'Strepsiades makes a mistake in the vocative.' The mistake itself is attributed by the scholiast to 'rusticity.' Some commentators think it is due to the lyric swing of the passage. But analysis will not help. False inflexion is a very simple source of fun. *Στρεψιάδης* is as amusing in the mouth of Strepsiades as *Ἡρακλῆϊδες* in the pages of a great champion of Euripides, or 'false analogy' in RUTHERFORD's translation.

Translations, except perhaps when they are exceptionally bad, withdraw themselves from the sphere of a periodical like the American Journal of Philology, and yet it is not fair that so unwearied a worker in the cause of classical philology as is Professor LAWTON should not have at least the meed of a passing notice under *Brief Mention*. In his *Successors of Homer* (Macmillan) Professor LAWTON has given us in fluent comment and translated extracts an outline of the less trodden ways of Greek hexametrical poetry, beginning with the Epic Cycle, traversing Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns, and concluding with the fragments of the philosophers who couched their doctrines in verse—Xenophanes, 'the true Homerid,' Parmenides, who 'sags in his poetic flight,' and Empedocles with his 'magnificent and sublime egotism.' The service rendered by such books to them that are without is unquestionable, and perhaps Professor LAWTON may reap the reward that he especially craves, and some of those who profess and call themselves Grecians may be incited by this attractive volume to study more carefully a range of Greek studies which he evidently considers too much neglected. Next to converting heathen, the missionary delights in stirring up the lazy brethren, foreseen of Hesiod, whose feet are too puffy to run and whose hands are too thin to work.

ERRATUM.—For 'Cicero's Orator,' XIX 232, l. 23 fr. top, 'Cicero de Oratore.'

CORRESPONDENCE.

Under the head of "Brief Mention" in the last number of the American Journal of Philology (vol. XIX, p. 231) is the following statement: "Professor Elmer belongs to a school of grammarians who attach scientific importance to their own translations, whereas to me translation is never a proof, only an illustration." In using these words, Professor Gildersleeve attributes to me principles so diametrically opposed to those which I really entertain and which I have uniformly followed as a guide in my syntactical investigations, that I am prompted to say a word in self-defence. I do not quite see how Professor Gildersleeve could use the words above quoted, if he did me the honor to read what I said on pages 153 ff. of my *Studies* regarding the utter worthlessness of translation in any attempt to determine the exact meaning of a foreign phrase. I there use the following language:

"In the first place it seems necessary to say—and upon this point I lay the greatest possible emphasis—that no one can hope to study the differences between the two tenses with any degree of success *without divorcing himself absolutely and completely* from the idiom of his own language. *It seems all the more necessary to lay the utmost emphasis upon the necessity of doing this*, because even some of the writers of our Latin grammars have apparently been influenced in their views by their feeling for the modern idiom. . . . *The manner in which expressions are handled in translations into a foreign language is not of the remotest consequence in determining the force of expressions in the original. Translations are, of course, frequently important for illustrative purposes, but they are absolutely worthless and often even wholly misleading in determining the exact force of original idioms. . . . Let us then at once divorce ourselves from every influence of our English idiom and study the differences from a purely Roman point of view.*"

It seems tolerably clear from these words that no one can attach less scientific importance than I do to my own translations, or to those of any one else. The one principle that I kept ever before me and followed implicitly in my *Studies in Latin Moods and Tenses* was that the real evidence regarding the Roman feeling for the various uses considered must be *internal* evidence. Nowhere do I attach any importance whatever to my translations, or even imply that I do, except for purposes of illustration after

showing from such internal evidence the Roman conception of the usage under consideration. For each view advocated, I have given reasons which seem to me ample. If any one can show that the reasons given are inadequate, that my premises are in any case inadmissible, or that my conclusions do not logically follow from my premises, I shall be very grateful to him for such correction. But I can hardly be expected to take kindly to being assigned to a class of investigators whose methods I have condemned in the strongest language I could command.

I am quite willing to subscribe to all that Professor Gildersleeve has said regarding the art of translation. I should, however, allow myself less latitude when translating for scientific purposes than I should when translating for literary purposes. A translation is at best a mere approximation; but, while recognizing this fact, we ought at the same time to recognize the other fact that some translations represent more accurately than others the point of view of those who used the original idiom. When one is translating solely for literary purposes, I should not object to his using 'must' (the 'moral must') as a translation of the so-called 'potential' subjunctive, on the ground of what I have called in my *Studies* its "equivalence of adaptability." I should be willing to go even further than that and, on the same grounds, allow him to translate *ne transieris* and *noli transire* by 'you must not cross'; *fac* and *facilo*, by 'you must do'; as well as *non putaueris* and *credas* ('potential'), by 'you must not think' and 'you must believe.' But I should not expect these translations to give the student of Latin even so much as a hint of the differences between *ne* and *non*, or of those between the imperative and potential moods. I should expect them rather to give him the impression that no differences exist between the two negatives, or between the two moods; and, if I were particularly bent upon indicating to him the differences that actually do exist, I should be inclined to insist that *ne transieris* means 'do not cross'; *non putaueris*, 'you would not (for an instant) think'; *fac*, 'do'; and *credas*, 'one would suppose.' For scientific purposes, I should be inclined to insist upon these translations even at the risk of making an occasional artistic blunder—yes, even at the risk of being called a "mechanical uniformitarian," though I confess that this last might make me wince a little, if it came from a scholar whom I esteem so highly as I do Professor Gildersleeve.

In referring to the passage in Cic. Legg. 3, 1, 1 tu Platonem nec nimis ualde nec nimis saepe laudaueris, Professor Gildersleeve inadvertently cites the verb as *laudauerim*. If I had been able to find instances of *laudauerim* (i. e. of the first person, where the form is not identical with an indicative form), or similar instances of any other verb, in passages parallel to the one cited (and what I mean by 'parallel' will be clear to any one who reads my *Studies*), it would hardly have occurred to me to question the legitimacy of 'you can not praise, etc.,' as a trans-

lation of *nec . . . laudaveris*. More than that—if I had found such instances, much of what is now found in my *Studies* would never have been written.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

H. C. ELMER.

[Professor ELMER may have protested publicly and privately as clearly as I have done against attaching scientific importance to translation, and I grant that I ought to have perused with religious care every line of his *Studies in Latin Moods and Tenses*, but for all that I do not see how any one who reads his chapter on the supposed potential use of the subjunctive mood—and this is all that I had read—can fail to infer that he takes the various renderings seriously. After discussing “the *may* (possibility)-idea,” “the *can* (certainty)-idea,” “the *might* (possibility)-idea,” and the “*must*-idea,” he comes like Shelley’s Cloud, a fit prototype of much grammatical work, “with wings folded to rest on his airy nest,” “the *would* (first person, *should*)-idea.” These “would” and “should” translations he considers the only absolutely certain and indisputable renderings, and that despite the fact that “would” and “should” have as complicated a history and as elusive a practice as the “supposed potential.” Nay, it is a matter of notoriety that nine-tenths of American writers for the press are hazy and capricious when they are not absolutely incorrect in their use of ‘would’ and ‘should.’ Even those who keep their skirts fairly clean as to ‘shall’ and ‘will’ show themselves perfect draggletails on the adjacent domain. Now, if absolute certainty and indisputability are asserted of a translation and the translation itself is traced back to the “volitive,” I do not see why I am to be taken to task for failing to comment on the fact that Professor ELMER’s practice does not square with his theory. He has really come off better than he would have done, had I weighed every word of his elaborate treatise. But I am happy to rectify my mistake. My slip of the pen, inadvertence, blunder, whatever it may be called, in writing *laudaverim* for *laudaveris*—I had just written *velim*—would have appeared among the ERRATA, if Professor ELMER had not anticipated me.

B. L. G.]

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WHOLE No. 76.

I.—WHAT WAS ICTUS IN LATIN PROSODY?

English poetry, as a rule, is based on stress, i. e. on a regular succession of stressed and unstressed syllables grouped by twos or threes. The versification of

This is the forest primeval, the murmuring pines and the hemlocks,
depends entirely upon this harmonious alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, and the same is true of all ordinary English verse.¹ This basis of English poetry, moreover, inheres in the very nature of the English language. Like all languages of the Germanic group, our English speech is strongly stressed; we pronounce our words with an energy typical of the race.

Latin verse, on the other hand, like Greek, was based on quantity. Recent discussion, it is true, has tended to show that the native Latin verse, as exemplified by the Saturnian measure, was governed by stress; but however that may have been, it is certain that, from the time Greek metres began to be introduced at Rome,—from the time of Ennius,—Latin verse was quantitative like Greek; a line of Latin poetry consisted of an orderly and harmonious arrangement of long and short syllables, i. e. of syllables which it took a long or short time to pronounce. This basis of Latin poetry again, as in the case of English poetry, is strictly in conformity with the character of the spoken language. For Latin apparently, in the classical period, was not a strongly

¹ Such exceptions to this principle as occur (see, e. g., Goodell, *Transactions Amer. Phil. Assoc.* XVI, p. 78 ff.) hardly concern the purposes of the present discussion.

stressed language.¹ Had it been, it is quite inconceivable that the long environing vowels should not have been shortened in such words as *ēvītābātūr* and scores of others like it in which the Latin language abounds. Cf., e. g., a Latin *inēvītābile* with English *inevitable*. Strong stress necessarily reduces every long pre-tonic and post-tonic syllable to a short one. In other words, strong stress is absolutely inconsistent with the quantitative phenomena of the Latin language.

This view of the Latin accent is further confirmed by the status of the Romance languages. So far as my information and observation go, no one of these languages is strongly stressed. In the utterance of French and Italians, I often find it difficult to determine on what syllable the stress rests,—so relatively slight it is. In fact the quantitatively monotonous character of Italian makes a strong stress accent impossible. This consensus in accentual character on the part of so many daughters of the Latin, while it cannot be held to amount to a proof that Latin was but slightly stressed, nevertheless seems to me to point distinctly in that direction. In fact I feel at times inclined to go much further and to maintain that the Latin language of the classical period was absolutely unstressed. As such a thesis is easily defensible, and as its consideration may throw light on the subject under discussion, I shall venture to advocate this probably startling view.

The thesis is that the Latin language of the classical period was unstressed. I do not say unaccented, for that would be to contradict the express testimony of the whole apostolic succession of grammarians from Varro to Priscian; but I do say unstressed. The Roman grammarians tell us that a long penult was accented; they tell us, further, that the antepenult was accented when the penult was short. Now, what was this accent, this *accentus* of the Roman grammarians? Or first, what is accent in general? Accent is an elastic term. To a person familiar with English only, accent seems a very clear and simple thing; naturally so because such a person imagines that all languages are like his own; hence he will answer that accent is exemplified by the second syllable of *potáto*, or the final word of the phrase *let her gó!*, i. e. by accent he understands stress. But the study of comparative phonetics teaches us that there are languages in which the stressing plays no such rôle as in English and in the Germanic languages generally, and that in some of these other

¹ Cf. Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*³, §35, 1, Anm. 1.

languages the chief feature of the spoken idiom is the rising and falling of the voice. Certain syllables are thus uttered at a higher pitch than others, and it is this shifting of pitch that gives the character to the speech. According to the commonly accepted view, Greek was characterized by this kind of utterance, and the syllables whose pitch varied from the ordinary were designated in accordance with principles to which we give the name of accent. Sanskrit also at one stage, it is thought, must have been so pronounced. In these two languages, therefore, what we call accent was primarily variation in pitch.

We have already recognized two senses in which the word accent is used. Both, while radically different, have at least this much in common: The 'accented' syllable is the one made prominent in some way in oral utterance.¹ When the word is spoken, that syllable stands out conspicuous, either by virtue of its stress, i. e. a definite expulsive effort of the lungs, or by virtue of its pitch. To these two varieties of an accented syllable, i. e. a syllable standing out prominently in an uttered word,—to these two conceptions, I ask, may we not add a third? May not a syllable be primarily prominent by virtue of its *quantity*? That is, in a word like *amāvit*, for example, may not the rule of the grammarians, that such a word was accented on the penult, simply mean that they felt the quantity of the long penult as making that syllable prominent, without any stress on the one hand or any elevation of pitch on the other? And in words like *lātuit*, *hōmines*, etc., may not the rule that these words were accented on the antepenult simply mean that, in consequence of the short penult, that syllable did *not* possess any prominence, and hence, after the establishment in Latin of the three-syllable law, the syllable next preceding became the conspicuous one?

There are, of course, objections that at once suggest themselves against so radical a view as the foregoing. I do not pretend to have established it, but simply to have suggested a theory of Latin accent which all must admit is possible and which to me seems even probable. At all events, it is certainly of the first importance in approaching so delicate a problem as the pronunciation of a language whose data we can no longer fully control, first to rid ourselves as completely as possible of all preconceived notions derived from our own language which might mislead us, and to take into account the great divergence of human speech

¹ Cf. Seelmann, *Die Aussprache des Latein*, p. 16, 2, *Accentarten*.

along with the often radically different character of spoken languages.

The thesis, then, that classical Latin was absolutely unstressed may not be proven; but that, if stressed, classical Latin was only slightly so, was, I think, made fairly certain by the argument advanced at the outset of this paper¹; and it is precisely this slightly stressed (possibly absolutely unstressed) character of the Latin language that explains the character of Latin poetry. Stress was either absent or at most quite subordinate; hence syllabic quantity came to be the natural basis of verse. Theo-

¹ This seems to me all but universally admitted among those who hold to the stress view of Latin accent. Cf. Ritschl, *Prolegomena ad Trinumnum*¹, p. 207; Madvig, *Latin Grammar*, §498, note; W. Meyer, *Ueber die Beachtung des Wortaccentes in der altlateinischen Poesie*, p. 5 f.; Lucian Müller, *De re metrica poetarum Latinorum*², p. 233. This conclusion rests not only upon the internal evidence above adduced, but also upon the statements of Roman writers of the best period. Cicero and Quintilian, in discussing the question of metrical sequences in prose, particularly at the close of a sentence, nowhere pay the least attention to word-accent, but do lay special stress upon quantitative distinctions. Cf., e. g., Cicero, *Orator*, 55, 56 (§§183-90), 64 (§§215-18); Quint., *Inst. Or.* IX 4, 47; 61; et passim. From the definitions of accent given by the ancient grammarians, it is impossible to gather any consistent conception of the phenomenon. See the *testimonia* gathered by Schöhl in his *De accentu linguae Latinae*, p. 73 ff. Of the formal definitions, none antedates the fourth century, and many are much later. Most of these, moreover, are extremely vague. Dositheus, for example (Keil, *Gram. Lat.* VII, p. 377, 6), defines accent as "unius cuiusque syllabae proprius sonus." Maximus Victorinus (Keil, VI 188, 15) and Audax (VII 322, 12) as "unius cuiusque syllabae in sono pronuntiandi qualitas." This same conception of the *qualitas syllabarum* appears also in Sergius, *Explan.* (Keil, IV 528, 28). Ps.-Priscian (III 519, 25) is more precise. According to him, "accentus namque est certa lex et regula ad elevandam et deprimendam syllabam unius cuiusque particulae orationis." The *Codex Bernensis* 16 (K. Sup. XLV) gives "accentus est vox syllabae, quae in sermone plus sonat de ('than') ceteris syllabis." Similarly Servius (K. IV 426, 16) and Pompeius (K. V 126, 10). Three grammarians define accent as *anima vocis*, viz. Diomedes (K. I 430, 30), Pompeius (K. V 126, 27), and the *Cod. Bern.* 16 (K. Sup. XLV). Lastly Diomedes (K. I 430, 29) says: "accentus est acutus vel gravis vel inflexa elatio orationis vocisve intentio vel inclinatio acuto aut inflexo sono regens verba." From this chaos one can hardly have the conscience to seek support for a theory. The testimony of Diomedes might be cited in support of a stress accent, just as that of Ps.-Priscian might be cited in support of a musical accent. But what with the lateness of these writers, their mutual contradictions, and the suspicion that some of them at least are but echoing statements made by Greek grammarians concerning the Greek language, it is safest to base no positive view of the nature of accent upon their utterances.

retically, now, this quantitative Latin poetry may seem sufficiently simple, were it not for the so-called *ictus*, a feature to which our traditional prosody uniformly gives a prominent place. What was this ictus? It is usually defined as stress accent. With a single exception to be noted below, it is invariably thus defined, so far as I am aware. Yet I question whether there is a particle of legitimate evidence, internal or external, in support of this view. The conception of ictus as stress accent seems to me to have its foundation solely in the practical assumption that Latin poetry was, like English and German poetry, really accentual.¹ I say 'practical assumption.' It would, of course, be absurd to maintain for a moment that theoretically the quantitative character of Latin verse has ever been denied. Yet so long as Latin is pronounced with absolute disregard of vowel quantity, as it necessarily is by the so-called English method of pronunciation, and as it habitually is in Germany to my certain knowledge, or with disregard of syllabic quantity, as it usually is even where the Roman pronunciation is nominally followed, so long is it inevitable that any theoretical recognition of the truly quantitative character of Latin verse should be totally clouded by the impulse toward securing a rhythmical effect. By a pronunciation which yields *gērō*, *tērō*, *ingēnium* and thousands more of the same sort, on the one hand, and *filius*, *his*, *vis*, etc., on the other, a quantitative verse is as impossible as would be an accentual verse in English, were we to misplace the regular word-accent. It is no exaggeration to say that were we to accent Longfellow's line as follows:

This is the forēst primeval, the murmurīng pines,

the result would be no whit worse than is inevitably necessary by any system of Latin pronunciation which fails scrupulously to observe the quantity of every vowel and of every syllable. A neglect of quantity was inevitable under the English pronunciation of Latin; it is inevitable under the pronunciation of Latin current in Germany. Neglect of quantity leaves nothing except accent as a basis for a metrical effect, and naturally leads to an accentual reading of Latin verse, which brings with it the conception of ictus as a stressed syllable. Yet this conception seems to me demonstrably false, for the following reasons:

¹ Cf., for example, Christ, *Metrik der Griechen und Römer*², p. 3, where the strongly stressed character of German utterance is appealed to in support of the stress theory of ictus for the classical languages.

1. So far as we know, no language is ever forced to an artificial pronunciation when adapted to the service of poetry. It is irrational to conceive any such adaptation.¹ The poet simply takes the choicer words of familiar speech and employs them in their ordinary equivalence with their regular pronunciation. He must do so. For his appeal is to the many, not to a select handful who may have been initiated into the secret trick of his versification; hence he must use words in the pronunciation familiar to his auditors or readers. Otherwise he can make no appeal. His art consists, on the mechanical side at least, in arranging words in such a way that the poetic form is obvious to the meanest observer who knows the words by ear or eye. Can any poetry be cited in any language of which this is not true? Is it then not absurd to assume that in Latin poetic form consisted in employing words with gratuitous stress accents unknown in the ordinary speech? Can we conceive of an *atavis*, a *regibus*, a *Troiaë*, a *canô*, or a thousand other equally grotesque hermaphrodites that we are compelled to father by this theory? And is it credible that poetry so inconceivably artificial should have been tolerated, not to say admired, by such sober-minded persons as the Romans?

2. The view that *ictus* was stress is to be rejected because it involves the assumption of a second basis for Latin verse. We have already noted that Latin verse is quantitative, i. e. a dactyl is a long time followed by two short times. But if *ictus* is stress, then a dactyl is a stressed syllable followed by two unstressed syllables. We should thus get two principles as the basis of Latin verse, quantity and accent (i. e. stress), and it seems to me impossible that there should *uniformly and regularly* have been two principles at the basis of Latin verse or any other.

3. It is nowhere hinted or implied in the ancient writers that *ictus* was stress. To judge from the prominence assigned to *ictus*

¹Cf. Schöll, *De accentu linguae Latinae*, p. 25, note: nihil poeta infert in linguam, sed quae praebebat elementa disciplina et humanitate excolit, perpolit, adauget. This principle would not merely appear to be a rational necessity, but is supported by distinct testimony from the best period. Cf. Cic. *de Orat.* III 45, 177, where it is clearly asserted that the elements of prose and verse are identical; also *Orator*, II, 36, where Ennius is praised for adhering to the common speech in his poetry (*communis mos verborum*). Yet Corssen, *Aussprache*, Vok. u. Betonung, II¹, p. 975, maintains that just such an artificial adaptation in pronunciation did occur in Latin verse. Similarly Lucian Müller in both editions of his *De re metrica* (2d ed., p. 234). The same view also is implied wherever *ictus* is defined as stress.

in our grammars and other works on prosody, one might expect to find that the word was widely current as a technical term among the ancients. Such, however, is not the case. Among all the systematic discussions of prosody found in the Latin grammarians I have been able to discover no definition of the term,—in fact no mention of it as a technical term of prosody.¹ The word does occur a few times in the classical period, but so rarely and in such context that there is no justification for regarding it as a *terminus technicus*. Thus we find it in the familiar passage of Horace, ad Pisones, 253:

unde etiam trimetris accrescere iussit
Nomen iambeis, cum senos redderet ictus
Primus ad extremum similis sibi.

More frequently we find *ictus* in this signification combined with *digitus*, *pollex*, or *pes*. Thus Horace, Carm. IV 6, 36 pollicis ictum; Quint., Inst. Or. IX 4, 51 pedum et digitorum ictu intervalla signant; Pliny, N. H. II 95, 96, 209 ad ictum modulantium pedum. From these and similar instances (the total number, however, is very small), the natural inference is that ictus as a metrical term primarily designated taps of the feet or fingers, and was then transferred to denote the rhythmical beats of verse. Certainly there is no evidence either from the etymology of the word or from its use in any citable case to indicate that it designated vocal stress.

Scarcely more support of the stress theory can be derived from the use of the words *arsis* and *thesis* as employed in the systematic treatises on Latin prosody prepared by the ancient grammarians. It is commonly held that the grammarians and metricians used these designations with an inversion of the application which obtained in Greek. But as Westphal has pointed out (*Griechische Rhythmik*, p. 106), such is by no means the case; the Roman writers exhibit no little confusion in this matter, it is true, but they rarely use *arsis* in the sense of Greek *thesis*. Probably Marius Victorinus is the only metrician² who does this,³

¹ Professor Hale (*Proceedings Amer. Phil. Assoc.* 1895, vol. XXVI, p. xxx) implies that the word *ictus* is employed as a technical metrical term by Charisius. His view and the argument based upon it will be discussed later in this paper.

² On Ps.-Priscian, *De accentibus* (Keil, III 521, 24), see below.

³ Cf. Westphal, l. c., p. 107 f.; Weil et Benloew, *Théorie générale de l'accentuation latine*, p. 98 f.

and he does it but once (Keil, VI 40, 16 f.). The actual usage of the Romans in employing the terms *arsis* and *thesis* can be seen only by an examination of the decisive passages in which these words occur. The commonest definition explains *arsis* as *elevatio* (*sublatio*), *thesis* as *positio*. This bare statement, without the addition of any explanatory remarks, is found in Sergius, Explanat. in Don. I (Keil, IV 523, 2); Cledonius (Keil, V 30, 10); Atilius Fortunatianus, Ars (Keil, VI 281, 4). Similar is Terentianus Maurus's explanation, de Metris, 1345 (K. VI 366):

parte nam attollit (*sc. pes*) sonorem, parte reliqua deprimit.

Other writers add *vocis* as explanatory of *elevatio* and *positio*. Thus, Martianus Capella, IX (365, 17 Eyssenhardt): <*arsis est elevatio*>, *thesis depositio vocis ac remissio*; Isidore, Orig. I 16, 21 *arsis et thesis, id est vocis elevatio et positio*; Commentum Einsidlense in Don. Artem Mai. (Keil, Suppl. 228, 23): *arsis elevatio sc. vocis, eo quod ibi vox elevetur. Thesis humiliatio vel demissio quia ibi vox deponatur*.

A new conception appears in the three following writers:

Juliani Excerpta (Keil, V 321, 12): *quid est arsis? Elevatio, id est inchoatio partis. quid est thesis? positio, id est finis partis . . . In trisyllabis, si in prima habuerit accentum, ut puta dominus, duas syllabas vindicat arsis et unam thesis. si paenultimo loco habuerit accentum, ut puta beatus, arsis vindicat unam syllabam et thesis duas*.

Servius in Donatum (Keil, IV 425, 7): *Arsis dicitur elevatio, thesis positio. quotienscumque contingit ut tres sint syllabae in pede . . . si in prima syllaba fuerit accentus, arsis duas syllabas possidebit; si autem in media syllaba, thesi duas syllabas damus*.

Pompeius Comm. in Donati artem (Keil, V 120, 29): *arsis et thesis dicitur elevatio et positio . . . Romulus quando dicimus, prima syllaba habet accentum: dicimus duo in arsi, unum in thesi . . . si media syllaba accentum habuerit, ultimae syllabae iungis plura tempora, ut arsis habeat unum, thesis duo*.

Marius Victorinus, Art. Gram. I (Keil, VI 40, 14), evidently impelled by the spirit of Goethe's maxim: "Besonders lass genug geschehen," gives us a unique ragout:

Arsis igitur ac thesis quas Graeci dicunt, id est, sublatio et positio, significant motum pedis. est enim arsis sublatio pedis sine sono [sc. pedis],¹ thesis positio pedis cum sono (the Greek

¹ Westphal, Gr. Rhythmik, p. 105.

conception): item arsis elatio temporis, soni, vocis: thesis depositio et quaedam contractio syllabarum . . . in dactylo vero tollitur una longa, ponuntur duae breves (the reverse of the Greek conception)¹; while elsewhere (Keil, VI 45, 2) the same writer evidently regards the arsis as the *first syllable* of the foot without regard to quantity. The passage reads: horum [the trochee and iambus] arsis et thesis alterna mutatione variatur, si quidem in iambo arsis primam brevem, in trochaeo autem longam habeat *incipientem*, thesis vero contraria superioribus sumat. This conception has already appeared in the passage of Julianus above cited (Keil, V 321), and appears again in Sergius (Keil, IV 480, 13): scire etiam debemus quod unicuique pedi accidit, arsis et thesis, hoc est elevatio et positio; sed arsis in prima parte, thesis in secunda ponenda est; Diomedes (Keil, I 480, 10): iambi enim arsis unum tempus tam in se habet et eius thesis duo quam trochaei versa vice arsis duo habet et thesis unum; Terentianus Maurus, 1388 (Keil, VI 367):

ἀρσις unum possidebit, quando iambum partior;
fiat alternum necesse est, cum trochaicum divides.

It remains only to cite the testimony of Ps.-Priscian (Keil, III 521, 24): nam in unaquaque parte orationis arsis et thesis sunt, non in ordine syllabarum sed in pronuntiatione: velut in hac parte; natura. quando dico natu, elevatur vox, et est arsis intus. quando vero sequitur ra, vox deponitur, et est thesis deforis. quantum autem suspenditur vox per arsin, tantum deprimitur per thesin. sed ipsa vox, quae per dictiones formatur, donec accentus perficiatur, in arsin deputatur; quae autem post accentum sequitur, in thesin.

The foregoing are the essential specific expressions of opinion on this subject which I have discovered among the ancient Roman writers on metric. It has seemed worth while to cite their statements in full in order that we may see exactly what support they furnish for the traditional theory of ictus and arsis. In my judgment they afford no confirmation whatever of the view that ictus in the classical period was stress. In the multitude of testimonies which I have cited it is impossible to find any definite, coherent common doctrine. The witnesses not merely contradict one another; many of them, as we have seen, contradict themselves, till one involuntarily exclaims with Weil and

Westphal, Gr. Rhythmik, p. 105.

Benloew: "Rien n'est plus difficile à expliquer qu'un auteur qui ne sait pas lui même ce qu'il veut dire."¹ Of the writers above cited it seems most natural to believe that those who define arsis and thesis as *sublatio* and *positio* are merely translating the terms of the Greek writers without any serious attempt to understand their actual application. Those who add to this definition the statement that the arsis was the initial syllable of the foot, the thesis the last part, are apparently guilty of attempting to combine two irreconcilable conceptions. Both of these, strange to say, are found among Greek writers. The late Greek metricians applied the term *ἀρσις* indiscriminately to the initial syllable of the foot, quite irrespective of its quantity.²

As regards those writers who define arsis as *elevatio vocis*, the earliest of these is Martianus Capella, who does not antedate 400. Even conceding that *elevatio vocis* could by any possibility have been deliberately intended to mean 'stress of voice,' we have to bear in mind that a century and a half before the time of Martianus Capella quantitative Latin poetry had begun to be supplanted by accentual poetry. Commodianus is usually cited as the first versifier who exemplifies the transition.³ He wrote about 250. It is an interesting fact also that Martianus Capella himself, in those passages where he essays poetic form, repeatedly yields to the spirit of the age and employs an accented short syllable where the metre demands a long one.⁴ If, therefore, Martianus Capella, Isidore, and the author of the *Commentum Einsidlense* really meant stress by *elevatio vocis*, the presumption is strong that their testimony holds only for the accentual poetry of their own day, not for the quantitative verse of the classical period.

Another difficulty confronts us. How are we to reconcile the statements of Julianus (Keil, V 321, 12), Servius (Keil, IV 425, 7), and Pompeius (Keil, V 120, 29) with the theory of an accented arsis? These writers tell us that in words of the type of *Romulus*, *dominus*, the arsis consists of two syllables. Certainly a stress accent cannot stand simultaneously upon two successive syllables. Probably any attempt to reconcile these last three statements with those previously cited would prove futile. Julianus, Pompeius, and Servius are apparently concerned with the phenomena of individual words rather than with metrical feet. With them

¹ *Théorie générale*, p. 100.

² Westphal, *Gr. Rhythmik*, p. 106 f.

³ See Teuffel-Schwabe, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, §384.

⁴ Teuffel-Schwabe, *ibid.*, §452, 5.

arsis manifestly has some connection with the accented syllable, though it is clearly more than that. A similar attitude appears in Ps.-Priscian, *De accentibus* (Keil, III 521, 24 f.), where all of a word preceding the accented syllable (and including that) is reckoned as belonging to the arsis, the remainder to the thesis.¹

I have been thus minute in considering in detail the testimonies of the Roman metricians, because it seemed to me that we could in no way see so well how completely they fail to afford the slightest support to the stress theory of Latin ictus or arsis.²

I have already given three reasons why it seems to me erroneous to regard ictus as stress: 1. Because it involves the importation of a stupendous artificiality into the reading of verse. 2. Because it involves a dual basis for versification,—stress as well as quantity. 3. Because the view finds no support in any ancient testimony. To these three reasons I wish to add as 4. There are excellent grounds for believing that ictus was something else than stress. If Latin poetry was quantitative, as its internal structure and all external evidence seem to show, then a dactyl was a long time followed by two short times, and a trochee a long time followed by one short time, absolutely without any other parasitic accretion. When, now, we come to use dactyls by the line, one part of every foot will inevitably be felt as prominent, viz. the long syllable. The relative amount of time given the long syllable of every dactyl naturally brings that long syllable into consciousness, and especially must it have done so to the minds of the Romans, whose nice quantitative sense is proved by the very fact that they made quantity the basis of their versification. Yet the long of the dactyl has no stress.³ It is natural for us to stress it, us whose only conception of verse is accented verse. But in so doing I believe we are simply transferring to Latin verse our own inherited verse-sense. I define ictus, therefore, not as stress, nor as accent, but simply as the

¹Julianus (Keil, V 321) reckoned only the accented syllable of a trisyllable as belonging to the arsis. The preceding and following syllables he reckoned with the thesis.

²Sergius (Keil, IV 483, 14), cited by Christ (*Metrik*², p. 59) as supporting the view that arsis was stress, ought not to be quoted in defence of this view. Sergius is not here speaking of metrical feet, but merely of individual words that accidentally form feet. The context makes this perfectly clear.

³Of course it may incidentally have stress, if the word-accent fall on this syllable. But this stress was at most relatively slight, as already explained. On the rôle played by word-accent in reading verse, see below.

quantitative prominence inherent in a long syllable. This definition applies primarily only to the four fundamental feet—the dactyl, the anapaest, the trochee, and the iambus. It does not apply to the spondee, for example, when substituted for the dactyl in dactylic verse. In such cases the *first* long of the spondee is felt as the quantitatively prominent thing in the foot, even though the second syllable of the spondee is also long. In dactylic verse, the dactylic character and feeling so dominate the line that any spondee naturally takes on a dactylic character and is felt to be quantitatively prominent in its *first* syllable, just as in the case of the dactyl itself. So in iambic measures, where the tribrach or dactyl is substituted for the iambus, the quantitative prominence inherent in the long syllable of the iambus is felt as transferred to the two final shorts of the tribrach or the dactyl.¹

This conception of thesis or ictus receives no little support from the positive testimonies of the Roman grammarians. These writers in their definitions of arsis and thesis repeatedly call attention in unambiguous phrase to the essentially quantitative character of these concepts. In this, their agreement is conspicuous. Thus:

Diomedes (Keil, I 474, 30): *pes est sublatio ac positio duarum aut trium ampliusve syllabarum spatio comprehensa. pes est poeticae dictionis duarum ampliusve syllabarum cum certa temporum observatione modus recipiens arsin et thesin*;

Marius Victorinus (Keil, VI 41, 25): *nam rhythmus est pedum temporumque iunctura velox divisa in arsin et thesin vel tempus quo syllabas metimur*; id. VI 43, 26: *signa quaedam accentuum . . . syllabis ad declaranda temporum spatia superponuntur . . . sed et hoc non praetermiserim, eosdem [Graecos] figuras pedum secundum spatia temporum per litteras ita designasse, ut brevis syllabae loco, quae sit unius temporis, ponatur B [βραχυ], longae autem loco, quae sit temporum duum, M [μακρόν]: hoc ideo, ut per litteras regula pedum facile intellegatur.*

Atilius Fortunatianus (Keil, VI 281, 4) speaks of feet as things “qui *gressibus alternatis* quasi incedunt per versus et moventur”;

Commentum Einsidlense (Keil, Suppl. 228, 9): his [sc. pedibus] . . . ad peragendos versus *tempora syllabasque metimur* . . . nulla enim alia res dinumerat tempora et syllabas velut pedes . . .

¹ On the baselessness of the traditional pointing of dactyls and tribrachs in iambic measures (— ∪ ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪), see the latter part of this paper.

pes est certa dinumeratio syllabarum vel certa dinumeratio temporum.

All of these definitions and observations exhibit a striking unanimity in emphasizing the purely quantitative character of ancient poetry.¹ Even when signs were employed by the Greeks to mark the syllables, these signs were abbreviations of words for 'long' and 'short,' not for 'stressed' and 'unstressed.'²

To those who may cherish a scepticism as to the tangible reality of 'quantitative prominence,' I would only say that that phrase need appear shadowy to no one who will actually read one thousand lines of Latin aloud *with absolute fidelity to vocalic and syllabic quantity*. My own revolt against the traditional view of ictus has been purely and solely empirical. It was simply because by faithful practice in accurate reading my ear quickly grew sensitive to quantitative differences, that I was forced to believe that, as quantity was the basis of Latin verse, so ictus was only quantitative prominence. This conclusion, I say, was first forced upon me empirically, and the theoretical formulation was entirely subsequent to, and solely the result of, my actual oral experience in reading Latin. No one, in my judgment, can approach this subject in a candid spirit who has not first taken the pains to acquire the habit of exact pronunciation of Latin vowels and syllables. Even in this country, where we have nominally adopted the quantitative pronunciation of Latin, we have still much to learn in this matter. Our shortcomings are so pronounced, and bear so directly upon the theoretical aspect of the question at issue, that I shall here venture to recapitulate some of them.

First, we habitually neglect vowel quantity. One cause of this is the vehement stress which (in accordance with our English-speaking instinct) we regularly put upon the accented syllable. The word *evitābatur*, for example, contains four successive long vowels. Yet in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the penultimate syllable is so strongly stressed that the first three vowels are pronounced short. In Latin poetry the result of such pronun-

¹ Cf. Aristoxenus's designation of *ᾄδεις* and *θέσεις* as *χρόνοι*, *χρόνοι ῥυθμικοί*, *χρόνοι ποδικοί*, Westphal, *Gr. Rhythmik*, p. 103; also as *ὁ ἄνω χρόνος*, *ὁ κάτω χρόνος*, *ibid.*, p. 104.

² The modern practice of using the acute accent to designate the thesis—a practice which is in itself an assumption of the stress view of ictus and has done so much to propagate it—goes back only to Bentley.

ciation is to wreck the quantitative character of the verse as effectively as if in English we were to misplace the accents on successive syllables. How much poetic form would appear in Milton's opening line of *Paradise Lost*, were we to pronounce 'Óf man's first disóbedfence,' for instance? Besides destroying vowel quantity as a result of over-stressing the accented syllable, we habitually neglect it in hundreds of other instances where there is no such disturbing factor. By some strange fatality the *-is* of the genitive singular is commonly pronounced *-is*, while the *-is* of the ablative plural as regularly is heard as *-is*; while the number of such pronunciations as *pāter*, *āger*, *nīsi*, *quōd*, *quibus*, *ingēnium* is simply legion. No one who pronounces Latin in that way can expect to feel the quantitative character of a Latin verse, and is in no proper frame of mind to give the quantitative theory dispassionate consideration; for one or two false quantities destroy as completely the quantitative character of a verse of Latin poetry as would one or two misplaced accents any English verse.

Even more serious than our neglect of vowel quantity is our neglect of syllabic quantity. The shipwreck resulting from neglect of vowel quantity occurs chiefly in *open* syllables, i. e. in syllables whose vowel is followed by a single consonant, which always belongs to the following vowel, thus leaving the preceding syllable open. In such syllables the quantity of the vowel is always identical with the quantity of the syllable; so that a false vowel quantity involves the quantity of the syllable as well. In closed syllables, on the other hand (i. e. syllables ending in a consonant), an error in vowel quantity does not affect the quantity of the syllable. I may pronounce *vēndō* or *věndō*. In either case the syllable will be long.¹ Hence in closed syllables an

¹ All closed syllables are phonetically long. This is a principle universally accepted by the phoneticians. Yet Professor Hale in *Harvard Studies*, VII, p. 267, n., contests it. I can only refer to such standard works as Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*², §35, 1: "In Wirklichkeit können nur solche Silben für kurz gelten, welche auf einen kurzen Sonanten (= vowel) ausgehen, also solche wie *ra*, *la*, *pra*, *fra*, etc. Alle geschlossenen Silben aber sind lang." In the following note Sievers adds: "Die übliche Definition der positionslangen Silben, spricht allerdings von mehr als einem Consonanten hinter dem Sonanten (= vowel); in Wirklichkeit aber genügt der Ausgang der Silbe auf einen Consonanten um sie lang zu machen." Professor Hale offers no argument against this current doctrine of the phoneticians. The chief objection he adduces is that the initial syllable is short in English *many* and *battle*. But in each case the syllable is open (*mā-my*, *bā-tl*). Cf. also Havet in *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique*, IV 22 f., who points out that it is not the two

error in vowel quantity does not destroy the quantity of the syllable, and so does not interrupt the quantitative character of a Latin verse. But the syllable must be actually closed in pronunciation; *else where the vowel is short, the syllable will be left open, and will be metrically short*, destroying the verse. It is precisely here that we err so frequently and so fatally in our reading of Latin verse. We do not close the syllables that ought to be closed and were closed by the Romans. The commonest class of words where we commit this error are those containing a geminated consonant—words of the type of *ges-serunt*, *ac-cipio*, *at-tigerat*, *ter-rarum*, *ap-parabat*, *an-norum*, *ad-diderat*, *flam-marum*, *excel-lentia*, *ag-gerimus*. These words we habitually pronounce in prose and verse alike, as *gĕ-serunt*, *ă-cipio*, *ă-tigerat*, *tĕ-rarum*, *ă-parabat*, *ă-norum*, *ă-didit*, *flă-meus*, *exĕ-lentia*, *ă-gerimus*. Words of this type are extremely frequent in Latin. I have counted forty-five in the first hundred lines of Virgil's *Aeneid*, i. e. the pronunciation described destroys the quantitative character of the Latin verse at forty-five distinct points, often twice in the same verse.

Nor is this all. In other combinations in the interior of words we are often guilty of quite as serious errors. In English, besides

consonants which lengthen the syllable, but that the syllable is lengthened because one consonant is joined to the previous vowel, while the other consonant is joined to the following vowel. Professor Hale (l. c.) advances the view that in *iste*, for example, the first syllable is long because the time of the consonant *s* adds to the vowel (= one mora) an equal amount of time. But I feel confident that Havet is correct when he says (l. c., foot-note, p. 24): "It is not the *s* which takes time. It is the silence between the *s* and the *t*. The duration of the consonants themselves is, if not nil, at least a negligible quantity." This may be clearly seen at the beginning of words. For example, the first syllable of *scribās*, despite its three consonants, takes appreciably no longer time than the first syllable of *vīvas*. What really makes the long quantity is the closed syllable with its accompanying pause, not the 'obstructed consonant,' as Professor Hale would hold. A good English example of how the closed syllable may be long even when *no* consonant follows, may be seen in the phrase *at all*. Ordinarily we pronounce this as one word, *ā-təl(l)*; but occasionally it is pronounced as two words, *āt al(l)*, the first of which is closed and is phonetically long. Our English *a tall* (for *at all*) explains too the short quantity of final syllables ending in a consonant before a word beginning with a vowel. Such syllables are not actually closed, but the final consonant combines by a natural *liaison* with the following vowel, e. g. *ama talias* (= *amat alias*). See Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*⁴, §658, who cites τὸν αὐτόν, "gesprochen *to-nay-ton*." At the end of a verse, however, such syllables are actually long.

rather, it's
ad-verb
Adjective
putting the
ment with the
stressed syllable

muta cum liquida, there are many other consonant combinations with which in stressed syllables we show a regular tendency to begin the syllable. This is especially true of the combinations *sp*, *sc(k)*, *st*, *squ*; also *scl*, *scr*, *str*. This tendency of our vernacular speech naturally affects our pronunciation of Latin words in which these combinations occur. The *s* of such combinations properly belongs with the preceding vowel, in order that the preceding syllable may be closed and so made phonetically long; yet we frequently (almost invariably, according to my observation) join the *s* with the consonants of the tonic syllable. I refer to such pronunciations as *ă-spér(r)ima*, *ĩ-stĩus*,¹ *tempĕ-státibus*, *corũ-scábat*, *mĩ-scũerat*, *magĩ-strórum*, *ă-sclépias*, *ă-scripsit*, *quí-squt-liae*.² My own students often exhibit a tendency to combine *ct*, *pt*, *ps* with a following accented vowel, and produce short syllables in such words as *volũ-ptáte*,³ *ă-spĕ-clórum*, *ĩ-psĩus*. Where the accent rests on the vowel immediately preceding these combinations, the liability to error is very slight.

There are yet other cases in which error is frequent, if not habitual. Unstressed syllables whose vowel is followed by *r* + any consonant are particularly liable to be made phonetically short in those portions of the country where the *r* is neglected. This is especially true in the eastern part of the United States, where *pō-(r)lárũm*, *tĕ-(r)minorũm*, etc., represent the prevailing utterance.⁴ The combination of *m* or *n* also with a following explosive in unstressed syllables frequently is so treated as to shorten syllables phonetically long. The process by which this is accomplished is not yet clear to me. Observation, however, has taught me that in such words as *imperator*, *intendo* the first

¹ In Early Latin this division was probably common. I should so explain the metrical use of the word by Plautus and Terence. Cf. Humphreys, *Proceedings of the American Phil. Assoc.* 1895, vol. XXVI, p. xxxi.

² Lest our traditional rules for syllabication be cited in support of the division here criticized, I would say that the traditional rules, though laid down by the ancient grammarians, can hardly have been more than practical working directions for copyists and stone-cutters. It is impossible that they indicate the actual phonetic division of the syllables. See Appendix to my *Latin Grammar*, p. 31 f. Since the publication of the Appendix, Professor Hale, in *Harvard Studies*, VII, p. 249 f., while expressing dissent from certain slight details of my arguments as stated in the Appendix, has endorsed the main proposition there laid down and has fortified it by additional data.

³ So probably in Early Latin. Cf. note 1, above.

⁴ In stressed syllables, where the *r* is neglected, the vowel is regularly lengthened, e. g. *pō-ta*.

syllable is frequently made short; whether by omission of the nasal, by pronouncing a short nasalized vowel, or by a short *nasalis sonans* ($\frac{3}{2}$), I do not undertake to say. The fact, I believe, is beyond question.

There is only one other class of cases to which I shall call attention, viz. the unconscious *liaison* of final *s* after a short vowel with the initial consonant of the following word. Where the following word begins with *s, p, c, t, v, m, n, f*, etc., and where the connection of sense is close, this *liaison* is in my experience frequent. It is not surprising that it should be, for we habitually join a final *s* of an unstressed syllable¹ in our own speech with a following *s, c, t*. Examples in Latin are: *urbī sporta, capī scanem, urbī svici*.² A case that puzzled me for a time was Juv. III 53 *carus erit Verri*, as read by a student. The fourth syllable sounded short to my ear, and it was only after repeated readings that I discovered that the reader was really dividing: *carus erit Verri*.³ I do not say that this *liaison* is invariable. It is certainly frequent, and, where it occurs, must vitiate the quantitative effect of the verse.³

These common errors in reading Latin must be clearly understood, if they are to be remedied. It is by no means an extremely difficult matter to acquire an exact quantitative pronunciation. It takes time and pains and considerable oral practice. I do not believe that it requires a particularly sensitive ear. By practice in rigidly exact reading, the quantitative sense is not slow in coming; but without that exactness it cannot come and cannot be expected to come. He who has once developed the quantitative sense will, I am confident, feel no need of any artificial stress.

The foregoing views as to the nature of ictus had long been matured and had been presented to class after class of college students when I stumbled on the following neglected remark of Madvig (Latin Grammar, §498, N.): "We should also guard against the opinion which is generally current; viz., that the ancients accentuated the long syllable (in the arsis) and distinguished in this way the movement of the verse (by a so-called

¹ In Latin the final syllable, of course, is regularly unstressed.

² *Sv*, i. e. *sw*, is a sufficiently common initial combination in English; the same is true of *tv*, i. e. *tw*.

³ It may be a question whether the so-called weak pronunciation of final *s* in Early Latin is not, after all, merely a phenomenon of *liaison*, the *s* going with the following consonant, e. g. in Ennius's *plēnū sfidēi* and *miserrimū snuntiu smortis*.

verse-accent, *ictus metricus*), and consequently often accentuated the words in verse quite otherwise than in prose (e. g. *Arma virumque canó Trojaé qui primus ab oris; Ítaliám fató profugús Lavinaque venit*), which is impossible; for the verse depends on a certain prescribed order and form of movement being distinguishable, when the words are *correctly*¹ pronounced. In our own verses we do not accentuate the syllables *for the sake of the verse*, but the syllables which are perceptibly distinguished by the accentuation in prose *form verse* by being arranged to succeed each other in this way. In Latin and Greek (where even in prose pronunciation the accent was quite subordinate, and is never named in speaking of rhetorical euphony, while on the other hand the difference of quantity was distinctly and strongly marked), the verse was *audibly distinguished* by this very alternation of the long and short syllables." So far my assent with Madvig is complete. He goes on: "But as it is not possible for us either in prose or in verse, to pronounce the words according to the quantity *in such a way* as the ancients did, we cannot recite their poetry correctly, but are forced in the delivery to give a certain stress of voice to the arsis, and thus make their verses somewhat resemble ours. It should, however, be understood, that it was different with the ancients themselves (until the last century of their history, when the pronunciation itself underwent modifications)." These words of Madvig were written in 1847—over half a century ago. At that time it is not strange that he should have denied the possibility of our reading Latin verse quantitatively with substantial accuracy. Even before the end of his life, it is likely that Madvig relinquished this part of his earlier opinion.

As regards word-accent in the reading of Latin verse, I believe that it retained its full value; for as I have maintained that in poetry words are used with their ordinary prose values, and are pronounced without addition of foreign elements, so I believe that they were pronounced without subtraction of any of their elements.² Herein I agree entirely with Professor Hale (Proceedings Am. Phil. Assoc., vol. XXVI, p. xxvii).³ But we have

¹ The italics are Madvig's.

² In support of this we have also the clear testimony of the ancients. See the abundant references in Christ, *Metrik*², p. 59.

³ I regret, however, that this scholar is not as consistent in refusing to admit into verse what was *not* in prose (artificial stress), as he is in refusing to relinquish what *was* in prose (word-accent).

already seen that the Latin accent was slight. It was precisely that fact which led the Romans of the classical period to make quantity the basis of their verse. Assuming, now, that the word-accent was very slight, and possibly was even merely quantity or absence of quantity in penults, what wonder that, with quantity predominant in the verse and *in the Roman consciousness*, such slight word-accent as existed was felt as no intrusion? An analogous situation reveals itself in our English verse. Our verse is primarily accentual, and yet each syllable has its quantity, and shorts and longs mingle harmlessly with accented and unaccented syllables. Why should not the reverse have occurred in Latin just as simply and just as naturally?

To sum up, then: Latin poetry is to be read exactly like Latin prose.¹ Latin was primarily a quantitative language in the classical period and is to be read quantitatively. The Latin word-accent was relatively slight as compared with that of our strongly stressed English speech, and is therefore to be carefully subordinated to quantity both in prose and poetry. Ictus was not a metrical term current among the Romans, nor was there anything corresponding to it in the quantitative poetry of the Greeks. The term is purely modern. We first imported the conception of stress from our modern speech into the quantitative poetry of the Greeks and Romans, and then imported the term *ictus* to cover it. But just as the conception of artificial stress in Latin poetry is false, so the term *ictus* is superfluous.² *Θέσις* was employed by the ancient Greek writers on metric to designate the prominent part of every fundamental foot, and is still entirely adequate to cover that conception.

It remains only, in conclusion, to meet certain criticisms which have been made upon my conception of *ictus* (thesis). In the Proceedings of the American Philological Assoc. XXVI, p. xxx, Professor Hale has characterized my view as immature and has advanced certain objections against it. These objections are four in number:—

¹ I forbear to enter into any discussion of the difficult matter of elision of final syllables ending in vowels or in *-m*. I hesitate to believe that poetry involved an artificial deviation from prose utterance; yet, on the other hand, I cannot regard the evidence sometimes cited in favor of 'slurring' in prose as in the least decisive.

² In my Latin Grammar I nevertheless retained the term (defining it as quantitative prominence), but purely on practical grounds.

1. Professor Hale first objects that my definition of ictus as 'the quantitative prominence inherent in a long syllable' will not hold, because it will not apply to the second long syllable of the spondee when the spondee is substituted for the dactyl in dactylic verse. But the second long of the spondee in such cases is *not* quantitatively prominent. As already pointed out above, the spondee is not a fundamental foot; when it is used as a substitute for the dactyl, it naturally takes on in consciousness the dactylic character, i. e. the quantitative prominence is felt as resting on the first syllable. The second long of the spondee is just as naturally felt to be not-prominent, because it is felt in consciousness as corresponding to the two shorts of the dactyl, which are not quantitatively prominent. In defining ictus as the quantitative prominence inherent in the long syllable of fundamental feet, I by no means say or imply that every long syllable is quantitatively prominent. The situation is precisely the same as in English verse. There we define ictus as the accentual prominence inherent in a stressed syllable. Yet not every stressed syllable is accentually prominent in English verse. In English iambic measures the foot often consists of two stressed syllables; yet the first of these is not felt as accentually prominent, simply because the verse has enough pure iambs to gain a distinct iambic character (∪ ∘) and an occasional spondee (∘ ∘) naturally is felt as prominent only in the second accented syllable.

2. Secondly Professor Hale objects that my view will not hold because in Latin iambic verse the tribrach and dactyl, when substituted for the iambus, take the ictus upon the first of the two short syllables into which the long of the iambus is resolved: ∪ ∪ ∪, — ∪ ∪. This is a clear begging of the question. If it were true that in such cases there was a definite stress on the syllables indicated, there could hardly be further discussion. But that is the very point in controversy. Not a shred of evidence exists to support the theory that the tribrach and dactyl were stressed upon their second syllable in iambic verse. This is frankly acknowledged by Christ in his *Metrik der Griechen und Römer*², p. 55. Christ, to be sure, as well as other authors of manuals of prosody, does accept the hypothesis that the tribrach and dactyl were so stressed in iambic verse. But this view is simply a corollary of the false hypothesis that ictus was stress. Once we assume that the iambus was stressed upon its second syllable, it is not only natural but practically necessary to find a

location for the stress in resolved feet like the tribrach, dactyl, and proceleusmatic. But that the ancients put stress either on the long of the iambus or on the syllables into which it was resolved remains to be proved. In fact, to my mind one of the strongest arguments against the stress theory of ictus is that the ancient metricians never allude to the location of the ictus in resolved feet. If ictus was stress and the second syllable of the iambus was stressed in verse, then the location of this stress in resolved feet would be one of the first questions to suggest itself to the metricians. Its consideration would have been inevitable. Yet they never once allude to it, though they enumerate frequently the various possible resolutions of the iambus.

3. Thirdly Professor Hale adduces certain passages from Quintilian which he regards as making for the stress theory of ictus. I cite these in full, italicizing the words which Professor Hale deems important:

IX 4, 51 *Maior tamen illic (sc. in rhythmis) licentia est, ubi tempora etiam animo metiuntur et pedum et digitorum ictu intervalla signant quibusdam notis atque aestimant quot breves illud spatium habeat;*

IX 4, 55 *oratio non descendet ad crepitum digitorum;*

IX 4, 75 *sex enim pedes (sc. of the iambic trimeter) tres percussiones habent;*

IX 4, 136 [iambi] *frequentiorem quasi pulsum habent.*

Professor Hale urges that "verse-pulse is characteristic of all verse-systems of which we have any actual knowledge, and can hardly have been absent from the system of men who by implication speak of verse as lending itself to taps of the fingers and beats of the foot." If by 'verse-pulse' Professor Hale means stress, I must urge again that he is begging the question; if he does not mean stress, I fail to see the point of his remark. Nor does the fact that in the passages above cited Quintilian speaks of verse as lending itself to the taps of fingers and beats of the foot, seem to me to point any more distinctly to a stress rhythm than to a quantitative one. In the case of either it would be perfectly natural to keep the time by taps of the finger or beats of the foot. Professor Hale continues: "not only does the word 'ictus,' like our word 'beat,' naturally imply stress, but it is used as synonymous with percussio in Quint. IX 4, 51 [above cited]; while percussio is used instead of ictus in IX 4, 75 [above cited]." In answer to Professor Hale's assertion that "ictus naturally

implies stress," I must again urge that that is only a *petitio principii*. Ictus naturally implies stress only to those who start with the assumption that it is stress. As pointed out above, the word *ictus* is not a *terminus technicus* of the Latin metricians; so far as I have been able to discover, it is used only twice by the systematic writers on metric, and in these two instances the word *cannot* denote stress. The passages are:

Terentianus Maurus de Metris, 1342 (Keil, VI 366):

una longa non valebit edere ex sese pedem,
ictibus quia fit duobus, non gemello tempore.

Diomedes, de Pedibus, III (Keil, I 475, 3): ergo una longa pedem non valebit efficere, quia ictibus duobus arsis et thesis, non gemello tempore perquirenda est.

Here, if *ictus* be taken in the sense of stress, we get the extraordinary doctrine that it takes two stresses, an *arsis* and a *thesis* to make a foot. Evidently the word has no such meaning. It means simply beats,—let us say a strong one and a light one. Beat, stroke is the proper meaning (*propria significatio*) of *ictus*; its figurative meanings can be determined only on the basis of actual usage (as in the two passages just cited), not by *a priori* methods. This applies equally to the word *percussio* as used by Quintilian, IX 4, 75 (above cited). Evidently the word is here figuratively used. Mr. Hale, however, strangely denies this. As I have above quoted his words he says: "*ictus* is used as synonymous with *percussio* in Quint. IX 4, 51; while *percussio* is used instead of *ictus* in IX 4, 75." In IX 4, 51, however, *ictus* is used *in proprio sensu* (digitorum et pedum ictu), so that if *percussio* in IX 4, 75 is used instead of *ictus* (as in IX 4, 51) it must mean 'taps.' Possibly it does. But 'taps' are not vocal stress.¹ In Quintilian, IX 4, 136 (above cited), Professor Hale declares that Quintilian uses the word *pulsus* in place of *ictus*. If such is the case, I would only observe that, until it is shown that the word *ictus* was used to denote stress, the circumstance that *pulsus* is employed as a synonym of *ictus* is of no significance. Certainly *pulsus* itself does not have that meaning. To me it seems far more

¹ Westphal, Gr. Rhythmik, p. 104, has collected numerous instances of the use of *percussio* by the metricians. He recognizes the word as occurring in the sense of 'interval' and of 'beat,' but, though himself a pronounced adherent of the stress theory of *ictus*, he is not bold enough to seek in this word any confirmation of that view.

likely that Quintilian is using the word in the same sense in which Marius Victorinus employs it in the following passage (Keil, VI 44, 4): *pes vocatur . . . quia in percussione metrica pedis pulsus ponitur tolliturque*.

4. Fourthly Professor Hale adduces a passage of Charisius in support of the view that ictus was stress. The context in which Charisius used the word is as follows (Keil, I 552, 9): He is discussing gender and observes that some nouns which are masculine in Latin correspond to Greek nouns that are feminine. This observation is followed by a list of fifty or more illustrative examples in alphabetical order: *ingressus εἰσβασις*; *ictus πλῆγή*; *iuncus, ὀξύσχοινος*, etc. This citation is seriously advanced by Professor Hale in support of the view that *ictus is stress*. I fail to see that it has any bearing upon the question at issue.

CHARLES E. BENNETT.

II.—EXPLANATION OF AN ASSYRIAN CRUX INTERPRETUM.

The word *xûlu*, which occurs in six passages in the Assyrian historical texts, has never received a satisfactory explanation. It is true that the context, in each case, shows some connection with locality, but nothing of a more definite character can be gathered from this quarter, and the word is not to be found in any of the native vocabularies. Considerable room being thus left for conjecture, it is not surprising that *xûlu* has been interpreted in various ways.

Joachim Ménant, in his *Annales des Rois d'Assyrie* (1874, p. 37), renders 'bridge,' but this is an obvious conjecture based on the parallel passage Tig. Pil. IV 69.

Another French scholar, Joseph Halévy, the leader of the anti-Sumerian school of Assyriologists, cites this word in support of his peculiar theory. In his *Notes de lexicographie assyrienne* (ZK., vol. I, 1884, p. 262) he endeavors to show that Sumerian *xul* 'evil' is really Semitic and connected with Heb. חֵיל חוֹל 'to writhe (with anguish).' In this connection he explains *xûlu* as an adjective, and thinks that in the passage Tig. Pil. II 7-10, where Ménant renders 'bridge,' it actually means 'the bad' (sc. roads).

Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, in his *Wo lag das Paradies?* (1881, p. 259), takes the word as the proper name of an extensive district lying near the Tûr-'Abdîn Mountains, which he is inclined to identify with the Biblical חוֹל mentioned Gen. 10, 23; 1 Chron. 1, 17, and connects it etymologically with Heb. חוֹל 'sand.' Professor Delitzsch has long since abandoned this explanation, but has suggested no other, and, in his *Manual Dictionary* (1894), *xûlu* appears (p. 271^b) without an accompanying translation.

Lotz, in his *Tiglath-Pileser* (1880), renders doubtfully 'sandy tracts' (Sandstrecken), though he states in a note (p. 121) that he considers the comparison to Heb. חוֹל, Syr. חֲלָא 'sand' rather uncertain.

However, in default of a better explanation, Assyriologists seem to have agreed, with more or less hesitation, to render *xûlu*

'sandy place,' 'desert,' 'wilderness.' For example, Hugo Winckler of Berlin, the accomplished editor and translator of the Tel-el-Amarna Tablets, in his translation of the annals of Tiglath-Pileser and of Ašur-nâçir-pal (Schrader's KB., vol. I), renders Tig. Pil. II 9, 'die Wüstniss'; Ašurn. II 96, III 102, and I R. 28, 32b, 'die Wüste.' In Ašurn. III 34, he translates 'böse Stellen,' and explains in a footnote that *xûlu* seems to mean here sandy flats in the river interfering with navigation. It is evident that none of the explanations given rest on very firm ground, and the true meaning of *xûlu* still remains in doubt.

In a letter addressed to King Esarhaddon (Harper's Letters, No. 406), the priestly writer Nabû-axe-erba sees fit to explain words ideographically written by means of interlinear glosses.¹ His reasons for so doing are not obvious. Two, at least, of the ideograms thus explained (*parçu* 'command,' obv. 10, and *mâr-mâre* 'grandchildren,' rev. 13) are quite simple, and would certainly present no difficulty to a modern Assyriologist. It is possible that the glosses were added by another hand. But, whatever the explanation, for our present purpose the idea was a lucky one; for one of these glosses clearly establishes the meaning of the obscure word *xûlu*. The ordinary ideogram (KAS) for *xarrânu* 'road,' which occurs in line 16 of the reverse, is explained by the gloss *xu-u-li* written beneath it. The whole passage reads (rev. 8-19): *ina muxxi Ašur-mukîn-palêja, ša šarru belî išpurâni, lillika; ūba ana alâki. Mâr-mârešu šarru belî ina burkešu lintux: ina šiddi KAS (= xu-u-li) LU idqu ūmuruš*, 'with regard to my lord the king's message about Ašur-mukîn-palêja, let him go (by all means); it will be well for him to go. May my lord the king hold his sons' sons on his knees, and see him (going) along the pathway (of life) as a (tender) lamb.' In another passage in Harper's Letters, Nabû-nâdin-šum writes to the king (No. 52, obv. 10-12): *ištu Ninua xu-lu ša al Zi . . . uktekt* 'I proceeded from Nineveh by the Zi . . . road.' It is clear, then, that in these two instances *xûlu* means 'road,' and an examination of the passages in the historical texts, where the word occurs, shows that this meaning holds good in every case. In the annals of Tiglath-Pileser, col. II, 9, the king, after stating how he surmounted the difficulties offered by the mountain-

¹ Cf. the interlinear glosses in the incantation on p. 75 of Professor Haupt's Cuneiform Texts and his remarks, Akkadische Sprache, p. 31, note 22.

passes, continues: *xu-la ana mētiq narkabātēja u ummānātēja lūḫib* 'I constructed a road for the passage of my chariots and my troops.' In the annals of Ašur-nācir-pal, col. II, 96, the king, describing the progress of his campaign, says: *ina ḫlāni ša šiddi xu-li-ja ša libbi šad Kašiari alpe kirre karāni ummār siparri gurpise siparri attaxar* 'in the cities along my route, in the Kashiari Mountains, I received oxen, sheep, wine, and vessels and *gurpise* (buckets or baskets? stem כפס = כפ?) of copper.'

Another passage from the annals of the same monarch reads (col. III, 101-102): *ištu mā Malāni attumša ana ḫlāni ša mā Zamba, ša šiddi xu-li-ja ina išāti ašrup* 'Marching from Malāni to the cities of Zamba, I burnt with fire (all) along my route.' *ša šiddi xūlija* means literally 'that which (was) along my route,' and there is no need to assume with Winckler (KB. I 111) that anything has been omitted by the scribe. In the mutilated text I R. 28, mention is made (l. 32b) of a palace which stood *ša reš xu-li ša Aššur* 'at the head of the highway to Aššur.'

The difficult passage Ašurn. III 33-34, is rendered by Winckler (KB. I 101): 'Auf Schiffen, die sie gemacht hatten, Schiffe aus Hammelhäuten, welche an bösen Stellen (?) von den Leuten (?) getragen werden (?) überschritt ich den Euphrat.' In a footnote he explains that the sense is probably that the boats, being light, were carried by their crews over the sandy flats of the river. This explanation, which is merely offered by Dr. Winckler as a conjectural interpretation, is quite impossible.

epušūni (l. 33) is not 3 pl., but 1 sing., and the final *u* is merely the indication of the modus relativus after *ša*. *elippe ša epušūni* means therefore 'the boats which I had made' and must be taken in connection with l. 29 above: *elippe ša ramenija ina Šūri elāpaš* 'At Sur I constructed my own boats.' In l. 34, not *mašak taxši*, but *mašak gabši* 'inflated skins' must be read, as Prof. Haupt has very clearly shown in his paper, 'Babylonian Words in Ezekiel,' read before the American Oriental Society at its meeting held in Baltimore, April, 1897. Cf. the Notes on Ezekiel 16, 10 in the 'Polychrome Bible,' p. 125, l. 11. *Mašak* seems to be a silent determinative as in *nādu* (Heb. נֶאֱדָה) 'skin bottle.' Both *nādu* and *gabšū* mean originally 'swollen' or 'inflated.' The preposition *ištu* (l. 34) cannot possibly indicate agency like the Latin *a*, *ab*. Such a usage is quite unknown to Assyrian.

Apart from the strangeness of the reading *niš-i* for *niše* 'people,' the *i* clearly forms part of the following word, and we must read

idûlâni 3 fem. pl., agreeing with *elippe* 'boats.' Prof. Haupt has for years past explained *dûlu* to his classes as meaning 'to go about,' 'go around,' and, more recently, Tallqvist, in his *Maqlû* (p. 131), gives the same rendering. This explanation is completely established by examples to be found in Harper's Letters.¹ The only real difficulty of the passage is presented by the character *man*, *nîš* in line 34, and here it is necessary to study the context a little. Ašur-nâçir-pal, having constructed vessels at Sûr on the Khâbûr (l. 29), proceeded down the river as far as its junction with the Euphrates. Here he turned (l. 31), and, going northward, crossed the Euphrates at Kharidu. Line 34 shows that his vessels were in reality rafts composed of a frame-work of wood supported by inflated skins, the prototype, in fact, of the modern kelek in use on the Tigris.² It is, of course, easy for these vessels to float down stream, but practically impossible to propel them for any considerable distance against the current. At the present day such keleks, after reaching Baghdad, are broken up, the timber is sold, and the skins are conveyed back to their starting-point on the backs of asses or camels. Ašur-nâçir-pal evidently refers to some similar procedure when he says (l. 34) that he crossed the river *ina elippe . . . ša ina xûli ištu man (nîš) idûlâni* 'in the boats which came round by the road from'—and here follows the character *man*, *nîš*.³ We should naturally expect the name of a place in this connection, but there appears to be room for this single character alone, and the reading seems to be correct, since the copies of the text that have been found, although they contain a number of variants, agree in this point. It may be that this character has some ideographic value at present unknown, for certainly none of the known values yields sense here. There is, however, another possibility. The two corner wedges forming the character *man* may be read separately, and, in this case, the first *u* could be ideogram for *šupûlû* (Br. List, No. 8749 ff.), while the second would be phonetic complement. But, although this reading yields a good sense in

¹ I expect to treat *dûlu* in a future paper. A discussion of it here would unnecessarily prolong the present paper.

² See my thesis, 'The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians,' Part I, p. 169.

³ Delitzsch, *Manual Dictionary*, p. 213*, sees in *man*, *nîš* the common ideogram for 20 and refers to his *Assyr. Lesestücke*, p. 88, l. 10*, where we find *elip eîrd* 'a ship of 20 tons.'

the present passage, the orthography would be most unusual, and I offer the explanation merely as a possible conjecture. In any case the meaning of *xûlu* is not affected. The whole passage may then be read: *ina elippe ša epušûni, elippe ša (mašak) gabîš ša ina xûli ištu šupâlû (?) idulâni nâr Puratti lû etêbir* 'In the boats which I had constructed, boats of inflated skins which had come around by the road from below (i. e. down the river), I crossed the Euphrates at Kharidu.'

The examples cited would seem to establish the meaning of *xûlu* 'road' beyond any reasonable doubt; the etymology of the word now remains to be considered. There can, of course, be no connection with Heb. חול 'sand,' which is undoubtedly to be compared to Arabic حال 'to change,' and means properly 'changing, shifting ground.' As חל has a ג, it would have to appear in Assyrian not as *xûlu*, but as **ûlu*. A verb *xûlu* is actually to be found in Assyrian, and it means 'to tremble.' Before the might of Shalmaneser *ixilû mâtâte . . . iṣḏāšina* 'the world trembles to its foundations' (Šalm. Mon., obv. 9). In the incantations the powers of darkness are exhorted *xûlâ zûbâ u ilâtukâ* 'tremble, dissolve, and vanish' (Tallqvist, Maqlû, I 140; cf. p. 129). The verb *xamâṣu*, which means properly 'to tremble, quiver,' and is actually employed in this sense in the incantations (Maqlû, III 30. 168), came later to be applied to rapid motion in general. In the historical texts *xamâṣu* means 'to hasten,' and from it is derived the adjective *xamṣu*, *xanṣu* 'swift.' In the case of *xûlu* 'to tremble' precisely the same development of meaning has taken place, and so *xûlu* 'road' forms an exact parallel to another word for road, *urxu*, which is derived from *arâxu* 'to be swift.' The words *xa'ûlu* 'army' (i. e. expeditio), and *xi'âlânu* 'troops' are of course derived from this stem, as also Arabic خيل 'horses, cavalry,' properly 'the swift.' The connection with Hebrew חיל, חול 'to tremble' is self-evident; it is also evident that חול 'sand' has here too no etymological connection, and that the explanation given in most Hebrew dictionaries must be modified accordingly.

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON.

III.—THE CHRONOLOGY OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE DURING THE YEAR 59 B. C.

In the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.*, Bd. 145, p. 713 ff., there is a brief article by W. Sternkopf entitled 'Ciceros Correspondenz aus den Jahren 59 und 58.'¹ Although the results reached by Sternkopf are valuable, I feel that there are certain difficult questions of primary importance connected with the Correspondence of this period which are still unsettled, and an introductory word or two upon the relation which this article bears to Sternkopf's, set down without any intention of belittling the value of his results, but for the purpose of indicating the scope of my paper and of showing that I have not attempted *rem actam agere*, may not be out of place. Sternkopf has either without hesitation accepted the traditional order as correct chronologically, or he has touched but lightly upon the considerations which help one in determining the chronological sequence. A discussion of the evidence bearing on this part of the problem, while involving much difficulty, is of great importance. I have therefore given special attention to it in the present paper. In the case of a few letters sure conclusions are unattainable because there is a lack of convincing evidence, but, inasmuch as we are bound to adopt *some* chronological order for the letters, I shall be satisfied in such cases if a more probable hypothesis has been substituted for one less probable, or if the traditional view has been placed on a surer basis, or even if attention has been called to evidence which may lead in the future to correct conclusions. The same statement will apply to another feature of this article, that is to the attempt to fix somewhat definitely the dates of the various letters. In this matter it is hoped that, even if the proof is not convincing in all cases for the exact date suggested, the date has been fixed within narrower limits than has heretofore been the case.

The difficulties which beset an investigation of the chronology of the epistles belonging to the year 59 B. C. are perhaps more

¹ This paper was written before Sternkopf's article had been consulted, and its arguments and conclusions are now published without modification.

serious than for some of the other portions of Cicero's Correspondence. Very few of the letters written during that year are dated, and few exact dates are mentioned in them. All the letters of this period, with one exception, were written to Atticus, so that there is no chance of comparing descriptions of the same event in communications addressed to different people. Finally the references which other ancient writers have made to the events of 59 B. C. seem to give little or no help in the matter. The letters of this year are of course of great importance, because they contain the most satisfactory account which we possess, on the one hand, of the first fruits of the coalition formed by Caesar, Pompey and Crassus, and of Caesar's legislation during his first consulship, and on the other hand of the events which led up to Cicero's banishment.

The table which follows indicates the order in which the letters were written and the probable or certain date of each letter, while the arguments upon which the conclusions are based are given in a subsequent part of the article.

60 B. C.

Cicero and Atticus meet in Rome, Cicero coming probably from Tusculum, Atticus from Epirus (p. 391), Dec. 29.

59 B. C.

Atticus remained in Rome from Dec. 29, 60 B. C., to June, 59 B. C. It is uncertain where Cicero spent the first 3 months of 59 B. C. Probably he was at Rome part of the time and part of the time at his seaside villas in Latium (p. 392 f.).

Attico II 4 Antio (p. 396 ff.), Apr. 13.

Attico II 5 Antio (p. 396 ff.), Apr. 14.

Attico II 6 Antio (p. 396 ff.), Apr. 15.

Attico II 7 Antio (p. 396 ff.), Apr. 16.

Attico II 8 Antio (p. 396 ff.), Apr. 17 or evening of Apr. 16.

Attico II 9 Antio (p. 396 ff.), Apr. 18.

Cicero leaves Antium and reaches Tres Tabernae at the 10th hour, writing thence

Attico II 12 Tribus Tabernis (p. 398), Apr. 19.

(although the letter was sent Apr. 20 at some point on the road between Tres Tabernae and Appi Forum).

Cicero goes from Tres Tabernae to Appi Forum, reaching the latter place at the 4th hour and writing

Attico II 10 Appi Foro (p. 399), Apr. 20.

- Cicero arrives at Formiae (p. 399), Apr. 21, evening.
 Attico II 11 ex Formiano (p. 399 f.), Apr. 25 or 26.
 Attico II 13 ex Formiano (p. 400), Apr. 26 or 27.
 Attico II 14 ex Formiano (p. 400), Apr. 27 or 28.
 Attico II 15 ex Formiano (p. 400), Apr. 28 or 29.
 Attico II 16 ex Formiano (p. 400 f.), May 1-5 (probably
 May 1 or 2).
 Attico II 17 ex Formiano (p. 401), May 2-5 (probably
 May 3 or 4).
 On May 5 Cicero leaves Formiae and goes to his villa at Arpinum, reaching the latter place May 10 (p. 401).
 The interval between May 10 and June 1 he spent at Arpinum or at Arpinum and Tusculum. He returns to Rome June 1 (p. 401).
 Attico II 18 Roma (p. 401 f.), June 15-Jul. 6.
 Attico II 19 Roma (p. 402), Jul. 14-25 (certainly after Jul. 6; probably after Jul. 13).
 Attico II 20 Roma (p. 402 f.), Jul. 14-25 (perhaps Jul. 24).
 Attico II 21 Roma (p. 403 ff.), soon after Jul. 25.
 Attico II 22 Roma (p. 403 f.), Jul. 25-Oct. 18 (probably 1st week in Aug.)
 Attico II 23 Roma (p. 403 f.), Jul. 25-Oct. 18 (probably 2d week in Aug.).
 Attico II 24 Roma (p. 404 f.), Jul. 25-Oct. 18 (probably middle of Aug.).
 Attico II 25 Roma (p. 405), Jul. 25-Oct. 18 (probably first half of Oct.).
 Q. fr. I 2 Roma (p. 405), Oct. 25-Dec. 10.

Atticus returned to Rome at the close of the year 60 B. C., apparently on the last day of Dec., for Cicero, writing probably at his Tusculan villa in anticipation of his arrival, says (Att. II 2. 3): *velim . . . , quoniam huc non venis, cenes apud nos (i. e. at my town house) utique pridie Kal.* This letter was written toward the close of the month, as we can see from a remark in the same section: *sed heus tu ecquid vides Kal. venire, Antonium non venire?*, and reference is made to the kalends of January, as is evident from a letter written a few days later, for, in speaking apparently of the same dinner engagement, he says (Att. II 3. 3): *sed haec ambulationibus Compitaliciis reservamus. Tu pridie Compitalia memento.* The Compitalia occurred very soon after

the Saturnalia; under the emperors the festival began Jan. 3 (Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, III, p. 206), but in the period under consideration the exact date was not fixed, and apparently in 59 B. C. they fell on Jan. 1, as they certainly did in 61 B. C. (cf. Cic. in Pis. 8). With the exception of a few days spent at Arpinum in May (cf. p. 401), Atticus was probably in Rome until June, 59 B. C., perhaps for the purpose of obtaining from the senate or the consuls papers which would enable him to collect money due him at Sicyon (cf. Att. I 19. 9; II 13. 2). Then he left the city to go to Epirus, for in the early part of July, Cicero, who was at that time in Rome, acknowledged the receipt of several letters from his friend (Att. II 18. 1), while from a previous letter we know that Atticus was in Rome until May 8 at least, since he had promised to go thence to Arpinum about May 10; cf. Att. II 17. 1 *haec in Arpinati a. d. vi circiter Id. Mai. non deflebimus*, although Cicero was very much afraid that business affairs would prevent Atticus from keeping his engagement, and would detain him in Rome until his own return to the city; cf. Att. II 17. 3 *tu tamen videris mihi Romae fore ad nostrum adventum*.

These references determine in the main the movements of Cicero also during the early part of 59 B. C. In Dec., 60 B. C. he writes (Att. II 3. 3): *venio nunc ad mensem Ianuarium et ad ὑπόστασιν nostram ac πολιτείαν . . . Est res sane magni consilii. Nam aut fortiter resistendum est legi agrariae . . . aut quiescendum, quod est non dissimile atque ire in Solonium aut Antium, aut etiam adiuvandum. Cicero's references in 59 B. C. and in subsequent years to Caesar's agrarian laws make it almost certain that he neither openly opposed nor supported those laws. Furthermore, no ancient writer mentions Cicero in connection with the matter except Plutarch, who tells us (Cat. Min. 32) that Cicero advised Cato to promise under oath to observe Caesar's law. Plutarch's statement will be considered later. The agrarian measures of this year excited such intense political feeling (Dio Cass. XXXVIII), and Cicero was a man of so much political prominence that, if he desired to hold himself aloof from the discussion, it would have been necessary for him, as he himself felt (cf. citation above from Att. II 3. 3), to absent himself from Rome. General probability therefore points very distinctly to the hypothesis that he was not in Rome during the agitation connected with the passage of the laws mentioned.*

Four facts seem to militate against this theory: first, Cicero's plan to be in Rome during the Compitalia; second, Plutarch's statement as quoted above; third, the delivery of an oration by Cicero in defence of C. Antonius during the early part of the year; and fourth, the absence of any letters to Atticus, who was at Rome, during the months of January, February and March. As for his presence at Rome during the Compitalia, since no meetings of the senate could be held during that festival, Cicero could remain in the city with impunity. He could stay safely at Rome also during the *dies comitiales* in January, i. e. Jan. 3-4 and 16-29, when likewise no meetings of the senate could be held (cf. Willems, *Le Sénat de la République romaine*, II 152). Furthermore, the conciliatory attitude which Caesar adopted during the early part of his consulship makes it highly probable that he did not even publish his agrarian bill during the month of January (cf. Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, III 195-6; Lange, *Röm. Alterthümer*, III 279). Finally, after the passage of the *lex Gabinia* of 61 B. C. the senate devoted the entire month of February to the reception of foreign embassies (Willems, II, p. 156). It is quite possible, therefore, that Caesar's agrarian bill was not brought forward until March. At all events, Cicero could stay at Rome during the greater part of the first two months of the year 59 B. C. without fear of being called upon to take part in an agrarian discussion. During this period Antonius' trial was held (cf. Att. II 7. 2; de dom. 41), and Cicero's presence in Rome would account for the absence of any letters to Atticus during the months of January and February at least. As for Plutarch's statement, Cicero's advice to Cato may well have been given by letter. Cicero was, however, certainly absent from Rome, at one or another of his country-seats, from the middle of April (cf. p. 398 ff.), and probably from the beginning of March, until June 1; cf. Att. II 8. 2 *inde cogito in Tusculanum, deinde Arpinum, Romam ad Kal. Iun.*

In considering the earliest letters of the year 59 it will be convenient first to establish the chronological order, then to determine the place of writing, and finally to fix the dates of the various letters in so far as it is possible.

Of the epistles to be discussed, letters 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12 and 10 may be considered together and, as we shall try to show, were probably written in the order indicated. In Att. II 4. 2 Cicero writes: *interea quidem cum Musis nos delectabimus animo aequo,*

immo vero etiam gaudenti ac libenti; neque mihi umquam veniet in mentem Crasso invidere neque paenitere, quod a me ipse non desciverim, whereas in II 5. 2, as if with this statement in mind and as if to modify it, he says: de istis rebus exspecto tuas litteras: . . . cuinam auguratus deferatur, quo quidem uno ego ab istis capi possum. Vides caritatem meam! Sed quid ego haec, quae cupio deponere et toto animo atque omni cura φιλοσοφείν? Sic, inquam, in animo est. Vellem ab initio. Nunc vero, quoniam quae putavi esse praeclara expertus sum quam essent inania, cum omnibus Musis rationem habere cogito. In Att. II 5. 3 Cicero asks: quid de P. Clodio fiat, and it may be argued that this question must precede the remark in II 4. 2 Clodius ergo, ut ais, ad Tigranem? It may well be, however, that in II 5. 3 Cicero is asking for more definite information upon this very appointment of Clodius. Therefore, although the matter cannot be settled beyond the reach of doubt, it seems proper to accept the traditional order, i. e. to place 4 before 5.

As for Att. II 6, it was written later than II 4. When II 4 was written Cicero had just received from Atticus Serapio's work on geography (fecisti mihi pergratum, quod Serapionis librum ad me misisti, Att. II 4. 1), whereas at the time of writing II 6 he had read the book and was considering the criticisms upon Eratosthenes which it contained. Furthermore, the first sentence in Att. II 6 (quod tibi superioribus litteris promiseram, fore ut opus exstaret huius peregrinationis) refers to Cicero's remark in Att. II 4. 3 de geographia dabo operam ut tibi satis faciam. Cf. also II 6 (end) and II 4 (end). Att. II 5 is concerned exclusively with political questions, while II 6 is devoted to private matters, so that there is no point of contact between the two letters, and consequently little opportunity to find material for determining their sequence. However, the calm tone of II 6 and the absence of any reference to political matters make it almost certain that II 6 follows II 5.

Att. II 7 follows II 6; cf. Att. II 6. 1 (quod tibi superioribus litteris promiseram, fore ut opus exstaret huius peregrinationis, nihil iam magno opere confirmo) with II 7. 1 (de geographia etiam atque etiam deliberabimus. [and then, after mentioning the possibility of his working upon certain orations] . . . Denique aliquid exstabit, ne tibi plane cessasse videamur). It may be noted in this connection also that the references in Att. II 4. 7; 6. 2 and 7. 5 to the repair of a certain wall running between the

premises of Marcus and Quintus Cicero on the Palatine indicate that these three letters were written at short intervals.

When he wrote Att. II 7 Cicero had heard from the younger Curio that the position of the triumvirs was not so secure as it had been; cf. sec. 3 *una spes est salutis istorum inter istos dissensio, cuius ego quaedam initia sensi ex Curione*. When II 8 was written he had received a letter from Atticus confirming the impression which Curio had given him; cf. sec. 1 *et scito Curionem adulescentem venisse ad me salutatum. Valde eius sermo de Publio cum tuis litteris congruebat. Ipse vero mirandum in modum reges odisse superbos. Peraeque narrabat incensam esse iuventutem neque ferre haec posse*. Att. II 8 is therefore later than II 7.

Att. II 9 is later than II 8. In II 8. 2 Cicero writes: *Kal. Mai. de Formiano proficiscemur, ut Anti simus a. d. v. Non. Mai. . . . Inde cogito in Tusculanum*, while at the time of writing II 9 he has been induced by some considerations unknown to us to postpone the date of his departure from Formiae, and he is also able to fix exactly the date of his intended departure from Antium: *Antium me ex Formiano recipere cogito a. d. v. Non. Mai. Antio volo Non. Mai. proficisci in Tusculanum* (Att. II 9. 4).

Att. II 12 was written at Tres Tabernae, April 19 (cf. p. 398), but was not apparently delivered to a messenger until the next day; cf. Att. II 12. 2 *emerseram commodum ex Antiati in Appiam ad Tris Tabernas, ipsis Cerealibus, cum in me incurrit Roma veniens Curio meus. Ibidem ilico puer abs te cum epistulis*, with sec. 4 *litteras scripsi hora decima Cerealibus, statim ut tuas legeram, sed eas eram daturus, ut putaram, postridie ei, qui mihi primus obviam venisset, and II 10 dederam aliam* (i. e. Att. II 12) paulo ante a Tribus Tabernis. Att. II 10 was one day later than II 12 (see p. 399).

The letters of this group (Att. II 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12 and 10) were, therefore, probably written in the order indicated.

Of the letters which we have been discussing, Att. II 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 were written at Antium. This conclusion seems certain from the facts which are now to be stated. In the third letter of this group, viz. II 6, Cicero speaks of being at Antium (cf. sec. 1), while in II 12, which, as we have shown, follows II 9 and was written at Tres Tabernae, he says: *emerseram commodum ex Antiati in Appiam ad Tris Tabernas, etc.*, Att. II 12. 2. Furthermore, in II 8. 2, in announcing his plans, he writes: *in Formianum*

volumus venire Parilibus; inde . . . Kal. Mai. de Formiano proficiscemur, ut Anti simus a. d. v. Non. Mai., and in II 9. 4 Antium me ex Formiano recipere cogito a. d. v. Non. Mai. Antio volo Non. Mai. proficisci in Tusculanum. Sed cum e Formiano *rediero*, etc. A comparison of these two passages makes it clear that the point from which Cicero will set out, and to which he will *return*, and consequently the point from which both letters were sent, was Antium. It is certain, then, that at least three letters of the series 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 were written at Antium. But since Cicero is very anxious not to miss any of his friend's letters, and hopes also that Atticus may find an opportunity to pay him a visit, he keeps him carefully informed with reference to any change of residence which he has in mind (cf. Att. II 8. 2; II 10). Now, in 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 there is no indication that such a change has been made. We may conclude, therefore, that all these letters were written at the same place, and since Cicero was at Antium when three of them (6, 8 and 9) were written, we are safe in saying that all of them were written at that place. All the editors of Cicero's Correspondence assign Att. II 4 to Tusculum, but the evidence, in so far as I can see, is against that hypothesis.

Att. II 12 was written at Tres Tabernae, as shown above; cf. II 12. 2 *emerseram commodum ex Antiati in Appiam ad Tris Tabernas, ipsis Cerealibus* . . . Ibidem ilico puer abs te cum epistulis, with sec. 4 *litteras scripsi hora decima Cerealibus, statim ut tuas legeram*, etc. As for Att. II 10, it is dated at Appi Foro.

Passing now to a consideration of the dates of the particular letters under discussion, let us at the outset determine the month to which the earliest letter (Att. II 4) belongs. In sec. 6 of that letter Cicero says: *nos circiter Kal. aut in Formiano erimus aut in Pompeiano*. We can safely assume that the writer refers to the kalends of the following month. Otherwise the month would be indicated. A comparison of this passage with Att. II 8. 2 shows that Cicero has in mind the kalends of May, for in the latter passage he says: *in Formianum volumus venire Parilibus; inde . . . Kal. Mai. de Formiano proficiscemur*, and in II 9. 4 he remarks: *Antium me ex Formiano recipere cogito a. d. v. Non. Mai.* Att. II 10 leads one to make the same inference: *qua re usque ad Non. Mai. in Formiano exspectabo*, and II 11. 2; 13. 2; 14. 2 and 15. 3 point to the same conclusion. Probably Atticus had intimated that he might visit him about the first of the next month, and had inquired where Cicero would be at that time.

To this inquiry Cicero replied in II 4. 6. This view of the matter is strongly confirmed by II 15. 3 (written toward the end of April, as will be shown later): *quoniam tu certi nihil scribis*, in Formiano tibi praestoler usque ad a. d. iii Nonas Maías. Att. II 4 belongs undoubtedly then to the month of April, and incidentally it has been shown that other letters of this group were written in the same month.

In discussing below (see p. 399) the exact dates of various letters, the fact is established that II 10, the last letter of the group under consideration, was written Apr. 20. Now, since II 4, the earliest letter of this group, was also written in April, it is clear that the entire series of letters falls between Apr. 1 and 21. Some considerations which follow make it probable, though not certain, that these letters were written day by day in the interval between April 12 and 21.

Antium, Tres Tabernae, and Appi Forum, at which places these eight letters were written, could be easily reached from Rome by a letter-carrier in a day. In Att. II 13. 1 Cicero says, in fact: *at scito eum fasciculum, quo illam conieceram domum* (i. e. to Rome from Tres Tabernae) *eo ipso die latum esse, quo ego dederam*. Now, Cicero's interest in politics was so lively that Atticus apparently sent him a letter from Rome every day during this period, for Cicero writes to him (Att. II 8. 1): *epistulam cum a te avide exspectarem ad vesperum, ut soleo,¹ ecce tibi nuntius pueros venisse Roma*, and after he had left Antium he expressed his regret at losing these daily missives: *dies enim nullus erat, Anti cum essem, quo die non melius scirem Romae quid ageretur quam ii qui erant Romae*. Etenim litterae tuae non solum quid Romae, sed etiam quid in re publica, neque solum quid fieret, verum etiam quid futurum esset indicabant, Att. II 11. 1, and in Att. II 12. 2 he refers to the knowledge of the *ruminationes cotidianae* which the letters of Atticus brought him.

In view of Cicero's lively interest in the course of politics at Rome, and in view of the life of absolute leisure which he was leading (cf. Att. II 6), it is almost certain that these daily letters of Atticus would call forth daily answers from him. What has been said applies particularly, as noted above, to the period of Cicero's stay at Antium, i. e. to the time within which the letters, Att. II 4-9, were written. If we can therefore determine the date

¹ *ut soleo* seems to indicate that Cicero looked for a letter every evening.

on which any one of the letters just mentioned was written, we shall be able to fix the date of all of them with considerable probability. Fortunately, this can be done. In Att. II 8. 1, in a passage already quoted in part, Cicero writes: *epistulam cum a te avide exspectarem ad vesperum, ut soleo, ecce tibi nuntius pueros venisse Roma. Voco; quaero, ecquid litterarum? . . . Perterriti voce et vultu confessi sunt se accepisse, sed excidisse in via. . . . Nunc, si quid in ea epistula, quam ante diem xvi. Kal. Mai. dedisti, fuit historia dignum, scribe quam primum, ne ignoremus.* The lost letter of Atticus was dated Apr. 15. The messengers would start early in the morning of the next day and traverse the distance between Rome and Antium, about 30 miles, in one day, reaching the latter place, as Cicero says, *ad vesperum* of Apr. 16. Att. II 8, advising Atticus of the loss of his letter, would be written at once, either in the evening of April 16 or on the following morning, and dispatched early in the morning of April 17. Working backwards and then forwards, we reach the conclusion that Att. II 7 was written April 16, II 6 April 15, II 5 April 14, II 4 April 13, and II 9 April 18. This calculation is confirmed by statements, already cited in another connection, in Att. II 12. 2 *emerseram commodum ex Antiati in Appiam ad Tris Tabernas, ipsis Cerealibus, cum in me incurrit Roma veniens Curio meus, and in Att. II 12. 4 litteras scripsi hora decima Cerealibus, statim ut tuas legeram, sed eas eram daturus, ut putaram, postridie ei, qui mihi primus obviam venisset.* The *ipsa Cerialia* were April 19. Cicero left Antium, then, early in the morning of April 19, reached Tres Tabernae at the 10th hour, and at once wrote Att. II 12, continuing thus the series of daily letters which, as we have surmised, began with Att. II 4.

The view expressed in the preceding pages receives some support from evidence quite independent of that already mentioned. If it is true that Cicero and Atticus each wrote daily letters during the period under consideration, we shall expect to find a closer relation existing between alternate than between successive letters. We have tried to prove, for instance, that II 5 was sent from Antium on the morning of April 14. In that case it would reach Atticus at Rome in the evening of the same day, and the letter which Atticus sent on the morning of April 15 would be the reply to II 5. That reply would reach Cicero the same day (April 15), and II 7 in a certain sense would be written in answer to the letter of Atticus. We should then expect to find

a somewhat close relation existing between II 5, Atticus's letter of April 15, and II 7. As the letters of Atticus are not extant, the connecting link between 5 and 7 is lost, but, notwithstanding that fact, it is noticeable that 5 and 7 have much more in common than 4 and 5 or 5 and 6, or 6 and 7. Compare, for instance, the reference to Clodius in 5. 3 and 7. 2, to Arrius in 5. 2 and 7. 3, to the augurate in 5. 2 and 7. 3. In each of these cases the passage in II 7 sounds as if it were a comment upon the reply which Atticus had made to Cicero's remark upon the same subject in II 5. A similar relation, though less marked, exists between 4 and 6, 6 and 8, 7 and 9; cf., for instance, 4. 3 and 6. 1, 4. 7 and 6 (end). This state of things cannot well be explained on any other theory than the hypothesis that the letters sent from Antium were written on successive days.

But to return to Cicero's movements after leaving Tres Tabernae,—he was on his way to Formiae, and his next letter to Atticus (Att. II 10) was written at Appi Forum; cf. II 10 Ab Appi Foro hora quarta. Dederam aliam (i. e. II 12) paulo ante a Tribus Tabernis. This remark must refer to the sending of the letter written in the afternoon of the preceding day, i. e. written *hora decima* (cf. II 12. 4) of April 19. Since this letter (viz. II 12) was to be sent on the following day (cf. *eas eram daturus, ut putaram, postridie*, etc., Att. II 12. 4), it is evident that II 10 was written April 20. The distance from Appi Forum to Formiae was about 50 miles. Horace and his friends, travelling somewhat slowly, traversed it in two days. Cicero occupied a half day in going from Tres Tabernae to Appi Forum, a distance of 18 miles, so that in all probability he reached Formiae the evening of April 21. This conclusion harmonizes with a statement made in a previous letter (Att. II 8. 2): in Formianum volumus venire Parilibus.

Another group of letters comprises Att. II 11, 13, 14, 15 and 16. The first two letters in this series also are the difficult ones to arrange with certainty, and it is possible that 13 is earlier than 11, but the weight of evidence is in favor of the traditional order. In II 11. 1 Cicero laments the fact that he gets no Roman news at Formiae except that which comes from passing travellers, whereas when II 13 was written he had received a letter from Atticus (cf. sec. 2). The opening sentences of II 11 also contrast the state of things in Formiae with that in Antium, and indicate pretty plainly that this is the first letter from Formiae. The

opening sentences, however, indicate that Cicero had been at Formiae several days before writing, since he says: *narro tibi: plane relegatus mihi videor, postea quam in Formiano sum. Dies enim nullus erat Anti cum essem, quo die non melius scirem Romae quid ageretur quam ii qui erant Romae. . . . Nunc, nisi si quid ex praetereunte viatore exceptum est, scire nihil possumus.* These remarks make it probable that Cicero had been at Formiae at least four or five days, and indicate, therefore, that the letter cannot well have been written before April 25 or 26. We cannot give it a later date, as we shall soon see, without assuming that Cicero wrote two letters per day during the latter part of this month, which is improbable. This last consideration makes it necessary also to assign II 13 to April 26 or 27.

There is little to help one in determining the relative positions of II 13 and 14. However, in II 13. 2, reiterating a statement contained in II 11. 2, Cicero says: *tu si ad Sicyonios litteras habes, advola in Formianum unde nos pridie Nonas Maias cogitamus.* Now in II 14 reference is made to the same fact, but in a way to indicate that it had already been communicated to Atticus: *statim mehercule Arpinum irem, ni te in Formiano commodissime exspectari viderem dumtaxat ad prid. Nonas Maias (sec. 2).* There is no reason to question the accepted order then, and II 14 was probably written April 27 or 28.

Att. II 15 is later than II 14, as we see by a comparison of Att. II 14. 2 *statim mehercule Arpinum irem, ni te in Formiano commodissime exspectari viderem dumtaxat ad prid. Nonas Maias*, and II 15. 3 *quoniam tu certi nihil scribis in Formiano tibi praestoler usque ad a. d. iii Nonas Maias.* In the first passage Cicero expresses some hope of seeing Atticus at Formiae, but a subsequent letter from him, perhaps the letter to which reference is made in the first sentence of II 15, has shown him that the plans of Atticus are very indefinite, so that he fixes an earlier date for his departure from Formiae. This letter was written before Cicero received the important letter *de agro Campano*, for he makes no mention of that matter in it. Att. II 16 was delivered to him in the afternoon of April 29 (cf. Att. II 16. 1). Therefore Att. II 15 should probably be dated April 28. It is this fixed point in the chronology of the letters from Formiae which proves that 11, 13, 14 and 15 cannot well have been written later than the dates given them above. Att. II 16 is in reply to a letter upon the Campanian land bill which reached Cicero at

Formiae April 29, shortly after the *cena*. Cicero expected to leave Formiae about May 5; cf. Att. II 15. 3 in Formiano tibi praestoler usque ad a. d. iii Nonas Maias. It had been his plan for some time to leave Formiae shortly before the nones of May (cf. II. 2; 13. 2; 14. 2), in order that he might be in Arpinum to receive Atticus about May 10 (cf. II 17. 1), and there is no reason to believe that this plan was changed. Att. II 16 and 17, both letters from Formiae, were therefore written between Apr. 29 and May 5, and as Cicero would seem to have considered carefully the report of Atticus concerning Caesar's agrarian law (cf. Att. II 16. 1), probably II 16 was not written before May 1 or 2, and II 17 still later, since Cicero was just about to leave Formiae (cf. Att. II 17 [end] and 3 [beginning]), but of course before May 5.

To sum up the conclusions which have been reached with reference to the letters from Formiae. The letters of this group—viz. Att. II 11; 13; 14; 15; 16 and 17—were written in the order indicated. The first four fall between the evening of April 21, the date of Cicero's arrival at Formiae, and the evening of April 29, when he first heard the details of Caesar's Campanian law. The probable dates for them are: Att. II 11, April 25 or 26; II 13, April 26 or 27; II 14, April 27 or 28; and Att. II 15, April 28 or 29. Att. II 16 and 17 were written between April 29 and May 5, the former probably on May 1 or 2, the latter, May 3 or 4.

In April Cicero had written to Atticus: inde (i. e. from Antium) cogito in Tusculanum, deinde Arpinum, Romam ad Kal. Iun., Att. II 8. 2. This letter was written when Cicero intended to return to Antium from Formiae in time for the games at the former place, but afterward he decided not to attend the games, and so went north from Formiae rather than from Antium, going first to Arpinum rather than to Tusculum. There is no reason to believe that his general plan was changed, however, and probably from May 10 to the end of the month he remained at Arpinum and Tusculum. June first found him in Rome again (cf. II 8. 2). Atticus left Rome for Epirus probably about this time.

The first letter from Cicero after the departure of Atticus was Att. II 18. It was written at Rome and must therefore be later than June 1. Since the departure of Atticus, Cicero has received several letters from him (accepi aliquot epistulas tuas, Att. II 18. 1), so that II 18 should probably be dated later than June 15. No mention is made of the demonstration against Pompey at the

Ludi Apollinares, Jul. 6-13 (cf. Att. II 19. 3), so that those games had not yet been given, and the letter is therefore earlier than Jul. 13. Furthermore, Cicero writes (Att. II 18. 2): *habet etiam Campana lex execrationem in contione candidatorum, si mentionem fecerint, quo aliter ager possideatur atque ut ex legibus Iuliis. Non dubitant iurare ceteri; Laterensis existimatur laute fecisse, quod tribunatum pl. petere destitit, ne iuraret.* Mommsen has pointed out (St. R. I, p. 620 and n. 5) that this oath was taken on occasion of the formal *professio*, when official announcement was made of the list of candidates; cf. also Madvig, *Verfassung u. Verwaltung*, I 253. This list was made up a *trinundinum* (i. e. 17 days, cf. Herzog, St. Verf. I 1092, n. 2) before the election took place (cf. Mommsen, St. R. I, p. 502; Herzog, St. Verf. I, p. 656). It will be shown later in this article that in the year 59 the election was probably held July 23 or 24. As the *professio* had not taken place when Att. II 18 was written (cf. *non dubitant iurare ceteri*, etc., in the passage quoted above), that letter must be dated earlier than July 6. It was therefore written apparently between June 15 and July 6, probably during the latter half of June.

Att. II 19 was written after July 6, and probably after July 13, as shown by the reference to Pompey's reception at the *ludi Apollinares*, but probably before July 25, since no mention is made in it of an event occurring July 25, which also illustrated Pompey's unpopularity (cf. Att. II 21. 3).

Att. II 20 is later than II 19, for in the latter epistle Cicero says (sec. 5): *in iis epistulis me Laelium, te Furium faciam; cetera erunt ἐν ἀλγυμοῖς*, whereas in II 20 he remarks (sec. 5): *quod scripseram me te Furium scripturum, nihil necesse est tuum nomen mutare. Me faciam Laelium et te Atticum*, etc.

Att. II 20 is therefore later than July 13, but it must have been written before July 25. Perhaps the following considerations enable us to fix its date more definitely. In Att. II 20. 6 reference is made to the postponement of the *comitia* by Bibulus. In Att. II 21. 5 Cicero writes: *Bibuli qui sit exitus futurus nescio. Ut nunc res se habet, admirabili gloria est: qui cum comitia in mensem Octobrem distulisset, quod solet ea res populi voluntatem offendere, putarat Caesar oratione sua posse impelli contionem, ut iret ad Bibulum: multa cum seditiosissime diceret, vocem exprimere non potuit. Quid quaeris? Sentiunt se nullam ullius partis voluntatem tenere.* It would seem probable that the

contio held July 25, in which Pompey inveighed against the proclamations of Bibulus (cf. Att. II 21. 3 non tenui lacrimas, cum illum [i. e. Pompeium] a. d. viii. Kal. Sext. vidi de edictis Bibuli contionantem), was the assembly in which Caesar spoke, and that the postponement of the elections by Bibulus was the subject of Pompey's invective also. If this be the case, in view of the fact that the *contio* was probably called while the popular indignation was still hot against Bibulus, we shall not be far wrong in assuming that the proclamation of Bibulus postponing the elections was published only a day or two before the *contio*, i. e. a day or two before July 25, perhaps July 23 or 24. Now, Att. II 20 is subsequent to the publication of the proclamation (cf. Att. II 20. 6), but apparently before the *contio*; therefore it was probably written July 23 or 24.

It may be noted incidentally that these facts enable us to determine somewhat definitely the date at which the *comitia* for the election of consuls would be held at this period, if not postponed. In 59 B. C. they were certainly held between July 13 and 25, and quite possibly July 23 or 24. For the date in certain other years, cf. Herzog, Röm. Staatsverfassung, I 654; Mommsen, Staatsrecht, I 584, n. 5.

As we have remarked above, II 20 antedates the *contio* to which reference is made in II 21. 5, so that II 21 is later than II 20. Furthermore, since in II 20. 6 the exact date is mentioned to which the elections were postponed, it is evident that Cicero is communicating a fresh item of news, whereas in II 21. 5 the same event is referred to incidentally as a fact already known.

It is impossible to establish with certainty the chronological order of II 21 and II 22, but in a negative way it may be said that there is no ground for changing the traditional order, and from a positive point of view the tone of II 22 indicates that it was subsequent to II 21. In Att. II 22. 7 Cicero writes: *Libros Alexandri, neglegentis hominis et non boni poetae, sed tamen non inutilis, tibi remisi. Numerium Numestium libenter accepi in amicitiam et hominem gravem et prudentem et dignum tua commendatione cognovi.* This reference to the *libri Alexandri* and to Numerius connects the letter with Att. II 20, since in sec. 1 of that letter Cicero mentions the arrival of Numerius with a letter of recommendation from Atticus and in sec. 6 he acknowledges the receipt of certain books, probably the works of Alexander. These statements do not enable us to fix the date of II

22 with any exactness, but they indicate that no long interval had elapsed between the writing of II 20 and II 22. Now, the former was written July 23 or 24, so that II 22 probably belongs to the early part of August.

The subject-matter, the tone and the phraseology of Att. II 22 and II 23 indicate that these two letters were separated by a very short interval. In both letters mention is made of the threatening attitude of Clodius (22. 1; 23. 3), of the attempt which Pompey was making to restrain him (22. 2; 23. 3), of Pompey's success, which was only apparent (22. 2; 23. 3), of the fact that Cicero was holding aloof from politics, but was very busy in the courts (22. 3; 23. 1 and 3), of Pompey's regret for his course in politics (22. 6; 23. 2), of the solidarity of the conservative elements (22. 3; 23. 2), of the necessity for the presence of Atticus (22. 4; 23. 3). These ideas are expressed in the same words in many cases in the two letters, e. g.: *taedet ipsum Pompeium vehementerque paenitet* (22. 6); *te scire volo, Sampsiceramum . . . vehementer sui status paenitere* (23. 2); *multis denuntiat* (22. 1); *non mediocres terrores iacit atque denuntiat* (23. 3): (when urging Atticus to come to Rome at once) *quid rei magnitudo postulet intellegis* (22. 5); *magnitudo rei longam orationem fortasse desiderat*, etc. (23. 3). Only a few days can have elapsed, then, between the writing of Att. II 22 and II 23, so that the latter was probably written before the middle of August, perhaps between Aug. 7 and 15.

In Att. II 24 Cicero writes: *quas Numestio litteras dedi, sic te iis evocabam, ut nihil acrius neque incitatus fieri posset* (sec. 1). The letter to which reference is here made is apparently Att. II 23 (cf. sec. 3 *quam ob rem, si me amas tantum, quantum profecto amas; si dormis, expergiscere; si stas, ingredere*, etc.). Att. II 24 therefore follows II 23 closely and was probably written about the middle of August. The fact that the conspiracy of Vettius had just become known when II 24 was written *does* enable us, however, to fix a date before which that letter and all the preceding letters must have been written. The revelations of Vettius must have been made before the consular elections (Oct. 18), because in his invective against Vatinius Cicero charges Vatinius (in Vat. 25) with having induced Vettius to lodge information against L. Lentulus, who was at the time a candidate for the consulship (*quod erat eo tempore Gabini competitor*). In fact all of the letters under discussion,—viz. 21, 22,

23, 24 and 25,—must have been written before Oct. 18, the date of the elections, since no mention is made in them of the result of those elections.

We reach the general conclusion, then, that Att. II 21 was written soon after July 25, that II 22, 23 and 24 fall between that date and the middle of August, while II 25 probably belongs to the early part of October, since it was written after the trial of Flaccus, or at all events after Hortensius had delivered his oration in behalf of Flaccus (cf. Att. II 25. 1), but before the deferred elections of Oct. 18.

One consideration may throw some doubt on this conclusion. In II 23. 3 Cicero writes: *nos autem . . . publicis consiliis nullis intersumus totosque nos ad forensem operam laboremque contulimus. Ex quo, quod facile intellegi possit, in multa commemoratione earum rerum, quas gessimus, desiderioque versamur.* The reference in this passage is undoubtedly to Cicero's defence of Flaccus, who had been praetor in 63 B. C. Now, from pro Flacco 96 it seems probable that the Or. pro Flacco was delivered after the revelations of Vettius had been made. In II 24 a long account is given of the conspiracy of Vettius as though it were a fresh item of news. This circumstance taken by itself would lead one to give II 23 a later date than II 24, but in view of what has been said on the other side, it seems wiser to leave the traditional order unchanged, and to explain the difficulty by assuming that when Att. II 23 was written Cicero was merely preparing his material for the defence of Flaccus.

Q. fr. I 2, the last letter of 59 B. C.,¹ was written after Oct. 25 (cf. sec. 1) but before Dec. 10, since the tribunes had not yet entered upon their office; cf. sec. 15 *tribuni pl. designati*.

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¹ Fam. XIII 42 and 41, which are commonly assigned to 59 B. C., probably belong to the year 58 (cf. Koerner and Schmidt in Mendelssohn, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Epist.*, p. 449).

IV.—THE TABULA VALERIA.

In a letter to Terentia (ad Fam. XIV 2. 2) written from Thessalonica during his exile, Cicero says: *A te quidem omnia fieri fortissime et amantissime video, nec miror, sed maereo casum eius modi ut tantis tuis miseriis meae miseriae sublevantur. Nam ad me P. Valerius, homo officiosus, scripsit, id quod ego maxima cum fletu legi, quem ad modum a Vestae ad tabulam Valeriam ducta esses.*

The meaning of this phrase has always been a disputed point, and it is the purpose of this paper to discuss the opposing views with some of the arguments advanced on either side. Mommsen, Jordan, Gilbert, Tyrrell and the various editors of Cicero have stated their opinion of its meaning, but so far as I know there is no such discussion of the matter in print.

The general thought of the passage in question is plainly this, that Terentia was forced to undergo some indignities at the hands of the persecutors of her husband. It is probable too, from the context, that this refers to some sort of financial transaction, but whether a declaration of the amount of money Cicero possessed, the amount Terentia herself had, what means Cicero may have taken to evade the rigor of the confiscation, or whether Terentia goes to some banker to borrow, is left wholly uncertain. We turn first to the other occurrence of the phrase for light, and read in the interrogatio in Vatinius 21, where Cicero is attacking Vatinius for his conduct towards the consul Bibulus: *volo uti mihi respondeas, cum M. Bibulum consulem non dicam bene de re publica sentientem, ne tu mihi homo potens irascere, qui ab eo dissensisti, sed hominem certe nusquam progredientem, nihil in re publica molientem, tantum animo ab actionibus tuis dissidentem, cum eum tu consulem in vincula duceres et a tabula Valeria collegae tui mitti iuberent, fecerisne ante rostra pontem continuatis tribunalibus, per quem consul populi Romani moderatissimus et constantissimus sublato auxilio, exclusis amicis, vi perditorum hominum incitata turpissimo miserrimoque spectaculo non in carcerem sed ad supplicium et ad necem duceretur.*

This seems to mean that in the year 59 B. C. Vatinius, then a tribune, had seized Bibulus and attempted to throw him into prison, and to prevent any rescue by Bibulus' friends, he had made a sort of raised way through the Forum out of the various *tribunalia* to be found there. The other tribunes—a *tabula Valeria*—had ordered him to release the consul.

On this passage we have the following note in the Scholia Bobiensia: *hi collegae intercesserant P. Vatinio furenti M. Bibulum in invidiam duci* (or according to Orelli's emendation: *iubenti M. Bibulum in vincula duci*).

The most natural inference from Cicero's statement is that Vatinius had made the necessary preparations and was actually dragging Bibulus to prison, when stopped by his colleagues. Compare Dio. XXXVIII 6 *ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς Πούπλιός τις Ἀτίνιος δήμαρχος εἰς τὸ οἶκμα καταθίσθαι τῶν δὲ συναρχόντων οἱ ἐναντιωθέντων οὐκ ἐνέβαλεν*.

The Scholiast goes on to say: *quod vero ad tabulam Valeriam pertinere videatur, loci nomen sic ferebatur, quemadmodum ad tabulam Sestiam, cuius meminit pro Quintio, ita et ad tabulam Valeriam dicebatur, ubi Valerius Maximus tabulam rerum ab se in Gallia prospere gestarum proposuerat ostentui vulgo*.

From this statement we infer that *ad tabulam Valeriam* was a definite spot in the city where the tribunes who interfered with the carrying out of Vatinius' design were for some reason gathered.

The Scholiast supports his explanation by referring to the *tabula Sestia* mentioned in the *orat. pro Quintio* 25, and ascribes the origin of the name to the fact that Valerius Maximus had a painting made representing his deeds of prowess in Gaul. Valerius Maximus, however, won renown in Sicily, not Gaul, and *Gallia* must in any case be an error for *Sicilia*.

Compare now the passage, first cited by Orelli, in Pliny, N. H. XXXV 22, where, after speaking of the painting by Fabius Pictor on the wall of the temple of Salus—a painting which still existed in Pliny's time, though the temple had been burned in Claudius' reign—we read: *dignatio autem praecipua Romae increvit, ut existimo, a M'. Val. Maximo Messala, qui princeps tabulam pictam proeli quo Carthaginienses et Hieronem in Sicilia vicerat proposuit in latere curiae Hostiliae anno ab urbe condita CCCCXC (490/264)*.

Without doubt the Scholiast drew his information from Pliny,

and there is no reason for discrediting the latter's statement that such a painting had been on the wall of the Curia Hostilia.

Of the history of the Curia Hostilia down to the time of Sulla, tradition is silent. Pliny (N. H. XXXIV 26) says: *invenio et Pythagorae et Alcibiadi in cornibus comitii positas, cum bello Samniti Apollo Pythius iussisset fortissimo Graiae gentis et alteri sapientissimo simulacra celebri loco dedicare. Eae stetero donec Sulla dictator ibi curiam faceret*; and Dion Cass. XL 50 *ἡ μὲν γὰρ (τὸ βουλευτήριον) τὸ Ὀστίλιον, μετεσκευάστο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου*.

According to these statements, the old senate house was taken down entirely or restored by the dictator. The Curia which he built was burned not many years later during the Clodian riots of the year 54, and rebuilt by Faustus Sulla, under the name of the Curia Cornelia. Cicero (de Fin. 5. 2) says: *Hostiliam dico, non hanc novam quae minor mihi esse videtur postea quam est maior*, showing that the name Curia Hostilia continued to be applied to the building, after Sulla's restoration, until its destruction in 54.

There is then no doubt that Sulla restored or enlarged and rebuilt the building, and the question at once arises whether a painting on the wall of the old Curia would have been preserved or replaced on the wall of the new.

We know not what vicissitudes the Curia may have undergone between 263 and Sulla's restoration, but in the passage previously quoted from Pliny (XXXV 19) we are told that Fabius' painting on the walls of the temple of Salus was still in existence, although the temple itself had been burned under Claudius. Up to this point the only thing of which we can be certain is that there was on the wall of the old Curia a painting of Valerius' victory. If there was then a *tabula Valeria*—in the sense of a painting on the wall—in 58 B. C. it must have been the original carefully preserved and perhaps transferred to the wall of the new building, or a copy of the original made at the order of Sulla. No proof or disproof of either of these hypotheses is possible, but the latter is perhaps more probable than the former.

The second question then arises: Is there any evidence for the truth of the Scholiast's statement that in the year 58, *ad tabulam Valeriam* was the designation of a definite spot?

Manifestly this is connected with the preceding discussion, to this extent, that if there was such a painting on the wall of the Curia at that time, it would be natural and entirely probable that the spot beside the wall should be called *ad tabulam Valeriam*.

If the picture had been destroyed, the name might have clung to the spot, but in view of the probable changes in the building made by Sulla, it would hardly have done so unless some particular importance was attached thereto. Certain officers might have been stationed there, certain official acts have been performed there, or something of similar nature. Instances of this sort of topographical tradition are common enough everywhere, as the custom of calling small districts after the name of an old tavern, years after every trace of the tavern has disappeared.

But the Scholiast supports his statement by citing Cicero pro Quinctio 25, *ad tabulam Sestiam*. The context is as follows. Quinctius and Naevius, after quarrelling over their pecuniary obligations to each other, had separated without giving bonds to appear in court at any particular time. Naevius stayed in Rome, while Quinctius started for Gaul. As soon as Naevius found that Quinctius had got as far away as Vada Volaterrana, he proceeded to do what Cicero describes in the following words: *pueros circum amicos dimittit, ipse suos necessarios ab atriis Liciniis et a faucibus macelli corrogat, ut ad tabulam Sextiam sibi adsint hora secunda postridie. Veniunt frequentes. Testificatur iste P. Quinctium non stitisse et stitisse se; tabulae maxime signis hominum nobilium consignantur, disceditur. Postulat a Burrieno praetore Naevius, ut ex edicto bona possidere liceat.*

Evidently *ad tabulam Sestiam* was a place where formal declarations of a legal sort were properly made, and testimony taken.

We know nothing of any Sestius or Sextius whose deeds may have been commemorated by a painting, nor have we the slightest hint elsewhere of the possible location of this *tabula*, and can therefore add no evidence to this part of the Scholiast's testimony.

Those who maintain that *tabula Valeria* means the 'bank of Valerius' start with this passage in pro Quinct., interpreting *tabula Sextia* as the bank or exchange of some Sextius. These are the only two cases where *tabula* is used in the singular with an adjective derived from a proper name. Cicero uses the word of an auction bill and apparently of an auction room (*ad Att.* XII 40. 4; XIII 33. 4; XV 3. 2), but nowhere of a banker's table. While there is perhaps nothing in the expression itself which would render such a view impossible, it should be at least clearly required by the context. This is not so here, for there is no reason why, for a legal declaration of this sort, Naevius should

call his friends together at some money-lender's. Applying this meaning of *tabula Sextia* to *tabula Valeria* in the passage in the letter to Terentia, Tyrrell (ad loc.) explains its sense thus: "*Tabula Valeria* is the 'bank of Valerius.' It seems to have been customary in Rome for a person about to make a solemn statement as to his solvency or such like matters to repair to a banker's, and there make the statement in presence of witnesses. It was to make such a solemn declaration that Naevius summoned his friends *ad tabulam Sestiam* (pro Quinct. 25). Terentia was probably forced by Clodius to repair to the bank of Valerius, there to make some declaration about her husband's estate, probably that no effects had been made away with, or that she was not keeping the property under the pretence that it was hers. We see from a previous letter that Cicero had resorted to some means to evade the full rigor of the confiscation. It cannot have been merely to borrow money that Terentia was taken to the *tabula Valeria*. There would have been no humiliation, if she had had credit enough to borrow from the bank; and no object in taking her there if she had not."

In criticism of this view, it is to be said that it rests on two pure assumptions, one that *tabula* in these places means bank, and second that such a bank was an ordinary place of legal declaration, with the inference from these premises that Terentia was to swear to some facts about her own or Cicero's property. These may be true, but it is important to bear in mind that they are not yet proven.

The second explanation of the phrase is that suggested by Manutius' conjecture that there was a sort of tribunes' court *ad tabulam Valeriam*, to which Terentia was forced to go by Clodius, presumably to answer for Cicero's property in some way or give security therefor. His explanation was of course based on the expression in the inter. in Vat. 21: *a tabula Valeria collegae tui*, which may well mean that that was the assembling place of the tribunes, and that those who were there assembled prevented Vatinius from thrusting Bibulus into prison. Certain topographical arguments can be adduced in support of this view.

Plutarch in his Life of Cato the Younger (§5), speaking of the Basilica Porcia, says: *εὐθότεις ἐκεῖ χρηματίζειν οἱ δῆμαρχοι καὶ κίονος τοῖς δέφοις ἐμποδὼν εἶναι δοκοῦντος ἔγνωσαν ὑφέλειν αὐτὸν ἢ μεταστῆσαι.*

Compare further Cic. pro Sest. 124, where Sestius the tribune

venit, ut scitis, a columna Maenia; and ib. 18: alter (Gabinus) . . . ne in Scyllaeo illo aeris alieni tamquam fretu ad columnam adhaeresceret, in tribunatus portum perfugerat.

The *columna Maenia* is probably then the *κίον* mentioned by Plutarch, and stood in front of the Basilica Porcia, which was itself close to the Curia. The painting would be on the side of the Curia rather than on the façade, and it and the *columna* might be so close together that the station of the tribunes could be designated in either way.

Again in Suetonius, Iul. Caes. 78, we read: idque factum eius tanto intolerabilius est visum, quod ipse triumphanti et subsellia tribunicia praetervehenti sibi unum e collegio Pontium Aquilam non assurrexisse adeo indignatus sit, ut . . ., showing that the tribunes sat outside the Basilica, and close to the Sacra Via, the route of the triumph, which ran in front of the Basilica.

Mommsen cites also CIL. VI 2340: publicus a subsellio tribunorum, which refers to a public slave attached to the office of the tribunes, showing that such a local station was recognized.

It being granted that the tribunes did assemble near where there had been a painting of Valerius' victory, it must be shown further that this explanation of *ad tabulam Valeriam* gives the desired sense in the two passages in question. This is certainly the case in the passage in Vat. 21. *A tabula Valeria collegae tui* means the rest of the tribunes assembled there and either actually witnessing Vatinius' unlawful proceedings or possibly only knowing of his purpose. The former is altogether more likely, and just what we should expect.

Further, the form of the expression is parallel to the inscriptional *publicus a subsellio tribunorum*. The other explanation of *a tabula Valeria* here leaves us with no known reason why Cicero should have used the phrase at all.

Applying this interpretation to the passage in Cicero's letter, Manutius' conjecture is justified by the sense given. Clodius would naturally drag Terentia to his own official station, if he suspected that she was helping her husband to evade confiscation, and might require her to give some security. We are wholly in the dark as to the exact nature of the proceedings, and they may have served no purpose except to humiliate and insult Terentia.

To sum up—there are in support of the view that *ad tabulam Valeriam* denoted a definite spot, so called from the painting,

and in this case the place where the tribunes were wont to assemble—(1) the statement of the Scholiast; (2) the evidence that the tribunes did gather near the Basilica Porcia; (3) the propriety of the expression *a tabula Valeria collegae tui*, and the sense so given to that passage (in Vat. 21); (4) the good sense also given to the passage in the letter to Terentia.

Against this interpretation it may be urged (1) that it is improbable that the painting on the wall of the Curia was preserved, or a new one made, by Sulla, and that therefore there is a still greater improbability that the name remained attached to the spot, even if it had once been given; and (2) that the translation 'bank of Valerius' is the more satisfactory in the passage in the letter to Terentia. In answer to this last objection, even if we grant that this meaning is equally good in relation to Terentia (and the preceding discussion prevents our allowing it to be better), it certainly is not satisfactory in the connection of in Vat. 21.

In regard to the first objection, if we grant at once that it was unlikely or even impossible that the original painting should be preserved, in spite of the case already quoted from Pliny of the painting by Fabius on the temple of Salus, still it is not at all unlikely that it should have been reproduced on the new Curia by the command of the dictator. This picture must have been one of the famous things in Rome, and its origin, associations and connection with the senate house must have made it something which the people would have been loath to lose.

The more we reflect upon its peculiar character, history and surroundings, and the comparative rarity of such things in the early days of the city, the more we shall be convinced that it would be most natural to speak of the adjacent open space as *ad tabulam Valeriam*.

Any argument from the use of *ad tabulam Sestiam* (pro Quinct. 25) is without value in support of either view.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER.

V.—THE ORIGIN OF THE GERUND AND GERUNDIVE.

"The Origin of the Gerund and Gerundive," "Further Notes on the Origin of the Gerund and Gerundive," and "Concluding Notes on the Origin of the Gerund and Gerundive"—such respectively are the titles of the three papers upon the above-named subject, which through the courtesy of Professor B. L. Gildersleeve have been published as follows in the *American Journal of Philology*:—

- (1) Vol. XV, part 2, July 1894, pp. 194-216 ;
- (2) Vol. XVI, part 2, July 1895, pp. 217-222 ;
- (3) Vol. XVIII, part 4, Dec. 1897, pp. 439-452.¹

In order fitly to close and "unify" the work, thus distributed over three volumes, an Index of some kind has been suggested as, if not indeed indispensable, at least advisable.

A general summary, in precise terms, of my view concerning "the Origin of the Gerund and Gerundive"—in other words: a concise statement of the main propositions which it was the object of my said three papers to establish, together with references to all the material passages in support of each such proposition—will be found in the "Precise Statement of my view (with references)" given towards the close of the third paper (*A. J. P.* XVIII, 1897, p. 449).²

It were too much of an encroachment upon the available space of this Journal to give here a reprint of the said summary; to

¹ Addenda et Corrigenda (*italicised* for clearness' sake) as follows:—P. 443, n. 3, insert "*441*." P. 444, n. 5, read "216, *text* ad fin." P. 446, text, l. 22, read "pp. *441*, 442 and 443." P. 447, text, l. 18, read "*representative*"; p. 447, n. 3, read "216, *text* ad fin." P. 449, n. 6, read "*441*, 442, 443, *445*, 446." P. 449, n. 7, read "439, *446*, 447 *sq.*" P. 449, n. 8, read "439, 446 *sqq.*" P. 451, n. 5, read "446 *sqq.*"

² With respect to the first of the propositions there enunciated, see further the two Postscripts given at the close of the third paper (*A. J. P.* XVIII, 1897, pp. 450-452).

which, therefore, the present reference must, as no doubt it amply will, suffice.

I will here content myself with giving an Index solely of the various *Word-forms* cited or discussed in the course of the said three papers:—

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[NOTE:—Although the papers are spread over three volumes, the page-numbers in no case clash; consequently, it will be unnecessary to specify in each case the number of the volume referred to. Suffice it to say that pp. 194-216 refer to vol. XV, pp. 217-222 refer to vol. XVI, and pp. 439-452 refer to vol. XVIII.]

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(b) *The Romance Languages.*

a [in, e. g., ho a scrivere (Ital.)] 197. complément (French) 210 n.; compliment (French) 210 n. Future tense: formation of, 211 sq.

(c) *Umbrian.*

anferener 212; asamař 197; aseriato eest 203 n. ebetrafe 196; ehia-, see 212, 442; ennom enom 222 n.; erom 211 n. fašiu(m) 195, 196; fero(m) 195, 196. kaleřuf calersu 202, 211, 451 n.; kařetu 207; kařitu carsitu 207. manuve 196; meřs 205. pane 195, 222 n., 443; pihaner 212; pone ponne 222 n.; portatu 206 n.; portust 206 n. stiplo(m) 196.

(d) *Oscan.*

ařdil 202 n.; Anafrīss 448 (and see R. von Planta, *Gramm. der Osk.-Umbr. Dial.*, vol. II, 1897, p. 769). karanter 197 n.;

censaum 196. deded 203. edum 198, 212; eehiia- 212, 442; eehiianasúm 212, 442; ezum 211 n. fatsum 196. húrtn 196. μεδδελ 205. sakrannas 212. úpsannam 196, 203, 212, 214; upsed 206 n.; uupsens ουπσενσ 206 n. vincter 197 n.

. (e) *Marsian*.
atoier 196 n.

E.—GERMANIC.

(a) *Gothic*.
usskáus 218.

(b) *High German*.
scouwōn (Old H.G.) 218. zu (Mod. H.G.), e. g. der zu lobende, 195, 197.

(c) *Modern English*.
complement 210 n.; compliment 210 n.

(d) *Old Icelandic*.
skyn 218.

F.—BALTIC-SLAVONIC.

(a) *Lithuanian*.
geradėjis 207. miřszti 208, 217 n., 221 n. -tinas 194. veizdi (2. s. imperat. act.) 201 n., 440; visagalīs 207; visgalīs 207.

(b) *Old Church Slavonic*.
děla-achŭ 211. vidě-achŭ 211.

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VI.—ON -ΣΣ- AND -Ζ-.

When we compare Homeric words containing -σσ- with their later forms, we notice that Homeric -σσ- corresponds sometimes to later -σ-, sometimes to that -σσ- which is represented in Attic, Boeotian and Cretan by -ττ-. The examples I shall take to illustrate these changes are *τελέσσαι, ποσσί, πράσσειν*, || *τελέσαι, ποσί, πράσσειν*. There are three theories which might account for this variation: (i) That the Homeric -σσ- was in one or both of these cases not the historical antecedent of the later form. (ii) That the Homeric -σσ- developed differently in different circumstances. (iii) That the Homeric -σσ- represented two sounds, which developed independently.

Now, as to the first theory, difficult though it may be to establish a historical connexion between the language of Homer and any later dialect, still, few scholars would be willing to deny such a connexion, for without it a large part of Greek Philology would be reduced to guess-work. In the present case some evidence of the connexion can, I think, be adduced. The change from *τελέσσαι, ποσσί* to *τελέσαι, ποσί*, is phonetically simple when we bear in mind that we have to do, in the first case with I.E. *s+s*, and in the second with *d+s*. Nothing intervenes to break the series *s+s*, long *ss*, short *s*. A comparison of the usages within the Homeric poems themselves also throws light on this subject. Comparing Iliad I–VI (omitting the Catalogue) with Odyssey XXI–XXIV, we find:

	Iliad.	Odyssey.
instances of -σσ- in fut. and aor. forms,	104	72
“ -σσ- in dat. plur.,	142	59
“ -σ- in fut. and aor. forms,	71	79
“ -σ- in dat. plur.,	25	16

Such figures as these cannot, I admit, be pressed to prove very much. Not only does Homer use many forms in -σσ- without any philological justification, but rhythm and set phrases materially affect the numbers; for example, *ἔπεισι* is rare throughout Epic compared to *ἔπεσσι* or *ἐπέεσσι*, while on the other hand the

phrase *σὺν τεύχεσι* almost ousts the form *τεύχεσσι*. Nevertheless, the coexistence of -σσ- and -σ- in early Epic, and the growth of -σ- at the expense of -σσ-, particularly in verb-forms, in the later Epic, seem to establish the historical connexion.

As to the relationship of Homeric *πράσσειν* to the later *πράσσειν*, to admit the descent of the latter from the former drives us to hypothesis (ii) or (iii) in order to explain the variation, while to deny it seems impossible, since there is not the slightest evidence of any difference between the two.

To establish the descent of -ττ- from -σσ- is slightly more difficult, since Attic gives us no hint of any form previous to -ττ-. The earliest Cretan inscriptions, however, do give evidence of the period before -ττ-, and if we may assign the same value and history to Attic -ττ- as to Cretan -ττ-, this gives considerable help. The Cretan forms I shall discuss presently.

As to the second possible theory given above, that the difference between -σσ- and -σ- was due to circumstances of accent, position in the word, etc., it would, I think, be impossible to apply it consistently. There remains the third possibility, that -σσ- in Homer represented more than one sound; what, then, are the sounds that we are to assume to have been expressed by -σσ-? In the first place, I see no other value for the -σσ- of *τελείσσαι*, *ποσσί*, except dental s, either doubled or, more probably, lengthened. The other value must be assigned to that Epic -σσ- which is represented in later Ionic by -σσ- and in Attic, etc., by -ττ-, that is, the Epic -σσ- which arises from Ur. Gk. *κῑ*, *χῑ*, *τῑ*, *θῑ*. It is hardly necessary to give examples of this well-known change; but I must emphasize the fact that my view differs from that of Brugmann in supposing a far closer connexion between the dental -σσ- and the guttural -σσ-. Brugmann supposes the former to have been -ss- in prehistoric Greek, and thus makes a form like *μᾶλιστα* difficult to explain; while the guttural -σσ- || -ττ- he takes to be divergent developments from some Ur. Gk. spirant. I think the two sets of forms can be better explained together. We have -σσ-, which is not -ss-, arising from *κῑ* and *τῑ*; the obvious value to assign to -σσ- is *ʃ*. Both changes are illustrated by the English word *conscientious*, but although the two sounds are now identical in English, the first must have been originally a palatal *ʃ*, which we may write **ʃ*, while the latter was a supra-dental *ʃ* ('*ʃ*'). The importance of this difference will appear later.

Contrast with the simple and natural change from κ_k , τ_k to \check{s} , the series assumed by Meyer (Gr. Gr.³, §282), tj — tz — ts — ss . The first step in this series is unexampled and improbable, since the change in the position of the vocal organs from j (= \check{z}) to z is no slight one. In the second place, why did not the ss from this ts become s in Attic as it does where s follows a dental stem? The only way to meet this objection is to suppose that the change τ_k — ss was not completed till after dental + s had become s ; that is to say, there was a time when $-\sigma\sigma-$ from t_k had a different value from that of $-\sigma\sigma-$ from ts ; and that period is attested by the Homeric poems. Moreover, how is $-\sigma\sigma-$ from κ_k to be explained as $-ss-$? The union of κ_k and τ_k in $-\sigma\sigma-$ is to my mind the greatest proof of the existence of \check{s} as a stage of the development. The next point to discuss is the treatment of this \check{s} in later Greek. Attic, Boeotian and Cretan treated it in a manner markedly different from dental s ; they lisped it to β , which is now commonly regarded as a phonetic approximation to the sound of $-\tau\tau-$. Ionic and the other dialects retained the symbol $-\sigma\sigma-$, and possibly retained the sound \check{s} . Smyth (Ion. Dial., §375) hints that $-\sigma\sigma-$ was not a pure sibilant. The transliteration of $-\sigma\sigma-$ into Latin as x (e. g. in *Ulixes*, *malaxo*) seems to show that Greek $-\sigma\sigma-$ was not Latin $-ss-$, though Greek $-\sigma-$ was Latin $-s-$. Inscriptional evidence is also forthcoming. The sign T at Halikarnassus and Mesembria interchanges with $-\sigma\sigma-$ (see Meyer³, l. c., note). Now, if $-\sigma\sigma-$ was pronounced $-ss-$, there was no need for another sign; whereas, if $-\sigma\sigma-$ was not $-ss-$, an attempt at a more exact representation was natural; and even if, as some say in order to minimise the importance of the sign, it represented a local pronunciation, why did the provincialism affect only the sibilant which the other Ionians wrote double, not that which they wrote single?

What, then, was the value of Ionic $-\sigma\sigma-$? It was a sound so close to s that ancient writers give us no hint of any difference, nor has any difference survived in Modern Greek. On the other hand, it was sufficiently unlike to have a different representation, namely the doubled sigma, since doubled dental s had been reduced to $-\sigma-$ in Ionic, and to have also a different method of transliteration into Latin. The sound that answers to this description is \check{s} , and we may conclude that Ionic has remained at the same stage from which Attic, etc., have advanced a step further. Such a conclusion, however, is not likely to go unchal-

lenged. Dr. Blass scouts the idea of the existence of the sound ḡ in Greek; he says (*Aussprache*, p. 92): "Boeckh was inclined to regard this" (such spellings as $\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\tau\eta\eta$) "as an indication of the sound ḡ , and his suggestion has found many to repeat it; it is, however, as unwarrantable as it is unmaintainable, and is at present given up. The sound ḡ is unknown even in cultivated modern Greek: and if the ancients had possessed it, they would doubtless have made use of the proper Phoenician symbol to express it." Against this it may be argued that the phonetic correspondence of modern to ancient Greek is so slight that the fact that the sound ḡ has not survived to the 19th century A. D. cannot at all disprove its existence in the 5th century B. C. Secondly, so little is known for certain about the relationship between the Greek sibilant signs and their Phoenician prototypes, that it is difficult to say what Phoenician sign would represent ḡ in Greek. Without dwelling unduly on this point, I may give the following sketch of the question, abstracted from Taylor, *History of the Alphabet*, II, p. 95; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, p. 8, and Hinrichs, *Gr. Epigraphik*, in Müller's *Handbuch*.

The Semitic alphabet possessed the following sibilant signs:

	Numerical order.	Sign.	Name.	Value.
i	7	I	Zayin	ds, z
ii	15	𐤀	Samekh	s
iii	18	𐤁	Tsade	ts, ss
iv	21	W	Shin	ḡ

Corresponding to these, we have in the oldest Greek alphabets, the Western alphabets of Caere and Formello:

i	7	I	Zeta (= 3d name above)	ds, z
ii	15	⊕	? (Xi = 4th name above in Eastern)	? (= x in Eastern)
iii	18	𐌆, M	San (? = 1st name above)	s (?)
iv	21	Σ	Sigma (? = 2d name above)	s

The value of the sign I is fixed in nearly all Greek alphabets: the value of ⊕ in the Western group is unknown: perhaps it was merely numerical; in the Eastern group it has the form ⊕ and the value x . Hence, if any alphabet were found that used both the remaining signs, it would be natural to assign to one of them the value s , and to the other the value ḡ . Now at Halikar-nassus, Teos and Mesembria the two signs are found in use, and

one of them, in the form T, which is taken to be a variant of M, does represent a sound which on phonetic grounds I take to be \check{s} . Professor Ramsay (*Jour. Hell. Stud.* I) derives the sign from an Asiatic source; but its use at Mesembria, a Megarian colony founded by Chalcedon and Byzantium, makes this less probable, since Asiatic influence could hardly have so wide a range. Other alphabets possessed either M or ξ only and used them to represent $-\sigma-$ or $-\sigma\sigma-$ indiscriminately. The confusion between the signs M and ξ is shown by the alphabets of Corinth and Metapontum, which put M after P in the place of ξ .

On early monuments no difference whatever is made between $-\sigma-$ and $-\sigma\sigma-$, but both are written ξ or M. It was only at a later period that $\xi\xi$ is written, and at all times ξ appears sporadically instead, while I can find no instance of double M. The adoption of the double sign was, I think, an attempt to distinguish between two closely similar sounds, and the point on which the distinction was based was the fact that the prosodial effect of \check{s} , like that of ρ , was that of a double consonant, while s did not "make position." In early times, then, ξ represented (i) dental s , as in $\lambda\check{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\iota$; (ii) the same sound doubled or lengthened in $\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$; (iii) \check{s} in $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\nu$. At a later period the sound of (ii) became short in the dialects of Attica and Ionia, but where in the older literature it made position, it was written double; then, since \check{s} likewise made position, that too was written $-\sigma\sigma-$. The reason for the prosodial weight of \check{s} I shall discuss later.

So much, then, for the sign T with the value \check{s} . Turning now to the ancient Cretan inscriptions, given by Comparetti (*Mus. Ital.* III), I shall endeavour to prove the existence of the sound \check{s} there too. In the archaic Cretan inscriptions the sign I represents a sibilant arising from at least four different sources:

(i) In IOOI and -AIEN, I corresponds to Attic ζ , later Cretan $\delta-$, $-\delta\delta-$.

(ii) In OIO ξ , I arises from I.E. $\acute{\iota}\check{\chi}$, and corresponds to Epic $-\sigma\sigma-$, Ionic-Attic $-\sigma-$, later Cretan $-\tau\tau-$.

(iii) In AN Δ AIA Θ AI (= $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$), I comes from $-\acute{\iota}\sigma-$, and corresponds as in (ii).

(iv) In FOIIHA (= Epic $\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\alpha$), I represents a peculiar archaic Cretan palatalization of κ , unknown elsewhere.

Of these four varieties of I, the last three certainly represent voiceless sounds; the origin of (ii) and (iv) point to a \check{s} sound, while the later representation of (ii) and (iii) by $-\tau\tau-$ points to a

sound which was not dental -ss-. I consider that the sound of I in these three cases was *ʒ*, and that these archaic inscriptions, which are assigned to the 7th century B. C., preserve evidence of a period, unattested by monuments in Attica or Boeotia, before *ʒ* became *p*.

The next question that must be considered is the difference between the guttural *ʒ* and the dental *ʒ*: this difference manifests itself in the passage of dental *ʒ* to dental *s* under certain conditions, whereas the guttural *ʒ* never becomes *s*. Brugmann considers that -σσ- from *τι*, *θ* regularly passed to *σ* both after consonants and between vowels, and explains forms like *ῥέσσω*, *κρέσσω* (Att. *ῥέττω*, *κρείττω*) as analogical. But how can *οἰνούττα*, *μέλιττα* be explained on this theory? *ῥέσσω* may perhaps follow *πράσσω* and *κρέσσω* follow *ῥήσσω*, through parallelism of meaning, as Brugmann says. But I cannot see what analogy can retain the large class of feminines in -εσσα and -ασσα. It cannot be denied that analogy has affected Epic verb-forms in -σσ- and -σ-; but in such cases analogy is quite as likely to work one way as the other; still, *νεμεσῶμαι* beside *νεμεσσῶμαι* is the only example of a verb with -σ- from *τι* that I can discover, whereas *ῥέσσω*, *ἰμάσσω* and *λίσσομαι* all show -σσ-, and Attic *βλίττω* shows -ττ-. Putting aside, then, verbal forms as ambiguous, we have two cases in which -σσ- from *τι* becomes -σ-, namely: (i) after a nasal consonant; e. g. *τιθείσα* from **τιθεντι*, **τιθενσα*; the presence of a nasal consonant does not affect -σσ- from *κ*; e. g. *ἄσσω* from **ἀγχιω*. Without the nasal consonant we have, beside Skt. *āpavati*, Gk. *ὀπέσσα*, for **ὀπο-Φασσα*, with the strong vocalism of the masculine; so also, beside Skt. *satī*, Gk. *ῖασσα*, for **eshtiā*, by the side of feminine participles which have the strong stem of the masculine as *οὔσα*, *ῖουσα*, for **esonthiā*. Brugmann (II 400) gives *ἀέκασσα* and perhaps *πρόφρασσα* and *θέρμασσα* as weak feminine participles.

(ii) The second case of the reduction of -σσ- from *τι*- *θ*-, to -σ- occurs in the three sets of words:

μέσσοι, Ion.-Att. *μέσσοι*, from **μεθιοι*,
τόσσοι, *πόσσοι*, etc., Ion.-Att. *τόσσοι*, from **τοθιοι*,
πρόσσω, *ὀρίσσω*, Ion.-Att. *πρόσω*, from **πρότιω*.

Brugmann notices that in these cases Cretan and Boeotian show -ττ-; e. g. Boeot. Cret. *δοπτοτο*, Cret. *μέιτον*. Accordingly, if Attic *μέσσοι* is a reduction from Homeric *μέσσοι*, the change must be pre-historic, since -σσ- is not to be found in Attic, and -ττ- could

not have been reduced to -σ-. The antiquity of the forms μέσος, etc., is attested by their frequency in the Homeric poems, though they are not so common as μέσσος, etc. In Iliad I-VI (omitting the Catalogue) occur

μέσσος 6 times, δσσος, etc., 17 times, πρόσσω, etc., 9 times;
μέσος 2 times, δσος, etc., 5 times, πρόσσω, etc., 1 time.

Total with -σσ-, 32; with -σ-, 8. In Odyssey XXI-XXIV occur

μέσσος 5 times, δσσος, etc., 17 times, πρόσσω, etc., 3 times;
μέσος 2 times, δσος, etc., 10 times, πρόσσω, etc., 1 time.

Total with -σσ-, 25; with -σ-, 13. The proportion of forms with -σ- to those with -σσ- is thus twice as great at the end of the Odyssey as at the beginning of the Iliad. We can thus see -σσ- passing to -σ- before our eyes: but why it should do so in these forms and not in χαρίεσσα, etc., is not clear. The only point of resemblance between the sibilant of μέσσος, τόσσος and πρόσσω as opposed to that of χαρίεσσα, is that the former is preceded by an accented vowel, while the vowel before the latter is unaccented. But even this distinction does not appear in the case of κρείσσων, which, since it should be more properly κρέσσων, a form which is found in Ionic, might be expected to occur as *κρίσων.

Although the connexion between this position of the accent and the change of 's̃ to s is not clear, the closer approximation to s of 's̃ as compared with 's̃ makes the change less surprising. We may suppose that the lengthening of the vowel in τιθείσα, due to the absorption of the nasal, obscured the sibilant sound, and perhaps assisted by τιθείς with dental s, led to its passage to s: while the position of the accent in μέσος may have had a similar effect. The two cases cannot be considered parallel, since the first was proethnic, whereas the second was not completed till the Homeric period. The difference is well illustrated by Cretan and Boeotian, which show -σ- in the first case, but -ττ- in the second.

These two dialects show such a curious likeness in their use of the group -ττ- that they deserve special mention. They are the only dialect areas outside Attica that show the lisped s̃, and when we consider that there was no great connexion between them, the similarity of their usages is startling.

In Crete the sound arising from κs, τs is represented in four different manners at four different periods, the latest embracing

the spread of the κοινή with its -σσ-. The earliest inscriptions show I, which, as I said above, I take to represent ζ. The Gortyn inscription shows -ττ- like Attic and Boeotian; but Cretan approaches more closely to Boeotian than to Attic in two points: First, the dental ζ does not become *s* in μέσος, etc., and second, the group dental + *s* becomes -ττ-; e. g. Cret. aor. ἐδατταμαν, beside pres. δατηθαι, Boeot. aor. κομιττάμενος. I do not believe that these are cases of assimilation of spirant to stop: *ts* rather became *tʃ*—*ʃ*; the archaic ἀνδαζαθαι preserves this stage; and then *ʃ* became *p* later, like the *ʃ* from κ₂, τ₂. The third stage of Cretan shows θθ for the -ττ- of Gortyn and the archaic I, in θαλαθθας, ἰθθακιν (Mus. Ital. III, p. 681), Ἄρκαθθι (op. cit., p. 691), the dat. plur. with θθ from δ + *s*, like ττ in ἐδατταμαν of the Gortyn inscription and I of the archaic ἀνδαζαθαι. If θθ was merely a graphic variation of ττ to represent *p*, as I think, this is conclusive against the theory of assimilation of *s* to *t*. This third stage shows θθ also for στ in ἰθθαῖντι (Cauer, Del.¹ 42), a change most curiously paralleled in the Boeotian ἱττω of Aristophanes, and ἕττε for ἕστε at Orchomenus. J. and T. Baunack, to explain ἰθθαῖντι, assume the stages στ—*p*τ—*pp*; this may be quite correct, since there is no necessity to explain -θθ- from -στ- on the same principle as -θθ- from dental + *s*; for the regular appearance of -στ- in the Gortyn inscription, e. g. in κατισταμεν, shows that the passage of στ to θθ was much later than that of dental + *s* to ττ, θθ. It is to be noticed, however, that even in archaic Cretan, σ is assimilated to a following θ.

Dr. Blass has an article in the Jahrbücher f. Philologie for 1891, p. 1 seqq., on an inscription from Phaistos in Crete, containing the words ΠΠΑΤΕΙ and ΕΥΓΛΑΘΘΟΙ (?), which he assigns to the first century B. C., but which Halbherr, who first edited it in Mus. Ital. III, p. 559, assigns to the third century B. C. In his article he advances the view that θ was the hard explosive aspirate in Cretan even at this late date, and that ττ in the Gortyn inscriptions was a double stop. He then explains

Gortyn **Ἀρκαττι (analogous to ἐδαττάμαν) : later Ἄρκαθθι
 Gortyn πρᾶδδαι : later πρᾶτ(τ)ει

by assuming "eine art lautverschiebung," though he admits that this new "Grimm's Law in Greece" does not affect the aspirate θ. If, however, we may believe, on the authority of Meister, the Baunacks, Comparetti, and Dr. Blass himself in his Aussprache,

that θ was β in Cretan as early as the Gortyn period, these forms can be otherwise explained. At that period Cretan possessed an inter-dental spirant, θ , developed from the dental aspirate, and a supra-dental spirant, τ , developed from the spirant β . At a later period these two sounds were confused, and were both written θ or $\theta\theta$. Hence *πορτιαθθαν* (Mus. Ital. I, p. 44) = *προσούσαν* || Gortyn *λαττα*. If the forms *πρατ(τ)ει*, *ἐσπρεμιττεν* = Attic *ἐκπρεμίζειν*, *καπολογιττεθθω*, quoted by Dr. Blass, belong to this period, we must put them alongside the form *ττηνα*, Doric *Δάνα*, Attic *Ζήνα*, and assume that when τ ceased to represent β , it was used instead of δ to express β .

The history of initial κ , τ is not so easy to trace. In the first place, the materials are scanty; secondly, the need of expressing the syllable weight of a final short vowel preceding was not felt to be sufficient to justify the use of a doubled initial σ , so that it is difficult to distinguish between s , β , and β when initial; thirdly, dentalized gutturals cause further ambiguity; e. g. how can it be determined whether Megarian *σδ* = *τίνα* came from **κία* or from **τῖα*? We have from κ or τ Ionic σ - in *σεύω*; this σ frequently makes position in Homer, and lengthens the augment in every case but one. In this it appears to have the value β ; those cases in which a short vowel remains short before *σεύω* may be explained partly by assuming a poetic license, similar to but perhaps not so harsh as that by which *Σκάμανδρος* appears in hexameter verse, partly by supposing that the poet attended occasionally rather to the written form of the word than to its pronunciation. As regards syllable weight, I equate β exactly with ρ , and initial ρ does not always lengthen a preceding short vowel. Brugmann connects doubtfully with *σεύω* the Attic *τεντάομαι*, *τεντάζω*, explaining the initial τ - as a shortening of $-\tau\tau-$ which would have appeared in the augmented and reduplicated forms. But if initial σ in Ionic *σεύω* was β ,—and we can hardly suppose that the sibilant of *ἔσσευε* was β , while that of *ὄτε σεύαιτο* was s —why should not initial τ of Attic have had the same value as medial $-\tau\tau-$? Another example from κ or τ is the Megarian *σά* quoted above, to which corresponds the Attic enclitic $-\tauτα$, as in *πόσα ττα*, whence, by wrong division, *ἄττα*. If $-\tauτα$ had ever followed a consonant, would it not have been written $-\tauα$?

From τ we have Ionic *σήμερον*, *σῆτες* (in Etym. Mag.) beside Att. *τήμερον*, *τῆτες*. The origin of these forms from the pronominal stem which appears in Skt. as *tya-* would support the pronounci-

ation of initial σ-, τ- as *š* and *p* but for the fact that there exist many little-understood cases of Attic initial τ corresponding to Ionic σ-, where the origin of the two sounds seems to be *sz*; e. g. *τύρβη*, Ionic *σύρβη*, *τηλία* || *σηλία*, *διαττάω* || *σάω*: with these must be grouped the forms *τύ* || *σύ* and *τέτταρες* beside *τίσσαρες*. These forms are quite separate from those discussed in this paper. Whether the -ττ- of *τέτταρες* and *διαττάω* represented a double stop or a spirant, and what was the process of its development from *sz*, I cannot at present determine.

It will be seen that in the theory of -σσ- given above, I have not hesitated to ascribe more than one value to a single Greek sign in one and the same alphabet. The assumption that the Greek alphabet, like most others, did not possess sufficient consonant signs to represent accurately all the sounds of the language which was written in it, is one that has been frequently made by philologists and passed over without notice. The assumption is, I think, quite justifiable, for it would be a miracle if a borrowed alphabet could express all the sounds of the language that borrowed it. The fact that some of the Greek symbols were conventional, e. g. -σσ-, -ττ-, -δδ-, which, it must be remembered, were not distinguished in writing from -σ-, -τ-, -δ-, in early times, is to me less surprizing than the fact that the Greeks themselves do not appear to have thought the matter worthy of remark.

This assumption, then, I make in the case of ζ, for no one value has ever yet been proposed for this sign which is satisfactory in every case in which the sign appears.

The following points appear to me clear with reference to the pronunciation of ζ:—(i) that in *ἱζω*, *Ἀθήναζε*, Boeot. *θεόζοτος*, etc., it was *zd*. *ἱζω* preserves I.E. *zd*, while the other two forms are late compounds. (ii) that after the time of Alexander (see Blass, *Ausspr.*, p. 91) it was dental *z* in *Ζεύς*, *ζέφυρος*, etc. (iii) that in other forms it was neither *zd* nor *z*. Take, to begin with, the Epic-Ionic-Attic ζ in *φύζα*, *σχίζα*, *κράζω*, *πεμπάζω*. In these cases ζ is manifestly the outcome of I.E. *dž*, *gž*, and many attempts have been made to bridge over the gulf between these sound groups and the sounds *zd*, or *z*. Blass (p. 125) assumes the series *dž*—*dz*—*zd*, the last change being due either to metathesis or to the analogy of I.E. *zd* in *ἱζω*. Both steps are difficult, for *dz* is a long way from *dž*, and the conversion of *dz* to *zd* is almost impossible. G. Meyer (*Gr. Gr.*¹, §284), recognizing this, derives *zd* straight from *dž*, in defiance of the law "*Natura saltum non*

facit." He justifies the change by appealing to the O.C.S. $\check{z}d$ from $d\check{i}$. But (i) O.C.S. is a long way from Greek; (ii) \check{z} is not z ; (iii) at best this is only *ignotum per ignotius*. I would explain O.C.S. $\check{z}d$ by equating the \check{z} to the $d\check{i}$ and assuming the d to be parasitic. Hoffman (Die gr. Dialekte, II, p. 512) argues that original $\zeta = dz$ must have become simple z ; he obtains the required value zd by the series $d\check{i}-dz-z-zd-zd$. He does not say whether all these changes were proethnic; he does not parallel the adventitious \check{d} , whereas in O.C.S. $\check{s}t$ from $t\check{i}$ does parallel $\check{z}d$ from $d\check{i}$, nor does he explain why it passed from spirant to stop, and that, too, after a spirant. If, then, it is only with the greatest of difficulty that zd can be obtained from $d\check{i}$, it would seem to be quite impossible to obtain it from $g\check{i}$. The parallel between $k\check{i}$, $t\check{i}$ and $g\check{i}$, $d\check{i}$ seems to me to be quite close. Just as the former pair meet at the sound \check{s} , which passes in certain dialects to p , so the latter pair, as I think, meet at the sound \check{z} , which passes in Doric to \check{d} . Now the place of articulation of the sound \check{z} is no more fixed than is that of \check{s} , and, furthermore, it shades off into other spirantal sounds. Modified in the front it becomes \check{d} ; another modification produces z . At the back of the mouth it produces spirant \check{z} , the spirant of the German *morgen*; this in its turn can pass into spirant y or semi-vowel \check{i} , as it has in the English *yesterday*, Boeotian $\iota\acute{\omega}\nu = \omega\omega\nu$ for $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu$, and Tarentine $\delta\lambda\iota\omega\varsigma$ for $\delta\lambda\iota\gamma\omega\varsigma$. Every one of this series of connected sounds has some bearing on the history of the symbol ζ in Greek.

I shall first give evidence for the existence of the sound \check{z} in Greek, and then consider the value of ζ in the different dialects. My evidence is drawn partly from transliteration, partly from phonetic considerations.

Early Latin transliterations give but little help, since the symbol z had become obsolete in the Latin alphabet, at an early period. Latin accordingly had no symbol wherewith to represent the Greek ζ , except s , which we find in *Saguntum*, and the Plautine *sona*, *tarpessita*, *badisso*, *comissor*, etc. A curious, but probably quite accidental, resemblance to these last two forms is seen in the Tarentine $\sigma\alpha\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omega$, $\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$, etc., with $-\sigma\sigma-$ for Ionic-Attic ζ . This gives rise to the supposition that the Tarentines had transformed their $-\zeta$ -verbs to $-\sigma\sigma-$ by analogy, like the Attic $\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\acute{o}\tau\tau\omega$ and Thessalian $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\phi\alpha\iota\sigma\sigma\omega$; but we have one Tarentine verb in $-\zeta\omega$, namely $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, and by derivation that should have $-\sigma\sigma-$.

Without assuming a 'lautverschiebung' in Tarentine, I suggest that here the signs -ζ- and -σσ- had interchanged values, ζ being pronounced ž, and -σσ- as ž. Such variations, whether due to analogical transference of forms or confusion of alphabetical symbols, certainly point to a closer resemblance between -σσ- and -ζ- than exists between -ss- and -zd. Early Latin can thus give us but little assistance, but some light is thrown on the question by the correspondence of Late Latin *z*, Greek ζ, to classical Latin consonant *i* and *g* before *e*, and *i*, and *d* before *i*. Lindsay (Lat. Lang., p. 49) considers that the sound in these cases was *y*, and that Latin *z* and Gk. ζ were then pronounced *z*. The subsequent history of the sound he gives as follows:

Lat. consonant <i>i</i>	}	→	Low Lat. <i>y</i> (written <i>z</i>)	→	French <i>j</i> (= ž)
Lat. <i>ge, gi</i>					Italian <i>gi</i> (= dž)
Lat. <i>di</i>					S. Italian } <i>y</i> Spanish }

But the disparity between the sound and the sign in Low Latin, together with the fact that French and Italian have now a sound which is closer to the original Latin than is this postulated Low Latin *y*, makes me think that the following series more closely represents the facts of the case:

Lat. consonant <i>i</i>	}	→	Low Latin ž or dž (written <i>z</i> , or ζ)	}	French <i>j</i> (= ž)
Lat. <i>ge, gi</i>					Italian <i>gi</i> (= dž)
Lat. <i>di</i>					S. Italian } <i>y</i> Spanish }

So that the people who wrote for Latin *Iulia*, Greek Ζουλεια had not such a bad ear for sounds as to write *z* when they meant *y*: they pronounced the name as a modern Frenchman or Italian would pronounce it. Roby (Lat. Gram. I, §195) assigns the value dž or ž to Late Latin *z* in these cases.

The passage of consonant *i* to ž through the stages *i*—*y*—*z*—ž is illustrated by the Sanskrit *hariya*, transliterated from Greek ἡριζων (Wackernagel, Alt. Ind. Gramm., pp. 137, 242). This, however, does not support the value *y* for ζ in Ζουλεια, inasmuch as transliteration out of a language is a vastly different thing from transliteration into it. For example, if Greek possessed a sound ž, another language, having no ž, might transliterate it as *y*; but that *y* would not be written ž in Gk., but probably *i*. Greek ζ represents, not Sanskrit *y*, but a palatal consonant, in 'Οζηνη = *Ujjayini* (Blass, Ausspr., p. 128).

The Sanskrit language paid more attention to phonetics than any other that has ever existed; is it likely that it would have represented *zd* or *z* by *y*? The nearest equivalent to *z* in Sanskrit would be *s*; the nearest to *ž* would be palatal *j* or semivowel *y*.

According to Meyer (Gr. Gr.³, §226, note) *σζ* is employed on papyri to represent Arabic and Coptic *ž*. Granting the difficulty that any Aryan tongue would find in accurately reproducing a Semitic sibilant, still *szd* seems a very weak attempt to represent any kind of a *ž* sound: *sž* is at least intelligible.

As inscriptional evidence I may cite the archaic Cretan I, referred to with reference to the value *ž*. I sought to prove that in three cases out of four it had that value; in the fourth case it represents a voiced sound, which I take to be the voiced counterpart of *ž*, namely *ž*.

From Cyprus come the forms *ἀζαθδς* and *ζα*, where *ζ* represents the spirantized *γ*, that is *ʒ*.

The Cyprian *κορζα*, Aeolic *κάρζα*, *ζα* = *δια* show *ζ* as a late formation from *δα*; the sound here was probably Eng. *j*, that is *dž*, or perhaps *ž*.

So far I have treated only of *ζ* from I.E. *dž*, *gž*; but *ζ* from I.E. spirant *ʒ*, in *ζυγόν*, *ζέω*, can also be explained as *ž*. Sievers defines the difference between semivowel *ž* and spirant *ʒ* as due to greater friction. Whether that greater friction is produced by narrowing the air-passage or increasing the pressure of the air-current, the same process that produces *ž* from *i* will, if continued, produce *ʒ* from *ž*. If we give this value, *ʒ*, to I.E. *ʒ*, its representation by Gk. *ζ*, that is *ž*, no longer needs to be explained by a complicated process such as that given by Meyer, *j—dj—zd*, which obscures the difference between I.E. *ž* and I.E. *ʒ*. The passage from the spirant to the semivowel in other languages is readily paralleled by the English *yesterday*. This distinction between the palatal semivowel *ž* and the palatal spirant *ʒ* (= *ʒ*) is the same as that between the labial semivowel *ʋ* and the labial spirant *β*.

Just as the voiceless *š* was lisped to *ʃ* (ττ) in Attica, Boeotia and Crete, so the voiced *ž* was lisped to *δ* (δδ) throughout the entire range of the Doric dialect; e. g. Laconian *μουσιδδεις*, Megarian *μάδδαν*, both in Aristophanes; Cretan (Gortyn) *δικαίδδω*, Boeotian *τράπεδδα*; initial *δ* = *δ* is seen in Laconian *Δάν*, Cretan (Gortyn) *δώνη*, = Boeotian *δῶει*, Sicilian *Δάγκλη*. And just as the supra-dental ττ- was confused in Crete with inter-dental θ, so in Elean supra-dental -δδ- was confused with inter-dental δ = *δ*.

In Aeolic we find ζ = Ionic-Attic ζ written on inscriptions; it is also attested by grammarians as the sign employed for the sound arising from the late union of δ₁ in *κάρζα*, and ζ₂ = *διά*; the symbols -σδ- also occur in such forms as *μελίσσειν*, *Σδεύς*, given by MSS and grammarians; the first inscriptional evidence for it is on an archaising monument of imperial times.

Meyer (Gr. Gr., 1. c.) explains σδ as due to the fact that ζ, formerly *zd*, had become *z* in the rest of Greece, and that Aeolic, preserving the sound *zd*, adopted a new sign to represent it. My objections to this are as follows: (i) I hold that Meyer has not substantiated the value *zd* for ζ in all cases, especially from *gī*. (ii) It remains to be proved that ζ was simply *z* in the rest of Greece. (iii) On Meyer's own theory ζ in Aeolic *κάρζα*, etc., was *z*; but *z* does not arise directly from *dī*: the stages are *dī*—*dž*—*ž*; a further step, and no inconsiderable one, is necessary to arrive at *z*. (iv) Although a dialect might adopt a sign which it did not possess, from another dialect, it would hardly discard a sign which it did possess, because another dialect used it with a different value. According to my theory Aeolic ζ was *zd* or *ž* down to quite late times: the spelling σδ was due to confusion of the two values; *θεόζωτος* and *θεόσδοτος* were equivalent, so beside *δικάζει* arose *δικάσδει*, with σδ = *ž*. What, then, became of the discarded symbol ζ? It may have been employed to represent the affricate *dž* in *κάρζα*.

The σδ of the Sicilian Doric of Theokritus is probably merely a literary form. The Doric -δδ- seems to have been entirely banished from elevated literature, its place being taken either by the Ionic ζ or the Aeolic σδ. That σδ was foreign to Sicilian might be taken for granted, were it not for the Oscan *Νιμσδιης*, which occurs in a Mamertine inscription at Messana, written about 280 B. C. (Conway, *Italic Dialects*, No. 1). The alphabet is that form of the Ionic alphabet which came into general use in S. Italy. Two conjectures are open: we may suppose that the sound to be represented, namely Oscan intervocalic -s-, corresponded to the value of the Greek ζ, but that it was the fashion at that time in Sicily to represent this by -σδ-. Of such a fashion we have no other evidence except the conflicting spelling of the MSS of Theokritus. Secondly, if we suppose that the Oscan -s- corresponded to no value of -ζ-, that was known in S. Italy, the -σδ- would be an isolated attempt to represent Oscan -s-. If there was any connexion between this Oscan -σδ- and Aeolic -σδ-,

the sound in Oscan, on Meister's theory, would be *zd*, which is obviously impossible; while if Aeolic *-σδ-* was merely a graphic variant for *ζ = ž*, we must believe that Oscan *-si-* was pronounced *-ži-*, which is possible without being probable. On the whole it seems best to treat the two as independent.

The question of the value of the symbol *-ζ-* in Elean is a curiously complicated one. In the inscriptions of the earliest period *ζ* appears for I.E. and Ur. Gk. *d*; apparently *d* had been spirantized to *δ*, and I explain the use of the symbol *ζ* in this manner:—Just as there was a period before *-σσ-* (*š*) became *-ττ-* (*p*) in Attic, so there was a period before *-ζ-* (*ž*) became *-δδ-* (*d*) in Doric. In Elean the change of sound was not at first accompanied by a change of sign. That is, *ζ = ž* became *ζ = d*, where the origin of the sound was I.E. *dž*, *gž* or spirant *y*. Then, when Ur. Gk. *d* became *δ*, this too was written *ζ*. Unfortunately, the early inscriptions contain no sure example of a representative of I.E. *dž*, *gž*, *y*. In my opinion *ζ* would be found in these cases, with the value *d*. Inscriptions after the 5th century show the ordinary Doric spelling *-δδ-* for *ζ*, and *δ* for *d*; those at the end of the 5th century represent a transition period; the sign is usually *δ*, with rare lapses to the older *ζ*. For the whole question cp. Meister (II, p. 52), from whom I quote the following: "Dass diese beiden spirantischen Laute des eleischen Dialekts, der durch *ζ* (*ζᾱμος* = *δημος*) und durch *δ*, *δδ* (*δυγον* = *ζυγόν*) bezeichnete sich unterschieden, ist für gewiss anzunehmen, denn wären sie zusammengefallen, so würde man sie nicht durch verschieden gewählte Schreibung auseinander gehalten haben; worin aber der Unterschied bestand lässt sich nicht erkennen." To this I would reply that there may have been a difference of sound, namely, that between inter-dental *d* and supra-dental *δ*, but the difference was never expressed. The difference of sign is chronological: it does not appear in any inscription except those two of the transition period, one of which shows *ζ* once (in *ζι = δει*) with 10 cases of *δ* unaltered, while the other shows one *ζ* with 20 cases of *δ*.

Arkadian shows *ζ* = I.E. *dž*, *gž*, *y*; e. g. *δικαζήτοι* (Meist. II 106; Cauer², 457). A difficulty arises from the appearance of *ζ* = I.E. velar *g* in *ζέρεθρον* (Strabo, VIII 8. 4 (p. 389); Meyer, Gr. Gr.³, p. 266). The stage previous to *ζέρεθρον* could not have been *δέρεθρον*, since Arkadian preserves Ur. Gr. *δ* unchanged. The only other similar form is *ζελλω* = *βάλλω*, given by Hesychius without a

locality. The two forms seem to contain a peculiar product of velar g : since it is not a case of dentalization, it seems possible that it arose from a spirantizing of γ , seen also in Cyprian, which γ must have appeared beside the regular representatives of g^a as it does in *γλίφαρον* and *γίφυρα*; δ appears in *ἑσδῆλλοντες* (Collitz, 1222. 49). Under what conditions δ and ζ appear respectively cannot be determined with such scanty material. The only other view is that Arkadian contained a mixture of dialects.

I have now to treat of the metrical weight of the sounds represented by -σσ-, -ττ- and -ζ-. In the first place it must be remembered that any continuous consonant can, in the Epic dialect, make a metrically long syllable when following a short vowel. A stopped consonant has not this power, except in very rare cases. In these cases, then, the difference between a heavy syllable and a light syllable depended on the difference between continuous and stop consonant. That is, the greater amount of time spent, or breath used, in the production of a continuous consonant made the syllable containing it long as compared with a syllable containing a stop. In the later language, however, the continuous sounds *l*, *m*, *n* and dental *s* were no longer able to give metrical weight; and such combinations of stop and continuous sound as *tr* were treated in the same fashion. The change was, perhaps, not so much a change of pronunciation, although the sibilant of *ἑδικασσα* may have been dwelt upon longer than that of *ἑδικασα*, but was rather due to a change in the feeling of what constituted metrical weight. The other continuous sounds retained their power of making metrical weight even in classical Greek; ρ , $\sigma\sigma$ (= \check{s}), ζ (= \check{z}), and -ττ- (= p) and -δδ- (= d') regularly "make position," and the reason is not difficult to see. The production of these sounds needs a more open position of the vocal chords, and consequently involves a greater muscular exertion and consumption of breath than does that of *l*, *m*, *n*, *s*. The sound \check{z} or \check{s} has a more open position than any other sound not a vowel. Consequently it produced a heavy syllable in Greek; and its effect in the pronunciation of English is analogous. Compare the long vowel of *please* with that of *pleasure*, *Asia* with *azure*, *mete* beside *measure*.

To the Greek of the 6th century B. C. this difference of syllable weight afforded the most striking contrast between the sounds *s* and \check{s} . It was the point on which the different alphabetical representation was based. Consequently it is not surprising to find

that as the language decayed, and syllable weight disappeared before the stress accent, the difference between *s* and *š* likewise disappeared, so that no trace of it survives in Modern Greek. But, in my view, the sounds *š* and *ž* lasted at least long enough to account for the spellings *malaxo* and *Ζουλεια*.

In conclusion, I may briefly summarize my position as follows :
(a) The present views on -σσ-, -ζ-, -ττ-, -δδ- are unsatisfactory because—

(i) *τελέσσαι* and *πράσσειν* could not both have been pronounced with dental *s*.

(ii) The series commonly given to show the development of *κ_k*, etc., in Gk. contain too many phonetical difficulties, and

(iii) they separate *τ_k* from *κ_k* and both from *δ_k*, *γ_k*, although -σσ- unites the first pair, and the interchange of -σσ- with -ζ- and the correspondence -ττ- || -δδ- unites the voiceless with the voiced series.

(β) Since a new theory is necessary, the values *š*, *ž* suggest themselves as the representatives of Ur. Gk. *κ_k*, etc., because—

(i) *κ_k*, *τ_k* naturally converge to *š*.

γ_s, *δ_k*, *ζ* (= I.E. *γ*) naturally converge to *ž*.

(ii) Archaic Cretan I in *Φοιζήα* shows dialectic growth of *š* from palatalized *κ*.

Archaic Cretan I from dental + <i>s</i>	} shows dialectic growth of	
Gortyn Cretan ττ " "		<i>š</i> (⇒ <i>p</i>) from ττ.
Boeotian ττ " "		

Cyprian ζ in *ἀζαθδς* shows dialectic growth of *ž* from *ζ*.

Aeolic ζ in <i>καρζα</i>	} shows dialectic growth of <i>ž</i> or <i>dž</i> from <i>δ_k</i> .
Cyprian ζ in <i>κορζα</i>	

(iii) It is quite possible that the Semitic symbols should, when adopted, have the values assigned to them by my theory, and probable that in the sign T we have the fourth Semitic symbol with the fourth Semitic value.

(iv) *š*, *ž* and supra-dental *p*, *d* resemble *r* in their phonetic character as in their metrical effect.

(v) Transliteration, where it gives any help at all, favours my theory, especially transliteration into and from the most scientific of all alphabets, the Sanskrit.

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NOTE.

NOTE ON CICERO, DE SENECTUTE 54 AND 11.

Professor G. L. Hendrickson, in an article in the October number of the American Journal of Philology, on 'Pre-Varronian Literary History,' p. 291, gives a new interpretation to the words assigned to Cato by Cicero, in De Senectute 50: *vidi etiam senem Livium qui, cum sex annis ante quam ego natus sum fabulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adulescentiam meam processit aetate*. They are to be regarded, he says, not as a mere "didactic digression," like many other passages in the De Senectute, but as an intentional emphasizing of the age of Livius for the purpose of overthrowing a popular error given currency by Accius, and formally refuted by Cicero himself in the Brutus (72), probably on the authority of Varro.

One other of Cato's digressions, in De Senectute 54, seems open to a similar explanation: *Quid de utilitate loquar stercoreandi? Dixi in eo libro quem de rebus rusticis scripsi, de qua doctus Hesiodus ne verbum quidem fecit cum de cultura agri scriberet. At Homerus, qui multis, ut mihi videtur, ante saeculis fuit, Laërtam lenientem desiderium quod capiebat e filio, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit*. The words *qui multis, ut mihi videtur, ante saeculis fuit* are in themselves entirely pointless. But the question of seniority as between Homer and Hesiod was an open one among the scholars of that time. Accius put Hesiod first; Varro disagreed with him (Gell. III 11), and it may well be that Cicero in this passage is again intentionally throwing the weight of his authority on the right side, against the error of Accius, as in De Senectute 50.

In De Senectute 11, Cicero is himself guilty of a mistake. He names the Roman commander of the citadel of Tarentum, at the time of its recapture, by Quintus Fabius (209 B. C.), as Salinator. It is generally agreed, however, on the authority of Livy (24, 20, 13; 27, 25, 3; 27, 34, 7), that the man in question was Marcus Livius Macatus, not Marcus Livius Salinator. The explanation generally offered for this mistake is merely that confusion between

names so similar was an easy matter, especially since they would often be found without the cognomen. In the light of Professor Hendrickson's investigations, it is possible to conjecture the origin of this mistake more definitely. Accius (Cic. Brut. 72) believed that the poet Livius was captured at Tarentum by Quintus Fabius Maximus in 209 B. C. St. Jerome, chron. ad a. 1830 (187 B. C.), gives evidence of having followed this false chronology of Accius, as shown by C. F. Hermann, quoted by Professor Hendrickson (p. 292). St. Jerome's statement reads as follows: *Titus Livius, tragoediarum scriptor clarus habetur qui ob ingenii meritum a Livio Salinatore, cuius liberos erudiebat, libertate donatus est.* Accius therefore believed that Livius the poet had been the slave of some Livius Salinator, and he brings him into connection with Marcus Livius Salinator by fixing the date of his play in 197 B. C., at the *ludi Inventatis* vowed by Marcus Livius Salinator in 207 B. C. (Cic. Brut. 72; Liv. 36, 36, 6; American Journal of Philology, p. 291). It would have been most natural then for Accius, who has been proved to be wrong as to several points in regard to Livius, to suppose that the Marcus Livius with whom he connected the poet Livius, in later life, was the Marcus Livius who was conspicuous at Tarentum when he was captured there. That Cicero's error may be dependent upon such an error on the part of Accius seems not improbable. He was acquainted with Accius' literary work, and he even knew him personally in his youth (Cic. Brut. 107). Cicero had made the same mistake about Salinator many years before he wrote the *De Senectute* (*De Orat.* 2, 273). Meantime, in the *Brutus* (72) he had recognized and refuted Accius in regard to the chronology of Livius. That an error in a single name, dependent upon this more serious error in chronology, should re-appear after the latter had been recognized, would merely convict Cicero of carelessness or forgetfulness, such as must be imputed to him at any rate, from some other cause, if not from the one here suggested.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

CHAUCER.

The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, edited from numerous manuscripts by the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, Litt. D., LL. D., M. A. 6 vols. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1894; with supplementary volume containing Chaucerian and Other Pieces, 1897.

Studies in Chaucer: his Life and Writings, by THOMAS R. LOUNSBURY. 3 vols. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1892.

The Student's Chaucer. Edited by Prof. SKEAT, with Introduction and Glossary. 1 vol. Macmillan & Co., 1895.

The "Globe" Chaucer. Edited by ALFRED W. POLLARD, H. FRANK HEATH, MARK H. LIDDELL, W. S. MCCORMICK, with Introduction and Glossary. 1 vol. London and New York, Macmillan & Co., 1898.

In addition to his other well-known works illustrative of Chaucer's writings, Prof. Skeat has now placed all students of Chaucer under increased obligations by the completion of the Oxford edition with the publication of the supplementary volume containing "Chaucerian and Other Pieces." Although the other six volumes have been before the public for a few years, it may be well to state here the contents of each volume. Vol. I contains a Life of Chaucer, the Romaunt of the Rose, and the Minor Poems; II, Boethius and Troilus; III, House of Fame, Legend of Good Women, the Astrolabe, and the Sources of the Canterbury Tales; IV, the Canterbury Tales (Text); V, the Canterbury Tales (Notes); VI, Introduction, Glossary, and Indexes. Prof. Skeat has further edited the complete works of Chaucer in one volume, as "The Student's Chaucer," being the text of the Oxford edition. Mr. Pollard, author of the "Chaucer Primer," edited in 1894 the "Eversley" edition of the Canterbury Tales in two volumes, and now, with the assistance of co-laborers, he has also edited in one volume, as the "Globe" edition, the complete works of Chaucer, preceded by a Life and Introduction and followed by a Glossary. In this embarrassment of riches, especially when increased by the three volumes of Prof. Lounsbury's "Studies in Chaucer," which were published six years ago, it is difficult to see what more the student of Chaucer could desire.

Surely there is no excuse now for an ignorance of Chaucer even on the part of that much-addressed personage, the general reader.

The several chapters of Prof. Lounsbury's work are numbered continuously and embrace the following subjects: I, the Life of Chaucer; II, the Chaucer Legend; III, the Text of Chaucer; IV, the Writings of Chaucer; IV, 2, the Romance of the Rose; V, the Learning of Chaucer; VI, the Relations of Chaucer to the English Language and to the Religion of his Time; VII, Chaucer in Literary History; VIII, Chaucer as a Literary Artist. A brief account of each is given in the Introduction. This is undoubtedly the most complete work on Chaucer and his writings that we possess. It is valuable for its account of exploded errors as well as for its statements of recently ascertained facts. A general criticism, however, may be made, that it is too diffuse; it might have been condensed to advantage. As to Prof. Lounsbury's views on some disputed questions, he acknowledges that they are not those generally held by Chaucer scholars, but he has the courage of his convictions and proceeds to defend earnestly his opinions. This is as it should be. In such a work an author should give the reasons for the critical faith that is in him. But I cannot think that Prof. Lounsbury has settled the questions. In regard to the burning one of the Chaucerian authorship, in whole or in part, of the existing version of the "Romaunt of the Rose," we must render the Scotch verdict in his case, *not proven*. I prefer for the present to take the views of Lindner, Kaluza, Kittredge, and Skeat. Prof. Skeat has already replied satisfactorily to some of Prof. Lounsbury's arguments in the Introductions of vols. I and VI, where he discusses the poem. The "Globe" edition prints the "Romaunt of the Rose" last, and the editor, Mr. Liddell, says of it: "All that we can say at present is that A (vv. 1-1705) may be part of the translation Chaucer says he made; that C is also possibly Chaucer's, but this assumption is less likely than the former; that B (vv. 1706-5810) is probably the interpolation of a Northern writer later than Chaucer who made an attempt to join the two parts of the poem A and C, and make a complete translation, but wearied of the task and dropped it at v. 5810." Prof. Lounsbury's view that Chaucer wrote the *whole* of the present version must be rejected. The evidence of language and metre is against him. Moreover, Chaucer could never have made the bungling junction of 1705 and 1706; something is wrong here. Why, too, did Chaucer refrain from translating the portion omitted between 5810 and 5811, or has that portion alone been lost? The last word has not yet been said on this poem.

A part of Prof. Lounsbury's "Chaucer Legend" appeared several years ago in *The Atlantic Monthly* as "Fictitious Lives of Chaucer." It was hardly necessary to occupy so much space in discussing the spurious "Testament of Love," for, with the reference to the "Troilus" before us (Skeat's ed. VII, p. 123, ll. 253-4), it is

hard to see how Chaucer could have written it, even if there were no other arguments against his authorship. The uncritical judgment of earlier editors is responsible for the inclusion in Chaucer's works of many writings now known to be spurious. Prof. Skeat has shown us that Moxon's edition is a prime offender and has been uncritically followed. Both Profs. Lounsbury and Skeat give due credit to Tyrwhitt for his sound judgment in editing Chaucer, but, unfortunately, he lived before the days of the Chaucer Society and the recent investigations of Middle English grammar and versification. In one important point I must take issue with Prof. Lounsbury. He says (Introd., p. xxv): "It will be observed, also, that in most instances the extracts that are introduced from Chaucer's writings appear in our present spelling. The reasons for adopting this course will be found at the end of the seventh chapter" [II 264-279]. I have re-read these reasons, but they do not carry conviction to my mind. Some of Prof. Lounsbury's quotations sound as if they were taken from a very bad text of Chaucer. The question is more one of pronunciation, especially of accent, than of spelling, and Chaucer's spelling is a key to his pronunciation as well as to his grammar, and pronunciation determines the rhythm, without which there can be no complete enjoyment of Chaucer. Modernize the spelling and we destroy the rhythm. The case of Shakspeare is different, for his spelling is much nearer that of the present day, it does not affect his grammar and rhythm, and there is no question here of the final *-e*. I think that correct rhythm is an aid "towards the appreciation of the beauty and power of Chaucer's poetry" (III, p. 273), while fully conceding that "the literary study of Chaucer is one thing; the linguistic study is quite another." The former is certainly helped by the latter, even if the latter is very elementary. On this point I concur with Prof. Skeat (V, p. xxv).

Prof. Lounsbury's chapters V, VII and VIII are of particular interest, and chapters V and VII mark a distinct advance in our knowledge, showing the results of careful study of subjects which have never before been so well treated. The modernizations of Chaucer, from Dryden and Pope to Wordsworth and Leigh Hunt, are rightly characterized as failures, but no one is in danger of mistaking these for Chaucer, whereas, if we undertake to modernize Chaucer's language, we produce a Chaucer that is not Chaucer.

There is one reference of Prof. Lounsbury's, repeated four times, which is an oversight. In I, 271, 273, 442, and III, 44, we have reference to Beaumont's letter to Speght of June, 1597, and in each case he is referred to as "the dramatist Beaumont." According to the common chronology, the well-known dramatist, Francis Beaumont, was at that time about thirteen years of age, and could scarcely be referring to "those ancient learned men of our time in Cambridge," who "did first bring you and me in love with him," i. e. Chaucer. The reference is manifestly to Francis

Beaumont, the justice, father of the dramatist, as the dates correspond, and he died in 1598.

Prof. Skeat has based his text of the *Canterbury Tales* on the Ellesmere MS, but gives at the foot of the page the most important variants of the other MSS. He regards the spelling of the Ellesmere MS as approaching most nearly to that which Chaucer himself used, and in default of Chaucer's own autograph this is as near as we can ever hope to come to it. The arrangement of the Chaucer Society is adopted for the order of the *Tales*. Mr. Pollard also, in the "Globe" edition, uses the Ellesmere MS as the basis of his text, recording variants in an abridged form, which is explained in the Introduction. He too adopts the Chaucer Society's order of the *Tales* by groups, which may now be regarded as the standard.

The General Introduction of a hundred pages in Prof. Skeat's volume VI explains fully his objects in producing this excellent edition. He wished to provide "a thoroughly sound text," founded solely on the best MSS and the early printed editions; also to separate Chaucer's genuine works from the spurious, which have not yet been totally suppressed; and again, it was necessary to take advantage of "the recent advances in our knowledge of Middle English grammar and phonetics." He has also provided a very full body of Notes, which furnish needful help in the explanation of Chaucer's allusions. The Glossary too is very full and excludes all non-Chaucerian forms and words. The words in Fragment A of the "Romaunt of the Rose" are included in this general Glossary, while a separate one has been supplied for Fragments B and C, and still another for the "Tale of Gamelyn." Indexes of Proper Names, of Authors Quoted or Referred to, and a list of Books Referred to in the Notes, together with a formidable list of Errata and a General Index, are appended. The Introduction contains a summary of Chaucer's pronunciation, his treatment of open and close *o* and *e*, his peculiarities of rime, metres and forms of verse, grammatical outlines, versification, and remarks on his authorities. We are thus provided with all necessary help for an intelligent appreciation of Chaucer, and have no reason to think that this work will ever be superseded. In his treatment of versification Prof. Skeat assumes that a verse consists of a succession of "speech-waves," each containing a strong syllable, alone, preceded or followed by a weak syllable, or both preceded and followed by such weak syllable, hence, besides the iambus and trochee, he makes much use of the amphibrach. He is very scornful of the "wooden method," which "breaks up the line into bits of equal length," and "exhibits the result as the Procrustean formula to which all lines of five accents should be reduced." After a careful reading of his remarks I do not think that anything is gained by his method. No one who divides each iambic pentameter into five iambs and marks the feet by dividing lines imagines that there

must be a pause at each dividing line, but he would read the line precisely as Prof. Skeat does. Otherwise he would imitate the old-fashioned scanning of the dactylic hexameter, which some of us may have heard in our youth, as *Roma vi—rumque ca—no Tro—jae qui—primus ab—oris*,—English pronunciation too,—but that belonged to the antediluvian period of school-teaching, and has been long since relegated to the abode of departed spirits, some of them very real spirits in their day. Prof. Skeat insists that “there is no elision at the medial pause” (p. xxxi), and that when *his* loses its accent, it loses also its initial *h*. Both statements may well be questioned, especially the last. Unaccented *his* may easily be pronounced *hiz*, not *iz*, which is a species of Cockneyism that Chaucer knew not of. The question of elision is a matter of ear, and to my ear the line flows much more smoothly when final unaccented *e* before a vowel is elided at the pause as well as elsewhere. The hiatus even there is very offensive. So too with respect to the substitution of trochee for iambus. If *whán that* is a trochee in (1), why is not *whan they* in (59) and *which that* in (3385)? Prof. Skeat is himself inconsistent in this respect, for on p. xxxi he writes *háth in* (8) and on p. lxxxix, *hath in*, same line. It all depends upon which of the two words we regard as having the heavier stress, and opinions may differ about that. So, too, elision of *e* may be employed in the terminations *el. en, er*, as in *my fáder* (3385) even at the pause, and synizesis in *with mány a tère* (B 3368), as often in Milton and other later poets. I should also elide the *e* of the termination *-est* in *Thou ráviséd(e)st down fró the déitée* (B 1659), and I should prefer to contract *to han* to *t'an* (223), as *to* is often elided before a vowel. Again (p. lxx), *with yèn faste y-shette* (B 560), I should elide *e* and count *y* as a separate syllable *contra* Prof. Skeat.

But these are small matters, and in general I should concur in Prof. Skeat's scanning, even if I should make more frequent use of elision and contraction. It is certainly true that “mere counting of syllables will not explain the scansion of English poetry. Accent reigns supreme, and the strong syllables overpower the weak ones, even to the extent of suppressing them altogether” (p. xcvi); hence the greater need of elision and contraction.

The supplementary volume containing “Chaucerian and Other Pieces” is a distinct addition, and a valuable one, to the usual editions of Chaucer. Here we have twenty-nine pieces which, from time to time, have been attributed to Chaucer, or appended to his works, for the earlier editors, even while printing some of these pieces with Chaucer's works, did not assert that they were written by him, and later editors have made this mistake. These pieces are valuable for reference, even if they were not written by Chaucer.

The true authorship of the prose “Testament of Love” has at last been discovered, and the discovery is due to Mr. Henry

Bradley, co-editor with Dr. Murray of the Oxford English Dictionary. Prof. Skeat discovered that the first letters of the chapters of this work formed an acrostic, but he read the last word incorrectly, and so attributed the work to an imaginary "Kitsun." (See note 2, p. xii, vol. V.) Mr. Bradley discovered that the last six leaves of the MS were out of place, and after arranging them in the right order, we have as the acrostic: "Margarete of virtw, have merci on thin Usk." This confirmed Mr. Bradley's previous conjecture that Usk was the author of the work, i. e. one Thomas Usk, who was executed March 4, 1388. As he refers to events that happened towards the end of 1384 or later, the work is dated about 1387. (See Introduction to vol. VII, p. xx.) Prof. Skeat gives us (pp. xxiii, xxiv) some particulars about Usk, who, it seems, had been inclined to Lollard opinions, but recanted. He was, however, executed on the charge of treason by the Duke of Gloucester's party, as he favored the King against the Duke, whose regency the King was trying to overthrow.

I may correct just here some misreferences to this work, caused perhaps by the cancellation of certain pages which were reprinted and the references overlooked. On p. xxii, l. 20, ll. 131, 132 should be ll. 73, 75; l. 29, p. 140 should be p. 123; on p. xxvii, l. 29, p. 140, l. 292 should be p. 123, ll. 256 ff. The text of this work is due to Thynne's edition of Chaucer of 1532, as no MS copy of it has been discovered.

It would fill too much space to enumerate the titles of all these spurious pieces, but we find here one of Gower's, two of Hoccleve's, one of Scogan's, ten of Lydgate's, one of Sir Richard Ros's, one of Henryson's; and such well-known pieces as "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale," attributed to Sir Thomas Clanvowe, "The Flower and the Leaf" and "The Assembly of Ladies," by the same unknown authoress, "The Court of Love"—first printed by Stowe in 1561 from a MS still in existence in the library of Trinity College, and written in a hand of the sixteenth century—and some half-dozen shorter pieces, thus including works of twelve or fourteen different authors, and this does not exhaust the list.

We have here in one volume and in good texts all the most important pieces that have ever been attributed to Chaucer, and some unimportant ones. Prof. Skeat thinks (p. lxxiv) that the only correct method of drawing up a canon of Chaucer's genuine works is that adopted by the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw: "take a clean sheet of paper and enter upon it, first of all, the names of all the pieces that are admittedly genuine; and then see if it can fairly be augmented by adding such pieces as have reasonable evidence in their favor." By such a method he himself proved twenty years ago that "'The Court of Love' has no claim to be considered at all." In fact, such progress has now been made in a knowledge of Chaucer's style, grammar and metre that any

new claimant for admission to the list of genuine works must prove its right by fulfilling the requisite tests. The burden of proof is on that side. No one would now think, as formerly, of attributing works of the fifteenth century to Chaucer, for the language alone would suffice to convict the applicant of a false claim.

While the beautiful Oxford edition may not be within the reach of all, its cost alone sufficing to limit its circulation, the "Student's Chaucer," which contains the same text, and the "Globe Chaucer" are well within reach and will both serve to popularize a knowledge of Chaucer's works. The "Globe" edition is the latest claimant for favor. In it Mr. Pollard has written the "Life of Chaucer" and edited the "Canterbury Tales" and the "Legend of Good Women"; Mr. Heath has edited the "Minor Poems"; Mr. Liddell, the "Boece," "Treatise on the Astrolabe," and "Romaunt of the Rose"; and Mr. McCormick, the "Troilus and Criseyde." Although Prof. Skeat and Mr. Pollard both use the Ellesmere MS as the basis of their texts, we meet with occasional variations; lack of space forbids illustrations.

Prof. Skeat's edition of course "needs no bush"; it speaks for itself; but that of Mr. Pollard and his co-laborers can be cheerfully commended, and its very moderate price will also commend it to a large portion of the reading public.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

Caesar De Bello Gallico. Books I-VII. According to the text of Emanuel Hoffmann (Vienna, 1890). Edited with Introduction and Notes by ST. GEORGE STOCK. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1898. Pp. xxi, 224, Introduction, + 334, Text and Notes.

This is an imposing volume, calculated to excite great expectations. Have we a new recension of the text? No. The text of Hoffmann, which the editor says he found "prescribed by the University," is closely followed, and no mention is made of the later recensions of Meusel and Kübler. No account is given of the important MSS, or of the classes α and β . Textual difficulties are often passed over without remark. Occasionally we are told that the best MSS or nearly all the MSS have a certain reading. The summaries given before each book are quite long, that to the seventh taking up fourteen pages. The commentary is brief, often a page of text being accompanied only by a line or two of annotation. Clearly, then, we have neither a complete critical nor a complete exegetical edition. We may congratulate the author upon the knowledge which he himself has gained in the preparation of the work, but why he was selected for the task is

not clear, as his previous studies seem to have lain along entirely different lines. Fortunately, he had friends, as we learn from the preface, who were able to lend him various works bearing upon Caesar, some of them of great value; but he seems to have made no serious effort himself to discover what has been done for Caesar in recent years. Thus he mentions his indebtedness to Eichert's *Caesar-Dictionary*, but seems not to have heard of either Merguet's or Meusel's complete *Lexica*. He has great admiration for Napoleon, but does not refer in the preface to Colonel Stoffel. He mentions D'Arbois de Jubainville, but does not seem to know of Holder's *Alt-keltischer Sprachschatz*, although de Jubainville refers to it in his preface to *Les Noms gaulois chez César*. Other omissions might be noted, but we do not propose to give here a complete Caesar bibliography. Although "the main object of his book is to treat Caesar as an historian," he does not refer to any of the German essays which treat of Caesar's 'Glaubwürdigkeit.' Indeed, outside of text-editions, the only German works he mentions are Marquardt's *Staats-Verwaltung* and the *Caesar-Dictionary* of Eichert. Is this to be set down to insular prejudice? The introduction is discursive, pleasantly written, and not without value. Its seven chapters deal with the Commentaries, character of Caesar, Wars with the Gauls (treated at great length, pp. 34-84), Gaul, Britain, Germany, and the Roman Army. Great originality will not be found in the treatment, unless we count as such statements like this, that "for aught we know to the contrary, the epitomes of the lost books of Livy may have been composed by Livy himself." We are told that the birth of Dio Cassius is put about 155, "just two centuries after Caesar's first landing in Britain," but from 55 B. C. to 155 A. D. does not make *just* two centuries. To the scattered notices given about Tanusius should be added the fact that he is mentioned by Strabo XVII 829, according to the best MS. Florus' date can be approximately fixed by his preface, so that it is misleading to say that "his date is quite unknown, except that he mentions Trajan." Instead of speaking of Ariminum being *founded* in 268 B. C. it would be better to say *colonized* by the Romans. A close kinship of the Ligurians with the Gauls still remains to be proved. The abrogation of Caepio's command was not followed immediately by exile, as one would infer from the statement on p. 77. The name Albion probably goes back at least to Pytheas. In a note on p. 167 we find "Cp. the fragment of Sallust (assigned by Cortius to the sixth book of the Histories) which is quoted by Isodorus (sic). *Germani inlectum renonibus corpus legunt.*" Why should Cortius (1724) be mentioned here, rather than Maurenbrecher (1891), who assigns the fragment to the third book? *Tarruntenus* on p. 179 is more correctly written *Tarrulenius*, cf. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, pars III, p. 296. In an amusing excursus on p. 317 devoted to a visit to Bibracte (Mont Beuvray), the editor with engaging frankness tells us that

he had never heard of Eumenius until he went to Autun, where he was told that he was an orator who lived about 310 A. D. He afterwards noticed in Autun a street Rue Eumene, and Smith's Dictionary confirmed for him the date of the Panegyric on Constantine. It would not be difficult to show that there are many other things of which the editor has never heard. Commenting on i. 46 he says of *per fidem*, "treacherously. The phrase '*per fidem*,' which originally meant 'by reliance on,' is here on its way to the sense expressed by perfidy." The views of Usener, Stolz and Lindsay are thus completely ignored. On *malacia* 3. 15 we are told: "This appears to be the only passage either in a Greek or Latin author in which the word is used in this sense"; but compare Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha (Leipzig, 1891), I, p. 50: "in Hadria autem malacia habita in nave, Theon Petro ostendens malacia," etc.; see Archiv, VII 586 and several other articles in the Archiv where the word is discussed. Occasionally rather elementary syntactical points are explained, yet the notes on the whole are brief, sober and sensible. Much attention is paid to the identification of sites and to the explanation of proper names, but there is only one map to illustrate Caesar's campaigns and one plate to make clear Caesar's bridge, so that in illustrative material it is inferior to many existing editions. The book, despite its size, does not mark any decided advance in the treatment of Caesar.

M. WARREN.

Vocabularium Iurisprudentiae Romanae, editum iussu Instituti Savigniani. Vol. I inchoaverunt OTTO GRADENWITZ, BERNARDUS KUEBLER, ERNESTUS THEODORUS SCHULZE, continuaverunt BERNARDUS KUEBLER et RUDOLFUS HELM. Fasciculus II. *accipio-amitto*. Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1898.

The present fascicule of this important work follows after an interval of four years the first, which was reviewed in this Journal, vol. XVI, p. 377. In the interval two of the editors of the first fascicule, Schulze and Gradenwitz, have retired from the undertaking, although some of the articles now published were prepared by them before their retirement; but the editors of the present fascicule are Kuebler and Helm. The general plan of the work remains the same as stated in the previous notice. Each page has two columns with fifty-three numbered lines, so that cross-references are easily found. The present number contains columns 97 to 416, but the number of words embraced is only about 375, of which about 75 are only found once, so that 300 words take up more than 300 columns. *Actio* alone, however, which is of course one of the most common legal terms, occupies coll. 103-131, while the preposition *ad* takes up coll. 134-192. *Alius* requires 25 columns, *alter* 16, *aliquis* 14 and *ago* 11.

It is as interesting to note the absence or rarity of some words as the frequency of others. *Advocatus* does not occur as frequently as one might expect, *amanuensis* occurs but once, *amator* but once, while *adulter* and *adulterium* take up a couple of columns. Of words not included in Harpers' Dictionary we have noted only the following: *adiectamentum*, *adnego* (? for *abnego*), *aliquilibet*. Most compounds of *ad* are given in the unassimilated form, even though the assimilated form is the one which occurs exclusively or commonly in the texts under consideration. This is usually stated. Consequently some words are included in this fascicule which are to be found in Harpers' under *ass-* or *att-*. Especially noteworthy is the frequency of *alioquin*, while *alioqui* seems to be attested for only three passages in the Digests. The list of words found only once is too long to give here, but among them are *accumbo*, *acetabulum*, *addubilo*, *adinvenio*, *aemulatio*, *agmen*, *albesco*, *alimonia*, *aliquotiens* and *amburo*.

Acervus is used with the genitives *frumenti*, *pecuniae* and *stercoris*, and the passages quoted are not noted in the lexical article on *acervus* in the Archiv, X 280. The article upon *actio* is of course much more complete upon the legal side than that in the Archiv, IX 116 ff.

The various uses of *ad* are carefully classified, and one is struck with the frequency with which it occurs with verbal substantives in *-io* and with gerunds and gerundives, the latter preponderating. Once we find *ad praestandam quinque operarum praestationem*. To be noted is the fact that *admodum* in the sense of *valde* follows its adjective or adverb except in two passages, whereas in Cicero it more frequently precedes. *Adsentio* occurs three times, *adsentior* four, no striking preference being shown for the deponent form. The construction preferred with *adscendo* is *in* and the accusative, only with *Capitolium* the *in* is more frequently omitted. The impersonal use of *adsoleo* is also in legal language the more frequent, although it is used twice personally. Mention is made of *aer* in only four passages, for it is *naturali iure omnium communis*. The absence of frequentatives and diminutives is noticeable. *Actito* occurs but once, and *aedicula*, *alicula* and *agellus* once each. *Ambo* has in the accusative both *ambos* and *ambo*, while *ambobus* in dat. pl. is used twice for the feminine. For *alias . . . alias = modo . . . modo* a few more passages are given than are indicated by Wölfflin, Archiv, II 237. *Ait* is used not only with a personal subject, but also with *oratio* and *lex*. It is also combined with *ita*, *sic*, *quemadmodum*, *sicut* and *ut*. Besides *ais*, *ait* and *aiunt*, the only other forms occurring are *aiebam*, *aiebat* and *aiebant*.

The whole work is expected to be completed in fifteen fasciculi, and a third fascicule will probably be issued in 1899. The classical philologist who wishes to compare juristic usage will find the work most helpful, and we can only hope that it will be brought to a conclusion as soon as possible.

M. WARREN.

Yale Studies in English. ALBERT S. COOK, Editor. II. Aelfric. A New Study of His Life and Writings. CAROLINE LOUISA WHITE, Ph. D. Boston, New York and London, Lamson, Wolfe & Co., 1898.

This study is based upon Dietrich's investigations, published in 1855 and 1856, in Niedner's *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, and its original purpose was to render the most important part of Dietrich's work accessible to English readers. In works where we should look for some reference to Dietrich, he is wholly ignored. Dietrich's papers considered Aelfric's writings; the teachings of the O. E. church according to Aelfric's writings; Aelfric's education and character; and Aelfric's life.

Dr. White has subjected Dietrich's work to a most careful examination, and to independent investigations, which have confirmed, in great part, Dietrich's results, and enriched them with the fruits of the last fifty years' study in this field. The 'New Study' is introduced by a chapter on the monastic revival, not found in Dietrich. In succeeding chapters we have accounts of Aelfric at Winchester; at the abbey of Cernal; and at the abbey at Eynsham, in which a result is reached different from that of Dietrich, according to whom Aelfric returned from Cernal to Winchester, and perhaps went elsewhere. The chapters on Aelfric's education and character are translations from Dietrich, as is also that upon the exploded theories of his identity, but with modifications and additions. The chapters upon Aelfric's writings include original and independent reviews of his Homilies; Grammatical and Astronomical Writings; Lives of the Saints; Pastoral Letters or Canons; Translations from the Bible; On the Old and New Testaments; Life of Aethelwold; De Consuetudine Monachorum; and Prefaces. In Appendixes Dr. White gives us More's Treatise on Aelfric's Identity; Summaries of Förster's Study of the Sources of the Exegetical Homilies; Reum's Study of the Authorship of the De Temporibus; McLean's and Tessmann's Studies of the O. E. Interrogations; Ott's Study of the Sources of the Legendary Homilies in Lives of the Saints, I; and Assmann's Study of Aelfric's Judith. A very full Bibliography, a Classified Bibliography, and an Index, make Dr. White's Study a complete apparatus for the student of Aelfric, brought down to date, in which all that is valuable and ascertained in past scholarship is preserved and made accessible. Great charm and vividness is given to the treatment by the biographical and historical details and portraiture. The recovery of so engaging a personality in O. E. literature and life from the confusion in which it became obscured, gives a romantic interest to the study.

No attempt is made to give the views of the O. E. church drawn by Dietrich from Aelfric's writings. This is wisely left to separate treatment, which should include a comparative study of the writings of others, for a satisfactory revision of the

antiquated views of Lingard and Soames. As nearly all of Aelfric's writings before unpublished have been printed since Dietrich's papers appeared, the scholar is now better prepared to undertake it.

There remains much work upon the sources of the Exegetical Homilies, to which Max Förster has made valuable contributions in the Anglia, in order to make them serviceable in the criticism of Aelfric's Biblical translation.

Miss White's 'New Study' is a solid and admirable piece of work, which does honor to American O. E. scholarship, and especially to the work at Yale University. It is a revelation of the great advance among us in recent years in O. E. studies, which promises to overtake at no distant day the German scholarship, which has hitherto held the first place.

CHARLES EDWARD HART.

REPORTS.

PHILOLOGUS, LII.

I, pp. 1-12. A. Dieterich: Die Göttin Mise. The cult of this chthonic goddess (Herond. I 51) spread from Phrygia by way of the islands to Athens, where it was included in the Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries; thence to Alexandria, and Rome, where it was associated with the cult of Bona Dea.

II, pp. 13-37. C. v. Jan: Die Harmonie der Sphären. The coincidence that there were seven great heavenly bodies and seven degrees of the scale led to the Pythagorean doctrine of the music of the spheres. (1) Saturn being highest in space, was supposed to make the lowest tone, as on the lyre the most elevated string made the lowest tone: the moon being lowest, made the highest tone. (2) The Alexandrian theory used by Aratus reversed this: the higher the body, the faster the motion, and so the higher the tone. (3) There was in the period after Christ, another system of fixed tones, probably to be referred to Ptolemaeus.

III, pp. 38-48. L. Bornemann: Pindar's elfte pythische Ode ein Sieger- und Todtenlied; cf. id., Philol. XLV 596 ff., on the seventh Nemean. In Pyth. XI the victor's father is dead; in Nem. VII it is the victor.

P. 48. C. Haeblerlin: Xen. Hiero VIII 5—an ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction.

IV, pp. 49-57. J. Pantazidis: Verbesserungsversuche zu Euripides' Iphigenia in Aulis.

V, pp. 58-117. C. v. Holzinger: Aristoteles' und Herakleides' lakonische und kretische Politien. As H. derived his Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία from A. (Philol. L 436 ff.), so also his Lakonian, Kretan and probably all his 43 constitutions are to be taken as direct excerpts from A.

P. 117. M. Petschenig emends Ammianus. See also pp. 218, 317, 421, 495.

VI, pp. 118-31. W. Schmid: Noch einmal Kratippos. Notwithstanding the recent defence (Philol. L 32 ff.) of Stahl's view (De Cratippo historico), Kratippos is to be taken as a contemporary of Thukydides.

P. 131. J. Müller: Aristoteles über die Demokratie. Pol. III 10, 1286a, 24 ff. does not contradict Athen. Pol., ch. 41. 2: the

latter, therefore, need not be considered to militate against the genuineness of the writing.

VII, pp. 132-7. J. Sommerbrodt: Ueber den Lucian-Codex der Marcusbibliothek 436 Ψ. The codex practically agrees with Cod. Vind. 123 B, and so belongs to the class of better MSS.

VIII, pp. 138-59, 332-47. H. Düntzer: Catull und Horaz. A literary comparison. Horace reached the highest development of his poetic gift, whereas Catullus manifests some crudities of passionate youth. Catullus may arouse us more, but it was the maturer odes of Horace which reached the highest point of Roman lyric, as in satire and epistle he is unsurpassed.

P. 159. H. Deiter: Zu Cicero's Academica prior. II.

IX, pp. 160-200. O. Crusius: Zu neuentdeckten antiken Musikresten. I. Additional remarks on the Seikilos inscription with accompanying facsimile, showing the notes above the text. II. Fragment of a score of Euripides' Orestes (vs. 330 fig.) with modern vocal and instrumental notation. The chief value of these fragments is in the general conclusions to be drawn touching the value of the tradition about ancient music.

Miscellen, pp. 201-8.—1, pp. 201-2. O. Crusius: Victorinus und Lampridius von Antiochien. According to Phot. bibl. cod. 101, p. 86 Bk., V. (flor. 460 A. D.) is son of L. (flor. 430 A. D.).

2, pp. 202-4. O. Crusius: Das Epigram des Aesop (P. L. Gr. II, p. 64 Bgk.). The verses are from the life of Aesop, which can be traced to pre-Attic times.

3, pp. 204-5. R. Herzog: Δέννος (zu Archil., fr. 65); cf. Herond. VII 103.

4, pp. 205-6. J. Lunak: Zu Dictys, IV 2.

5, pp. 206-8. K. Tümpel: Die Kentaurin. Aeolis-Thesalia is the common home of the Kentaur-mythus so closely connected with the Aeolian religion.

X, pp. 209-18. F. Hauser: Hyakinthos. Apollo's love for H. can be traced in monuments to the fifth century B. C.

XI, pp. 219-47. P. Viereck: Die ägyptische Steuereinschätzungs-Commission in römischer Zeit. Based on papyri in the Berlin Museum, "Gr. Urkunden, Band I." The commission consisted of the στρατηγός and βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς; in addition, in the city the γραμματεῖς μητροπόλεως and in the country the κοινογραμματοεῖς. Tax declarations, ἀπογραφαί, were made before this committee.

P. 247. O. Crusius: Nachträgliches zum Wiener Euripides-papyrus. Results of a re-examination of the fragments.

XII, pp. 248-94. Th. Zielinski: Verrina. Discussion of various chronological, antiquarian and legal points. (1) The chronology of the processes. (2) The inheritance of Minucius.

(3) On the origin of the quaestio-courts. Verr. II 15 *iudicio sociali* = after the pattern of the procedure in the case of foreigners, confirming Momms., Röm. Gesch. II' 108. (4) The edicta repentina (Verr. III 36-8) belong to 73 B. C. (5) The letter of L. Metellus to the province could hardly have been written before Sept. 71, nor much later. (6) Attempts to make uniform the quaestorian map of Sicily. (7) Crimen navale (Verr. V 110). (8) On the list of Sicilian quaestors: B. C. 73, M. Postumius (case of Heraclius); 72, P. Caeretus (imprisonment of the pirates); 71, P. Vettius (Crimen navale). (9) The suit of C. Servilius to be judged like that of P. Quinctius.

P. 294. H. Deiter emends Cic. ad Attic. I 16. 13.

XIII, pp. 295-317. S. Bruck: Ueber die Organization der Athenischen Heliastengerichte im 4. Jahrh. v. Chr. I. Introduction to the Heliastic court. A little bronze or beechen tablet served for certificate; a citizen after his thirtieth year was eligible for life; attendance, optional. II (pp. 395-421). According to Arist., Athen. Pol., c. 63. 4, the judges of each phyle were divided into ten sections lettered from A to K.

XIV, pp. 318-24. A. Rzach: Zu den Sibyllinischen Orakeln, contains 8 conjectures.

P. 324. J. Lunak emends Porphyry. on Hor. ad Pis. 19, *votum* for *scutum*.

XV, pp. 325-31. G. M. Sakorraphos: Scholia graeca inedita in Euripidis Hecubam, from two MSS of the Library at Athens.

XVI, pp. 332-47 continues VIII, pp. 138-59.

P. 347. J. Lunak emends Cic., Cato Maior 15. 51, *impendium* for *imperium*.

XVII, pp. 348-65. M. Petschenig: Bemerkungen zum Texte der scriptores historiae Augustae, contains emendations and remarks on certain transmitted readings, spellings and idioms.

XVIII, pp. 366-79. W. Schmid: Zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets. I. ϕ x ψ in the eastern and western groups. II. Theories of ancients regarding the *litterae priscae* of the Gr. alphabet.

P. 379. O. Crusius shows that Pronektos was erroneously said to have been a Phoenician colony, Steph. Byz., p. 536 M.

Miscellen, pp. 380-84.—6, pp. 380-81. G. Schepss gives emendations to Boethius de Consolatione.

7, pp. 382-4. H. Lewy: Philologische Streifzüge in den Talmud. (1) Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 1054 *καίρος τις* refers to the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles. (2) Egyptian beer, zythus, was not brewed with salt, but with *αίμος*, a species of salt-wort. (3) Oinomaos of Gadara lived ca. 130 A. D.

XIX, pp. 385-94. L. Voltz: Die *εἶδη* des daktylischen Hexameters, a contribution to the history of Gr. metric. The four original purely euphonic *εἶδη* are *τραχύς*, *μαλακοειδής*, *κακόφωνος* and *λογοειδής*.

XX, pp. 394-421, a continuation of XIII, pp. 295-317.

XXI, pp. 422-30. J. Ilberg: Zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Hippokrates.

XXII, pp. 431-4. G. Helmreich: Galeni *περὶ τῶν ἐαυτῷ δοκούντων* fragmenta inedita, text of Parisinus 2332.

XXIII, pp. 435-41. G. M. Sakorraphos: *Observationes criticae ad Aeschinis orationes*.

P. 441. C. E. Gleye has three critical remarks on the *Historia Augusta*.

XXIV, pp. 442-83. O. Seeck: *Studien zu Synesios*. I. The historic meaning of the Osiris-myth. Aurelianus, cos. 400 = Osiris; Caesarius, cos. 397 = Typhus. II. Chronology of the letters.

XXV, pp. 484-8. R. Ellis: *Coniectanea in poetas latinas*. (1) In *Epicedion Drusi*. (2) *Ad Gratii Cynegetica*.

P. 488. O. Crusius interprets Petron. 56.

XXVI, pp. 489-95. E. Ströbel: *Die Handschriften zu Ciceros Rede pro Flacco*. Includes a new collation of Vaticanus 25.

XXVII, pp. 496-505. M. Kiderlin: Zum zweiten Buche von Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, has eleven conjectures.

XXVIII, pp. 506-13. J. W. Beck: *Die Quellen in den grammatischen Büchern des Plinius Secundus*.

P. 513. R. Hartstein believes the spirit of Antinoos' reply, *Odys.* XXI 288, is inconsistent with the taunts of the suitors in books XVII, XVIII and XX.

XXIX, pp. 514-22. O. Crusius: *Antiquarische Randbemerkungen*. (1) On some ancient missiles (bronze discus, etc.). (2) Furnishing of ancient shops (cf. *Herond.* VII). The sales-room had shelves (*πυργίδες*); the work-room was in the rear.

XXX, pp. 523-33. K. Tümpel: *Ἀλκίονος ἀπόλογος* (*Od.* XI). History of the title from Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch down. Additional remarks by O. Crusius, pp. 533-5.

XXXI, pp. 536-52. M. Manitius: *Beiträge zur Geschichte römischer Dichter in Mittelalter* (cf. *Philol.* LI, p. 704). This article deals with Lucretius, Statius, Aemilius Macer, and Terentius.

Miscellen.—8, pp. 553-6. L. Mendelssohn: Zum griechischen *Lexikon*, discusses *ἐμπροίκιος* and *ἐπιστήμη*.

9, pp. 557-8. L. Erhard: Der Auszug der Cimbern bei Strabo, II, p. 102, suggests *ἀλεθρίαν* for *οὐκ ἀθρόαν*.

10, p. 559. L. Traube defends MSS *exitare* in Catullus, XVII 23 ff.

11, p. 560. G. Helmreich emends Aurel. Victor., c. 76.

12, pp. 560-63. G. Schepss gives readings for Boethius' *Opuscula Porphyriana*.

13, pp. 563-4. M. Krascheninnikoff suggests *ab re natum* for *arrenatum*, C. I. L. III, p. 950.

14, pp. 564-7. U. Wilken comments on the *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί* (census-returns) in the tax-registers of Arsinoë, distinguishing them from the entries concerning ownership.

15, pp. 567-72. H. Lewy: *Philologische Streifzüge in den Talmud*. (4) The proverb "*princeps legibus solutus est*" is older than Dio Cassius (LIII 18): it occurs in the Jerusalem Talmud, Rasch haschana I 3, of the first century A. D. (5) *Mischna Sanhedrin* 60 b. shows that the ancient custom of casting up heaps of stones in honor of Hermes *ἐνόδιος* was in Babylonia transferred to Mercurius. (6) *Mischna Abhoda zara* III 4 shows that the statues of the gods in the baths were for ornament merely. (7) *Ἀδριανὰ κεράμια* refers to pottery from the Adriatic Sea, not to the emperor.

16, pp. 573-6. J. Miller considers the actual basis of the Harmodios and Aristogeiton legends to be that through some misunderstanding the deed which occurred at the Panathenaic festival only partially attained the desired end. Hipparchus was killed, Harmodios slain by the body-guard, and Aristogeiton tortured to death on the rack.

17, p. 576. W. Drexler holds that Sarapis himself is addressed as *Νειλαγωγός* in *Insc. Gr. Sic. et It.* 1028.

XXXII, pp. 577-83. Leo Bloch: *Zur Geschichte des Meterkultes*, continues Dieterich's article, *Philol.* LII, p. 1 ff., and discusses the introduction of the Magna Mater worship into Rome.

P. 583. W. Drexler has a supplementary note to *Philol.* LII, p. 3, on *Mismos* and *Mida*.

XXXIII, pp. 584-92. Fr. Hanssen on II. IX 13-28 declares the verses to be a bit of pre-Homeric poetry, once a part of a lay on the subject of the *Μῆνις*—verses which were so well known that they were introduced into both B and I. The argument is based largely on metrical grounds that the verses strikingly resemble the hexameters *κατ' ἐνόπλιον* of the form *dds dds* discussed in *Philol.* LI, pp. 231-46.

XXXIV, pp. 593-9. R. Peppmüller: *Zwei Hesiodica*, retains *μύθους* in *Op. et D.*, vs. 263, and suggests other restorations than Nicole's for the lacunae in the Naville papyrus, vs. 169 ff.

XXXV, pp. 600-15. Fr. Reuss: Zu Lysias, gives some of the more important results of the collation of Cod. Pal. X 88 by the late C. A. Pertz.

P. 615. C. Haeberlin: Zu Aischylos, Pers. 836-7, reads for ἀλγῇ either πάλαι or ᾗδῃ.

XXXVI, pp. 616-51. C. Lange: Thukydides und die Partheien. The aim of the article is to strengthen our faith in the greatness of Thuk. He was in his social views a thorough-going aristocrat; in his politics, he regarded a constitution consisting of a wise mixture of democratic and aristocratic elements as best suited to the needs of Athens; but his historical studies and his native insight made it clear to him that great personalities were superior to constitutions and that among statesmen Perikles was without a peer. Yet it was in foreign politics alone that Thukydides fully embraced his ideas, but he heartily recognized in other relations as well the greatness of Perikles' point of view and the purity of his motives.

XXXVII, pp. 652-63. F. Rudolph: Zu den Quellen des Aelian und Athenaios. A reply to Cohn's criticism (Philol. Anz. XVI, 1886, pp. 96-103) of the writer's dissertation (Leipz. Studien, VII, 1884, pp. 1-137). The writer is still of his former opinion that Athenaios copied Favorinus chapter by chapter, whereas Diogenes used him for compilation, checking by Favorinus, the latter being Athenaios' prime authority.

P. 663. R. Hartstein. The oath by "board and hearth" in Odyssey, XIV 158 ff., XVII 156 ff., XIX 303 ff. was made in the presence of the objects mentioned; not so in XX 230 ff.

XXXVIII, pp. 664-702. W. Soltau: Die annalistischen Quellen in Livius' IV. und V. Dekade, contains very interesting tables.

XXXIX, pp. 703-14. O. Crusius: 'Kyrene' unter Dämonen. The figure of a female bearing a stalk of silphium and surrounded by three male and four female 'demons,' as seen on a dish unearthed at Naukratis, is taken to represent Kyrene, with the three personified phylae and four colony-cities at Pentapolis.

Miscellen.—18, pp. 715-19. R. Peppmüller: Zwei griechische Epigramme, emends Anth. Pal. X 123, ἀνευ θανάτου σε το δὲ εὖ θανάτῳδε, and also suggests γαῖα to fill the gap in verse 4 of the Epigramme on Homer, first published in Z. f. ägypt. Sprache u. Alt. XXVIII, 1890, p. 62.

19, pp. 719-22. E. Hiller: Zu Pindar, Ol. 1. Critical notes on vs. 12, 24, 50, 89, 105.

20, pp. 722-5. L. Cohn: Zu den Quellen des Aelians und Athenaios. Rejoinder to Rudolph, v. supra, pp. 652-63.

21, pp. 725-6. R. Ellis: Ad Lucan. IX 777-80.

22, pp. 726-8. E. Ströbel: Zu Cicero's Academica posteriora. Discussion of some readings.

23, pp. 728-30. C. Weyman: Novatian und Seneca über den Frühtrunk. Nov. cib. iud. 6 compared with Sen. Epist. 122. 6.

24, p. 730. W. Drexler: Das Bild des Pan von Panopolis, is really the Egyptian Chem, who was a divinity associated with the moon.

25, pp. 731-2. W. Drexler: Die Epiphanie des Pan. Epigr. 1014, l. Gr. Sic. et Ital., is addressed to Pan *συρικτής*.

26, pp. 733-5. H. Lewy: Philologische Streifzüge in den Talmud. (8) *Κράτησις*, a festival.

27, p. 736. H. Nöldeke: *Ταῖηνός τις* (supplem. to LI, p. 739 ff.) is a name for Bedouin.

28, p. 736. O. Hirschfeld: *Arrenatum?*, supplem. to p. 563.

GEORGE DWIGHT KELLOGG.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOGIE, Vol. LIII.

Pp. 1-36. Kritische und exegetische Bemerkungen zu Philo. II. P. Wendland.

Pp. 37-65. Quellenstudien zu Ciceros Büchern de natura deorum, de divinatione, de fato. R. Hoyer.

Pp. 66-97. *Satura Tulliana*. O. Plasberg. Textual notes on the De Re Publica, the Timaeus, and the Paradoxa.

Pp. 98-120. Der Tod des Kleitos. R. Schubert.

Pp. 121-36. Zu Ciceros Briefen an Atticus. C. F. W. Müller. Textual notes.

Pp. 137-58. Drei boiotische Eigennamen (mit einer Beigabe *Ναύκρατος ναύκλαρος ναύκληρος*). F. Solmsen. I. *Φιθάδας*. II. *Φάρμχος*. *Βράμης*.

Miscellen.—Pp. 159-60. R. Kunze. De Strabonis loco. Conjectures *πολύδικον* for *πολιτικόν* in XVII, p. 797 Cas.—P. 160. K. Kalbfleisch. Zum Anonymus med. Paris. (Rh. Mus. XLIX 551 f.).—Pp. 160-65. A. Körte. T. Lucretius Carus bei Diogenes von Oinoanda? Rejects the identification of the *θανμάσιος* *Κάρος* of the inscription with the Roman poet.—P. 165. Fr. Vollmer. Zum Homerus Latinus.—Pp. 165-6. M. Ihm. Damasus und Dracontius.—Pp. 166-7. F. Buecheler. Spartiacus.—Pp. 167-8. O. Rossbach. *ΗΔΥΣ' ΘΡΑΙΚΙΔΗΣ*. Textual note on Plin. N. H. XXXIII 156.—P. 168. A. Bauer. *Κέπουλε*.

Pp. 169-204. Die 'Hundekrankheit' (*κύων*) der Pandareos-töchter und andere mythische Krankheiten. W. H. Roscher. A refutation of the opinion of W. Kroll (vol. LII, p. 342; A. J. P. XVIII 488).

Pp. 205-8. Oskisches aus Pompeji. F. Bücheler. Discussion of an inscription published in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, Nov. 1897, p. 465.

Pp. 209-38. Studien zu Ciceros Briefen an Atticus (XI-XVI). O. E. Schmidt. Textual notes.

Pp. 239-69. Der 'alte Tempel' und das Hekatompedon auf der Akropolis zu Athen. G. Körte. It is probable that Dörpfeld's "ancient temple" was a double temple (in which Erechtheus was worshipped as well as Athena), and that it had no *ὑπισθόδομος*. The name *Παρθενών* may mean the chamber of the *Παρθένος*, not, as Furtwängler has suggested, the chamber of the *παρθένοι*. In an excursus, the writer quotes and discusses the "Hekatompedon" inscription.

Pp. 270-82. Textkritisches zu lateinischen Dichtern. J. Ziehen. Notes on a number of passages in the Latin Anthology.

Pp. 283-307. Bacchylides' Gedicht auf Pytheas von Aigina. F. Blass. A comparison of this poem with Pindar's ode on the same subject, the fifth Nemean. Textual notes and commentary.

Pp. 308-15. Der Thukydides-Papyrus von Oxyrhynchus. J. Steup. This fragment (IV 36, 2-41, 1), which may have been written in the first or second century A. D., furnishes very few new readings of importance. The best of them is the *σταδαία* of 38, 5.

Miscellen.—Pp. 316-18. C. Weyman. Varia.—Pp. 318-22. O. Hense. Zu Bakchylides XI.—Pp. 322-4. J. M. Stahl. Zu Bakchylides. Textual notes on V 107 ff.; XVII 90 f.; IX 30 ff.; XVIII 31 ff.—Pp. 324-7. F. Rühl. Die Abfassungszeit von Theophrasts Charakteren.—P. 327. Ed. Wölfflin. Pisanders Athla des Heracles.—P. 328. E. F. Bischoff. Epigraphisch-Kalendarisches.

Pp. 329-80. Göttliche Synonyme. H. Usener. A supplement to section XVII of the author's book on the Names of the Gods. To certain heroes mythology has assigned two fathers—the one divine, the other mortal. In such cases we may regularly assume that the name of the mortal father is an older local name of the god. Very often the form of the name is enough to suggest that it was originally applied to one of the numerous conceptions which were afterwards combined under the name of Zeus. For example, Hellen is sometimes called the son of Zeus, sometimes the son of *Deucalion*. If Heracles is sometimes called the son of Amphitryon, sometimes the son of Zeus, we may assume that Amphitryon was originally the god of the lightning, who sends forth the thunder-bolt "in both directions" (to the east and to the west) and "pierces through" with it. Tyndareos, the father (*ἐπικλῆσιν*) of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, was the

Spartan god of the lightning, "the shatterer"; cf. Skr. *tud*, Lat. *tundere*, etc. The father of the Theban Dioscuri, Zethos and Aniphion, sometimes bears the transparent name of Epopeus. The father of Peirithoos is sometimes given as Ixion, sometimes as Zeus. But Ixion, the lord of the Sun-wheel, is Zeus, as the name of his wife, Dia, might suggest. Aiolos, too, is a synonym of Zeus; cf. αἰόλλη, Od. XX 27. In Pindar, Ol. IX 42, Zeus is called Αἰολοβρόντας. This is a "dvandva-compound," like the κεραυνοβρόντης, of Ar. Pax, 376, or the βροντησικέραυνος, of Ar. Nub. 265, and means "the god of lightning and thunder." Poseidon, also, is a god of many names. He appears as Glaukos, Aigeus, Neleus, as Hippotes, Hippokoon, Hippomenes, Amphidamas, Aktor and Elatos, as Kretheus, as Aphareus, as Aloeus, as Melanthos, etc.

Pp. 380-92. Zur Datirung einiger athenischer Archonten. Joh. E. Kirchner. I. Damasias. II. Urios. III. Sosistratos. IV. Pheidostratos. V. Andreas. VI. Herodes. VII. Apolexis. Lysandros. Lysandros Sohn des Apolexis. VIII. Architimos.

Pp. 393-8. Das sogenannte Fragment Hygins. M. Manitius.

Pp. 399-431. Der Kalender im Ptolemäerreich. Max L. Strack.

Pp. 432-47. Ueber den Mynascodex der griechischen Kriegsschriftsteller in der Pariser Nationalbibliothek. H. Schöne.

Pp. 448-59. Neue platonische Forschungen. Zweites Stück. Fr. Susemihl. 5. Die Darstellung der Erkenntnisslehre des Protagoras in Platons Theaetetos.

Pp. 460-76. Das ἐγκώμιον εἰς Πτολεμαῖον und die Zeitgeschichte. H. v. Prott. I. Der Kult der θεοὶ Σωτῆρες. II. Die Familienverhältnisse. III. Die Abfassungszeit des Gedichtes.

Pp. 477-81. Noch ein Wort zur Topographie Korkyras. B. Schmidt.

Miscellen.—Pp. 482-4. A. de Mess. Coniectanea A. Meinekii inedita.—P. 485. Fr. Susemihl. Zu Aristoteles Meteorologie, I i.—Pp. 485-91. U. Köhler. Ueber eine Stelle in der Politik des Aristoteles. A comparison of V iii. 3 Schneid. with Plutarch, Praecepta reg. reip. 32, 825 B.—Pp. 491-3. U. Köhler. Ein Fragment des Demetrios von Phaleron.—Pp. 493-5. F. Malchin. Posidoniana.—Pp. 495-6. M. Ihm. Zu Suetons Caesares.—P. 496. R. Fuchs. ἀρμοῖ und ἀρμῶ.

Pp. 497-510. Euripides und die Mantik. L. Radermacher. Sometimes the poet's utterances represent the popular sentiment of his day, sometimes his own political views.

Pp. 511-25. Zum ersten Buch des Velleius Paterculus. F. Schöll. Textual notes.

Pp. 526-40. Neue platonische Forschungen. Fr. Susemihl. Concluded from p. 459.

Pp. 540-46. Ovid. trist. IV 10, 43 s. K. P. Schulze. It is probable that the 44th verse refers to a single poem of Aemilius Macer, a poem imitated from the Theriaca of Nikander.

Pp. 547-74. Zur Handschriftenkunde und Geschichte der Philologie. V. Eine griechische Handschrift in Russisch-Polen und das Anthologion des Orion. R. Foerster.

Pp. 575-84. Apuleiana. W. Kroll. Textual notes.

Pp. 585-95. Fälschungen in den Abschriften der Herculanensischen Rollen. W. Crönert.

Pp. 596-620. Caeles Vibenna und Mastarna. F. Münzer.

Pp. 621-5. Stilpon. O. Apelt.

Miscellen.—Pp. 626-8. Fr. Susemihl. Die Lebenszeit des Eudoxos von Knidos.—Pp. 628-9. E. Goebel. Ad Gellium (XIX 1, §§2 and 21).—Pp. 629-30. O. Rossbach. Die Olympischen Solymen.—Pp. 630-33. K. Brugmann. Ἐπασσίρεπος.—Pp. 633-5. E. Ziebarth. Epigraphische Miscellen.—Pp. 635-6. F. Rühl. ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ.—Pp. 635-8. Fr. Vollmer. Epigraphica.—Pp. 638-9. A. v. Domaszewski. Der Staatsstreich des Septimius Severus.—Pp. 639-40. W. H. Roscher. Berichtigungen und Nachträge zu S. 169 ff.

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WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

BRIEF MENTION.

ARTHUR PALMER, whose death has made so sensible a void among the classical scholars of our kin over the sea, was not permitted to finish his work on the *Heroides of Ovid* (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press; New York, The Macmillan Co.). The end of the XIVth Epistle had been reached and most of the commentary for XV, XVI, XVII had been written when he relinquished the task, which, at his urgent request, Mr. L. C. PURSER, the Ciceronian scholar, consented to finish. Though Ovid has been called, unjustly in my judgment, 'an inferior Cicero in verse' (A. J. P. IV 209), Professor PURSER demurred on the ground that he had not devoted any special study to Ovid, so that his part of the edition has been done under a quasi-protest. It is interesting to know that PALMER had learned to believe in the Ovidian authorship of the Epistle of Sappho to Phaon (XV) and interesting to study Mr. PURSER's loyal execution of his friend's commission. Of the five last Epistles PALMER held, and held strongly, that they were not written by Ovid, that they were all, with the exception of XVI 39-142, XXI 13 ad fin., written by the same author, and that he lived about the epoch of Petronius or Persius. The general Introduction is an attractive essay and shows, despite Mr. PURSER's demurrer, that he has a juster appreciation of Ovid than some special students of Latin elegiac poetry. The account of the chief MSS is taken chiefly from Sedlmayer, and the section on Planudes is indebted to what Mr. PURSER styles the "admirable treatise" of Professor GUDEMAN. It is unnecessary to say that PALMER's own commentary abounds in fine touches and enhances the regret that a critic and a scholar of such judgment and such insight should have been removed prematurely from the work for which he had such rare endowments. The Greek version of the *Heroides* by Planudes is a welcome addition to the Latin original. In his doctoral dissertation already referred to, Professor GUDEMAN attempted to determine the character of the codex used by Planudes and in some passages bettered the text, VI 47 *Dodonide* for *Tritonide* being a noteworthy instance. But there are many problems left, and the Planudean version suggests a number of questions as to the tradition of translation from Greek into Latin. It is a pity that Planudes was so poor a Latin scholar, but he must have had some school-training, and the 'flatness and baldness' of his trans-

lation, like the flatness and baldness of the Septuagint, are not to be regretted from a comparative any more than from a critical point of view. In the history of translation from Latin into Greek—a history of more importance than much speculation about the original meaning of this and that case and this and that mood—Planudes, late as he is, cannot be neglected.

Goethe has a good word to say for the old-fashioned compilations of 'Elegant Extracts'; classical scholars owe much to ancient anthologies, and I have often yearned for something in the range of Greek literature that should correspond to the 'Old South Leaflets.' To preach about Greek literature and Greek style without illustrations is more or less futile, and the laborious perusal of such a work as Schmid's *Atticismus* would be of less service to the average student than the brisk exposition of half a dozen carefully selected pages of Dion Chrysostomos, Lucian, Philostratos or Aelian. In his *Latin Literature of the Empire* (Harper & Brothers), Professor GUDEMAN has undertaken to supply a like need that every teacher of Latin must have felt, and the first volume, containing the Prose Literature from Velleius to Boethius, is before the public. The notes are critical merely and the introductions are brief. The lecturer will have all the scope he desires. Of course, everybody will not be satisfied with Professor GUDEMAN's limitations. Those who are interested in Christian literature might prefer to have something of Tertullian and Augustin, even if Tacitus, so easily accessible, had to be curtailed and the Ciceronianisms of Minucius Felix reduced to a smaller compass. But we must be thankful for what we have, and make the best use of it as a help to lectures on the literature of the period represented. The student who should attempt to handle the book without a guide might be puzzled. So, to go no farther than the first few pages, in the extract from Seneca Rhetor, p. 5, 24, the novice will find himself forsaken by the critical apparatus. Then the extracts from Velleius skip from Caesar (Julius) to Caesar (Augustus), from Marbod to Tiberius, and the death of Cleopatra is put in the year after the battle at Philippi—the kind of thing the unhappy student once had to contend with in Smith's *History of Greece*. Comp. e. g. Smith, c. XXVIII, §5 (Felton's ed.) with Grote, VI 329. In the extracts from Curtius the dative *Clito* appears as the English form of Clitus in the headline (p. 49). A slip of another order is the use of 'controversial' for 'controverted,' which must be laid to the printer's charge, as Professor GUDEMAN is a native American. Not so easily corrected by the novice are mistakes in the Latin text, and a misplaced comma (p. 34, 34) may bring him to a dead halt. A sharp revision seems to be needed.

In his beautiful edition of *Velleius* (Clarendon Press), Professor ROBINSON ELLIS has made the *Amerbachii Apographon* the basis of his critical work, and has espoused the cause of the young scholar to whom we owe the copy with an affectionate zeal that recalls his enthusiastic characteristic of that youthful genius, Dionysius Salvagnius, to whom he has reared a monument in his edition of the *Ibis*. There is no scholar of our day to whom the erudition of the olden time is so present a reality, as it would be hard to name a scholar who is so much like the men whom he admires in first-hand knowledge.

Scarcely had DÖRPFELD's great work on the Greek theatre given us a *point de repère*, when new excavations demanded a revision just as imperatively as the onlooker's ground has to be shifted when the diggers are at work. No wonder, then, that Mr. HAIGH, whose book on *The Attic Theatre* came out in 1889, has found a new edition necessary in 1898. The chapters dealing with the theatre and the scenery have been entirely rewritten, and the chapter on the dramatic contests at Athens has been rewritten in parts. While HAIGH now concedes that Dörpfeld has proved conclusively that the stone theatre at Athens was not earlier than the fourth century B. C., he holds with the grip of a Kynaigeiros to the 'old theory,' admitting only that the stage of the fifth century was much lower than that of later times. The new Haigh is nearly a fourth larger than the old, which falls into the limbo of antiquated things. And even as I write, Professor FOSSUM wheels in his *εἰσκύκλημα* (*A. J. Archaeology*, 1898), the grooves for which he thinks he has discovered in the Eretrian theatre, and, if this is so, another section has to be rewritten. Happy is the man who is not committed to any theory on the subject, who is not forced to say with Kleon: *κυλίνδετ' εἴσω τόνδε τὸν δυσδαίμονα*.

In a recent number of the *Rheinisches Museum* (LIV 1), the well-known Thukydidean scholar, J. M. STAHL, who is not averse to airing his grammatical lore, as he has shown by his *Quaestiones Grammaticae*, complains that the German grammars of Greek take no account of the familiar phenomenon of the predicative participle with the translation of an abstract noun. I have no especial interest in the shortcomings of German grammars of Greek, and the fashionable, desiccated school grammar is not the place where I should look for points of style, so that I have not taken the time to verify Professor STAHL's statements; but I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise that so mature a

student of Greek as he is should say that the only poetic example known to him is Ar. Nub. 1241: Ζεὺς γελοῖος ὀμνύμενος τοῖς εἰδόσιν, which he renders 'der Schwur beim Zeus ist den Wissenden lächerlich.' The construction goes back to Homer (see A. J. P. XIII 258), e. g. Il. 14, 504: ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ ἐλθόντι γανύσσεται, and 13, 35, where Monro translates νοστήσαντα ἄνακτα 'the return of the master.' Pindar delights in the construction, for which see my Introductory Essay (cxiii), though that passage was written before I had learned that the frequency of the construction in Latin is a frequency in certain authors only (see A. J. P., l. c.). True, the translation by the abstract noun destroys the concreteness of the participle, and Lysias 1, 8: πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἀποθανοῦσα (sc. ἡ μήτηρ) αἰτία μοι γεγένηται the participle is much more plastic than the abstract noun would have been; but that is a matter that really transcends the province of the school grammar.

I have frequently had occasion to animadvert on the slender attainments of the average German classical scholar in the matter of English, and as some persons have thought that I have thereby done injustice to the learned confraternity of Teutondom, I take from the November (1898) number of the *Berliner Zeitschrift für Gymnasialwesen* the following passage, in a review by H. ZIEMER of the German translation of LINDSAY'S *Latin Language*: "(Es) beherrschen in Deutschland die klassischen Philologen die englische Sprache nicht in dem Grade wie die englischen mit der deutschen vertraut sind." Some years ago Gustav Meyer, in the *Berliner Wochenschrift* (July 27, 1895), said: "Unsere klassischen Philologen lesen noch immer nicht Englisch mit der wünschenswerten Geläufigkeit." And other unsuspected witnesses might be produced to this unwelcome fact—especially unwelcome to American scholars, many of whom look to Germany as to a court of appeal. To be judged by those who do not understand, or only half understand, the language of the pleaders is not exactly the treatment one would expect to receive in the republic of letters. Of course, it will be urged that the best things, like Grote, like Jebb, like Lindsay, compel translation, and that enterprising scholars see to it that their lucubrations are translated into German when they are not composed in German; but there are those who are not willing to yield the primacy of the English language, and, as I have suggested before (A. J. P. XV 398), a return to Latin seems to be one of the possibilities. The Americano-Hungarian *Sermo Latinus* has found an echo in the Roman *Vox Urbis*, and these signs of the times are not to be disregarded. But perhaps English-speaking Hellenists will prefer to follow Wecklein's example, and the Ζωγράφειος Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη will furnish a pattern to classical scholars of all nationalities. *Hoc Ithacus vellet*, and the Ithacan is the one enduring Greek type.

The Editor of this Journal never intended to monopolize *Brief Mention*, and he has been trying for some time to make arrangements for the extension of this department and for bringing about a variety in its tone and in its themes. *Brief Mention* ought to be a file-closer, not a stop-gap, nor yet an Editor's Table for the display of Hippokleidean arts or Hippokleidean unconcern. In this number a beginning has been made, and a projected notice of WAIT's *Lysias* is gladly abandoned in favor of a contribution by a new hand.

E. L. G.: DR. WILLIAM H. WAIT, who has put forth an annotated edition of *Ten Selected Orations of Lysias* (American Book Co.), intends to have his notes meet the needs of young beginners, especially those in the first year at college. "Hence," he says, his "grammatical notes may seem rather full," but the notes consist in great part of references to the grammars of Hadley and Goodwin, and many important and interesting phenomena pass unnoticed, such as ὥς after φησίν, VII 19 (see A. J. P. XVI 396); as ὥς final, XXXVIII 14, the only example in *Lysias* (A. J. P. IV 419, note). At the same time, the student in his freshman year is supposed to be familiar with such works as "Kühner-Blass," "Meist." (Meisterhans), "Müller, Handbuch," "Lobeck, Phryn.," and a score of others. Becker's *Charicles* is cited by the English edition with the page and volume of the German. References to Gilbert's *Constitutional Antiquities* are sometimes to the English, sometimes to the German edition. A large part of the notes terminate in an interrogation point, an irritating trick, which ought to be, if it is not, out of date. The text is not free from typographical blunders. The notes are far worse. Scarcely a page is clean. The editor's hand is hardly familiar with the useful, not to say indispensable, art of accentuation. One trouble, and a great trouble, is that the notes follow a different reading from that which appears in the text. XII 28 we have ἀν in the notes and ἐάν in the text; 72, ἀπειλοῖ in the notes, διαπειλοῖτο in the text. XII 48, πλασθέντα is said to come from πλάζω. Omitted ἐσσι's are carefully supplied, but that does not make up for the omission of the numbers in the headlines, which increases the difficulty of following the references. XXXII 26, 'fifty talents' should be 'twenty-four minae.' XVI 16, ἀγαπητῶς is translated with a 'feeling of pleasure,' and not 'barely,' which the student will find with the reference in Liddell and Scott. The map puts Cynoscephalae in Epirus and Coronea in Thessaly, and in spite of his own Index the editor seems to suppose the Πόντος of Satyrus (XVI 4; cf. XXII 14) to be the same as the Pontus of Asia Minor. In short, the editor has not learned the lesson that nothing requires more mature scholarship or ripper judgment than the preparation of an edition for beginners.

M. W.: That after eight years a new edition of the first part of MARTIN SCHANZ'S *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, in

Müller's Handbuch, should be demanded, is not surprising, but it is nevertheless a severe test to the patience of the subscriber to have the concluding part of the history deferred for a year or more by the necessity of this revision. Schanz himself apologizes therefor. The new edition shows an increase of over one hundred pages, and is not only amplified but in many respects improved, although it follows the general lines laid down in the first edition, in the disposition of the material and the attempt to give a general idea of the content of the various literary works and the results of modern discussions about them. The sections on Plautus and Terence and the drama in general, on Cicero, Caesar, Lucretius and Catullus show considerable changes. The new literature relative to the republican period has been most carefully reviewed, which does not mean that all new views and theories have been accepted. Schanz preserves everywhere his independence of judgment. He still follows Drumann's opinion of Cicero, and is not much affected by the attitude of Aly and Zielinski. Leo's new theories on Plautus and Marx's views as to the *Libri ad Herennium* get scant recognition. The Saturnian verse is still for Schanz quantitative, the dramatic satura, 'Bockscherz,' is not banished out of existence, and there are other evidences of conservatism. A little more care might be taken with the English names. Peace is printed for Pease on p. 89 and Cosh for M'Cosh on p. 49. Why the latter's edition of the *Bacchides* (1896), the most unscholarly edition of any Plautine play which has appeared in recent times, should be mentioned at all, we hardly understand. It evinces, at any rate, the editor's desire not to ignore recent literature. The new revision must find its place in the library of every Latin professor who wishes to be 'up to date.' An Alphabetisches Register at the end of the volume, lacking in the first edition, greatly facilitates reference.

M. W.: It was a happy idea to collect in one volume the scattered articles of the late Professor BRUNN which bear upon Roman and Etruscan monuments (Teubner). These range in date from 1844-85 and the greater number are in Italian. We are told in the preface that Brunn was averse to a German translation being made of these, holding that the same idea must be expressed differently in German and Italian, the latter language demanding a more concrete and elementary exposition. The articles have to do with various sarcophagi, vases, mirrors, bronzes, terra-cottas, and Etruscan paintings, and the clear and genial interpretation of the distinguished critic has an abiding value, even though his views may long since have been accepted, modified or abandoned. No one better appreciated than Brunn the value of ancient works of art for the illustration of ancient literature, and to read his work is to be convinced that archae-

ology and philology are mutually interdependent. A sarcophagus may admirably elucidate the epithalamion of Statius, an altar with its sculptured sides may furnish a commentary to an ode of Horace, and the interpretation of Ovid would greatly gain in vividness, if the classical editor were better acquainted with the ancient monuments. On this ground, if for no other, we recommend the perusal of this book to the classical philologist, and from this point of view the following articles are especially interesting: *Sarcofago rappresentante ceremonie nuziali*, *Die Ara Casali*, *Giunone Lucina*, *Vatikanischer Relief-pilaster*, *I monumenti degli Aterii*. The book is richly illustrated, and most of the illustrations are good, though some of them lack distinctness.

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ERRATA.

P. 105, l. 23 from top, read *σεισμῶν*.

P. 113, l. 15 from top, read *ôte-toi <de là>*.

P. 232, l. 2 from top, read *laudaveris*.

P. 232, l. 23 from top, read "Cicero de Oratore."

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